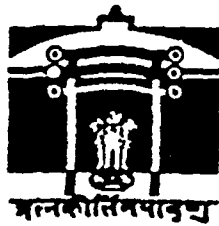




# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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Page 11, last line from bottom,—for Anapôtâ-Reddî read Anapôta-Reddî

„ 15 —Cancel footnote 1.

„ 22, note 7,—for “His enemies clenched their fists in rage” read “The palms of his enemies’ hands closed together in token of submission”

„ 31, paragraph 2, line 7 from bottom,—for Pravarasena read Pravarasēna

„ 58 —The date of the inscription published by Dr Fleet on this page is intrinsically wrong, but admits of an easy and certain correction. In the date, as published, the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika is joined with the *nakshatra* Mûla (the 19th *nakshatra*), but in Kārttika the moon is full in or near Kṛttikā (the 3rd *nakshatra*). On the other hand, an examination of native calendars for different years shows that in the majority of cases the *nakshatra* is Mûla on the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika<sup>1</sup>. This observation some years ago, when I first saw the text of the inscription in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI, Roman text, p 95, at once convinced me that the writer of the text erroneously must have put *suddha-punnameyam* (where the word *suddha* would really be superfluous) for *suddha-pañchamiyam*. The date thus would give us for calculation the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika, a Monday, and the *nakshatra* Mûla; and during the period (A.D. 989-1005), to which according to Dr Fleet the inscription must be assigned, it would be correct for Monday, the 7th October A.D. 989, and for Monday, the 3rd October A.D. 992.

Monday, the 7th October 989, was entirely occupied by the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika, and on it the *nakshatra* was Mûla, by the equal space system from 0 h. 39 m, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h. 13 m., and according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m, after mean sunrise. And on —

Monday, the 3rd October A.D. 992, the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika ended 20 h. 53 m, while the *nakshatra* was Mûla, by the equal space system from 5 h. 16 m, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 11 h. 50 m, and according to Garga for 17 h. 4 m, after mean sunrise.

Which of these two days, or whether either of them, is the true equivalent of the original date, it is impossible to say at present — F. K.

„ 59, No 8, l 15,—for (Pr) read (N.)

„ 78, text line 2,—for Karabenâ- read Karabenâ-.

„ 79, l 5,—for Karabenâ read Karabenâ.

„ 82, No 12, text line 1,—for Dinikaputrena read Dinikapûtrēna (i.e. °putrēna)

„ 101, text line 1,—for अतिलेख read अतिलेख, and for °मगारिणी read °मगारिणी.

„ 104, note 1,—for आमुख read आमुख

„ 111, „ 6,—for मद्ध्यो read मद्ध्यो°

„ 115, text line 73,—for सनममित read सनसमित

„ 121, l 15,—for वार read वार

„ 123, l 2 from bottom,—for left side read right side

„ 126, note 3, l 3,—for Balagâmi read Baligami

---

<sup>1</sup> In 7 calendars out of 12 Mûla is joined with the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika, and in 8 with the 4th *tithi*; in 2 (in which Kārttika is preceded by an intercalary month) Mûla goes with the 3rd *tithi*.

Page 126, note 3, ll 5 to 12 — [Professor Hultzsch has critically edited the three Uḍiyāvara inscriptions quoted here (Nos 108, 98 and 97 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) on pp 18, 22 and 23 of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol IX, respectively In the light of his remarks some alterations in this note appear necessary In numbers 97 and 98 the alternative forms Pōṇṇṭṭṭa and Uḍayapura also occur The word *nakara*, which I took to mean 'trading classes' in both these inscriptions, is taken by Professor Hultzsch as being placed in apposition to *Pōṇṇṭṭṭa* and *Uḍayapurada*, and as meaning 'city' In No 108 the attribute *Pattī-odeyon*, which I took as applying to Śvētāvāhana, probably refers to a Śaiva priest. It was not Svētāvāhana that fell in battle, but a servant of the Ālura prince Ranasāgara, named Kāmākōḍa —  
H K S]

- „ 127, note 2, last line,—for *lennmolested* read *unmolested*.
- „ 128, l 16 from bottom,—for *decidedly* read *decidedly*
- „ 138, No 11 — In a letter dated Nagpur, 4th October 1906, Mr Hiranand communicated to the Editor the following extract from a letter of the Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur District, to the Superintendent, Nagpur Museum, dated 15th September 1889 — “The plate (*viz* the plates edited on p 138 ff) was found by Dastī Kulta, resident of Satlāma in the Barpalī Zamindari, in June 1897 (read · 1887 ?) He found it under a stone while he was constructing the embankment of his field near the Gandapara.” Mr Hiranand adds — “From this it is evident that the Satallamā of the inscription is the very place where the plates were found.”
- „ 147, paragraph 5,—for “*Mulṭagī* is represented . . . . as forming the eastern boundary” read “*Mulṭagī* figures . . . among the boundaries”
- „ 173, paragraph 2, l 5,—for *Pushyavṇddhī* read *Pusbyavuddhī*
- „ 183, l 11,—for *southern* read *northern* — Note the form of *rīṭha* in ll 15 and 31 of the inscription
- „ 200, l 12 from bottom.—With *khattaka* Mr Krishna Sastri compares the Kannada *gaddige* and the Hindi *gaddī*, ‘a throne’
- „ 204, l 14 from bottom — With *āshṭāhikā* Mr Krishna Sastri compares the *ashṭāhnikā* of the Southern Jains, see p 137, note 4
- „ 216, v 37.—Regarding this verse see Prof Kielhorn's remarks in the *Journ R As Soc* 1907, p 175 ff
- „ 216, v 42 — Mr Krishna Sastri remarks — “I suggest that the word *सत्ता* be taken as an apposition referring to Yaśōdā, and not independently as is done in the translation I cannot understand how Krishna's splendour was *augmented* by his mother स्वयमधिकप्रतापस्य भगवान् न ह्यन्यतस्समुक्तायनपेक्षते”
- „ 219, text line 2 f — Prof. Kielhorn supplies प्रसादावाप्तगर्जराज्ञानडले
- „ 234 ll 4 and 7 — In accordance with Vol IX p 50, read *Karmāka-rāshtra* and *Kammāka-rāshtra* (without *n*).—The same correction has to be made on p 235, text lines 14 and 16, p 236, ll 14 and 17, and p 238, l 8 from bottom.
- „ 295, note 1, l 7,—for *Tiruvaymolī* read *Tiruvāymolī*.
- „ 305, note 1, line 1,—for “*Sudarśanāchārya* who wrote” read “*Sudarśanāchārya*, also called Namāra, who was the son of Vāgviṇaya, and who wrote”
- „ 307, l 2.—On “*Madras Museum*” add a footnote — “[No 16 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report* for 1905-06 of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle—V V]”
- „ 318, l 16,—for “*three verses*” read “*three Sanskrit verses*”
- „ 318, l 7 from bottom,—after “*The second inscription,*” insert “*which is in Tamil, and*”

A date of the month of Śiṃha (July-August) of the 7th year of Vikrama-Chōla would be expected to fall in A D 1124, and this date actually corresponds to Thursday, the 7th August A D 1124. This was the 12th day of the month of Śiṃha, and on it the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvaṇa) ended 20 h 6 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Ārdrā, by the equal space system for 15 h 46 m, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h 58 m, and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

### B — RAJARAJA II.

#### 85 — In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalañjūli.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pū maruviya [Tī]ru-māḍum . . . . .  
 4 kō=Pparakēśarippanmar=ā[na Tri]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]ga[i] śr[i]-Rājarājad[ā]vaṛku  
 yāṇdu 4āva[du] Vriśchika-nāyayru apa[ra-pa]kahattu [sa]pīam[i]yu[m]  
 [B]uda[n]-[ki]lam[ai]yum [p]eyra [P]āra[tt]u nā[i].

"In the 4th year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the 7th *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vṛśchika."

My examination of the four dates Nos 85-88 has yielded the result that the reign of Rājarāja Parakēśarivarman, i.e. Rājarāja II., commenced between (approximately) the 27th March and the 23rd November A D. 1146.

This date, No 85, corresponds to Wednesday, the 23rd November A.D. 1146, which was the 27th day of the month of Vṛśchika, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mārgaśīrṣha) ended 14 h. 10 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Pūrva-Phalgunī, by the equal space system for 22 h 20 m, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m, and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m, after mean sunrise

#### 86 — In the Karavandiśvara temple at Udayārkōyl.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pū maruviya Tiru-māḍum . . . . .  
 8 . . . . . k[ō]=Ppara[kēsa-  
 9 [r]ipatmar=āna Tribu[va]nachchak[ka]ravattiga[i] śrī-Rāja[r]ājadēvaṛku yāṇ[du]  
 āra[va]d[u] Ku-  
 10 m[bha]-nāyayru apara-pakṣa[t]tu pratham[ai]yu[m] Vi[y]āla-kkīlamaiyum peyra  
 Maga[tt]u nā[i]

"In the sixth year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 24th January A D. 1152,<sup>3</sup> which was the first day<sup>4</sup> of the month of Kumbha, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 15 h 27 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 22 h 20 m, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 53 m., and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m, after mean sunrise.

#### 87.— In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalañjūli.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī || Pū maruviya Tiru-māḍum . . . . .  
 5 . . . . . [k]ō=Pparakēśarippanmar=āna Tir[ī]bhuvanachchak[ka]ravattiga[i] śrī-  
 Rājarāja-

<sup>1</sup> No 622 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>2</sup> No 407 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>3</sup> Between A D 1131 and 1178 this is the only day for which the date is correct.

<sup>4</sup> The Kumbha-saṅkrānti took place 20 h 58 m after mean sunrise of the 23rd January A D 1152

<sup>5</sup> No 628 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

6 dévaṟṟu y[ān]du pannurandāvaṟu Meṣa-n[āya]ṟṟu apara-pakṣattu navamiyū  
B[uda]n-kīlamiyū[m p]eṟṟa Tī-  
7 ruvōna[ttu nā]l

"In the twelfth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha "

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 26th March A.D 1158, which was the 2nd day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Chaitra) ended 6 h 35 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 12 h 29 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 47 m, after mean sunrise

88 — In the Ēkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram.<sup>1</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pū maruviya Tiru-māḍum . . . . .  
2 . . . . . kō=Pparakēsaripātmar-ana Tribhuvanaḥchakkaravattigal śrī-  
Rājārājadēvaṟṟu yāṇḍu paḍiṇaṇjāvaḍu Tai-māsattu pūrvva-pakṣattu  
Puvarpūsamum chatu[r]ddasīyūm Viyāla-kkīlamiyūm=a[na] nāl

"In the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which was a Thursday and the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tai "

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 12th January A.D. 1161, which was the 19th day of the month of Tai (or Makara), and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 19 h 3 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h 10 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h 30 m, after mean sunrise

89 — In the Āpatsahāyēśvara temple at Ālangudi.<sup>2</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pu maruviya Tiru-māḍum . . . . .  
6 kō=Pparakēsaripātmar-āna  
7 Tribhuvanaḥchakkaravattigal  
8 śrī-Rājārājadēvaṟṟu yā-  
9 ṇḍu ājāvaḍu . . . . .  
14 . . . . . Mīna-nāyaṟṟu pū-  
15 rva-pakṣattu saptamiyūm Viyāla-k-  
16 kīlamiyūm peṟṟa Orōṣani-nā-  
17 l

"In the sixth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna "

Between A.D. 1136 and 1299 the only days for which this date would be correct, are Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1159, and Thursday, the 27th February A.D. 1186, neither of which could have fallen in the 6th year of the king's reign. Guided by the results of my calculations, I therefore assume that the month of Mīna has been wrongly quoted in the date instead of the immediately preceding month of Kumbha. For this month the date regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 14th February A.D. 1152, which was the 22nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 17 h 26 m after

<sup>1</sup> No. 9 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893, compare *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 79 and note 4

<sup>2</sup> No. 5 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899

mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Rôhini, by the Brahma-siddhânta and according to Garga during the whole day, and by the equal space system from 6 h 34 m after mean sunrise.

### C.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

90 —In the Pâtâlîśvara temple at Aridvāramangalam.<sup>1</sup>

- 1    . . . [cha]kkaravattigal śrī ra<sup>3</sup> Madurai kond aru[ī]ya śrī-Kulō[t]tunga-  
Śōladēva[r\*]kku yāndu 10vadu pattāvadu Ma[ga]ra-nāyarra apara-pasha(ksha)ttu  
pañchamiyum Śevvā[y\*]-kkīlamaiyum perra Uttaratādī-nāl

“In the 10th — tenth — year (of the reign) of the emperor [of the three worlds], the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong. As in the dates of the inscriptions Nos 480 and 604 of my *Southern Inst*, either the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhadrapadā has been quoted erroneously instead of Uttara-Phalgunī, or the second fortnight instead of the first. My calculation has shown that really the latter is the case.

The intended day undoubtedly is Tuesday, the 5th January A D 1188, which was the 11th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the *bright* half (of Māgha) ended 19 h 42 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā, by the Brahma-siddhânta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 5 h 55 m. after mean sunrise

91 —In the Arunāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasta [ī\*]  
2 Tirubuvanavi(vi)radēvaṛku yāndu 35va[du] . . . . .  
3 M[ī]duna-nāyarra eṭṭān=diyaḍiyum A[nu]lamum perra tiru-Nā[ya]rṛu-  
kkīlamai-nāl.

“In the 35th year (of the reign) of Tribhuvanaviradēva,—on a sacred Sunday which corresponded to (the day of) Anurādhā and to the eighth solar day of the month of Mithuna.”

The date should fall in A.D 1213. In this year the Mithuna-samkrānti took place 3 h. 1 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 26th May, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna. The 8th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 2nd June A D 1213; and on this day the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the Brahma-siddhânta for 22 h 20 m, and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h 17 m., after mean sunrise

92.—In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalānṇuḷ.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasta śr[ī] [ī\*]  
2 T[ī]bhuvanachchakkara[va]tt[ī]ga[l] Maduraiyum ī[ā]-  
3 mum Karuvānum Pā[n]ḍyanai mudī-ttalaiy[u]-  
4 n=goṇḍ-aru[h] vīrar=abhishēkamum vi-  
5 jayar=abhishēkam[um] paṇṇi-a[ī]ya śrī-Tur-  
6 [b]uva[na]v[īra]dēvaṛku yā[n]du mu[p]pat[t]āṛā-

<sup>1</sup> No 611 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>2</sup> The beginning of the inscription is built in

<sup>3</sup> Cancel the syllables *śrī ra*.

<sup>4</sup> No 657 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>5</sup> No 631 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

- 7 vadu Mēsha-nāyar[ru] pū[rva]-pakshattu  
 8 tri(tri)tiyaikum Tīngal-ki[lam]aiyum peṭ-  
 9 ra Rōśani-nāl

"In the thirty-sixth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pandya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,— on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 14th April A D 1214, which was the 21st day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha, i.e. the *akshaya-tritīyā*) ended 19 h 29 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h 27 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 47 m, after mean sunrise

93 — In the Kailāsanātha temple at Kalappāl<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tribhuvanachchakravattiga[l Majdhurayum Īlamun-Garuvūru[m]  
 Pāndiyāṇ mudī-ttaliyūn-gondu [vi]rar-abhishēkamum vijai[ya]r-abhi[sh]ē-  
 2 kamu[m] paṇṇiy-aruliya śrī-Tri[bhū]va[ṇa]viradēvaṅku yāndu 37du  
 Vri(vri)schika-nāyar[ru] pū[rva]-pakshattu [cha]ta(tu)[r]dda[su]yūn=Dingal-  
 kkalamaiyū[m] peṭṭa  
 3 Kārttigai-nal

"In the 37th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pandya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,— on the day of Krittikā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vriśchika "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th November A D 1214, which was the 21st day of the month of Vriśchika, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Mārgaśīrsha) commenced about sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* was Krittikā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h 50 m, according to Garga for 13 h 8 m, and by the equal space system from 0 h 39 m, after mean sunrise

94 — In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅjūli.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti [śrī][||\*] Tirib[ū]vaṇachchak[k]rava[r]ttigal Madurai[yum] Īlamum Karuvūrum  
 Pāndiyāṇai mudī-ttaliyūm kondu virar-abhishē[ka]mmum<sup>3</sup> vijayar=  
 abhishēkammum<sup>3</sup> paṇṇi[y-a]ruliya śrī-Tribhuvāṇa[vira]dēvaṅku yāndu 39āvadū  
 Kumba-nāyar[ru] a[pa]ra-pakshattu prathamaiyum [Bu]dan-ki[lam]maiym<sup>4</sup> peṭṭa  
 Magattu nal

"In the 38th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Īlam, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāndya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,— on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 25th January A D 1217, which was the 3rd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 12 h 54 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 11 h 50 m, after mean sunrise

<sup>1</sup> No 659 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>2</sup> No 618 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>3</sup> Read *-abhishēkamum*

<sup>4</sup> Read *-ki[lam]maiym*



## D.—RAJARAJA III.

95 — In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tiruvalañjuli.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Tirubuvanachohakkaravattaga[ī] śrī-Rā[ja\*]rā[ja\*]dōvarkku yāṇḍu eṭṭāvaṇḍin e[ḍuā]m=  
āṇḍu Tul[ā nā]yārṟu apara pakshattu na[vamī]yu[m] Tin-  
2 ga[ī]-kilamai[yum] peṟa Pū[śattu] n[āī]

“In the year opposite the eighth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rā[ja]rā[ja]dēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā.”

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Monday, the 7th October A D 1224, which was the 11th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h 46 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 47 m, after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 14 h 40 m after mean sunrise, was the 8th, not the 9th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) — The result shows that, instead of the word na[vamī]yu[m] of the original date, we ought to read *ashṭamīyum*.

96 — In the Arunāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [ī\*] Tirubuvanachchakkaravatt[ī]gaī śrī-Iājaijadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu  
32vaḍu Kumba-nāyārṟu pū[rva]-pakshattu tu[vāda]śiyum Vel[h]-kk[ī]lamai-  
yum peṟa Punai[p]ūśattu nāī

“In the 32nd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Friday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date corresponds to Friday, the 7th February A D. 1248, which was the 15th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 12th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 21 h 23 m, while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m, and by the Brahma siddhānta for 13 h 8 m, after mean sunrise

97 — In the Arunāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti[ī] śrī[ī] [ī\*] T[ī]ribuvanachchakkaravatt[ī]gaī śrī-Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu  
32vaḍu Mēsha-nāy[ī]rṟu apara-pakshattu trayōdaś[ī]yum Budan-k[ī]lamaiyum  
peṟa Irēba(va)d[ī]-nāī.

“In the 32nd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd April A D. 1248, which was the 29th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) commenced 6 h 40 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 21 h 1 m, after mean sunrise

## E — RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

98 — In the Prēmapuriśvara temple at Anbil.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 . . . . . T[ī]r[ī]bu[n]nachchakkaravatt[ī]gaī śrī[ī]-Irā[śā]ṇḍura-  
ś[ā]dēva[r]kkku yāṇḍu 4vaḍu Kann[ī]-nāyārṟu pū[rva]-pakshattu pañchamīyum  
Nāy[ī]rṟu-kk[ī]lamaiyum peṟa A[ni]lattu nāī[ī]

<sup>1</sup> No 629 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902<sup>2</sup> No 491 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902<sup>3</sup> No 503 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902<sup>4</sup> No. 596 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

"In the 4th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā "

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 12th September A D 1249, which was the 16th day of the month of Kanyā, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Āsvina) commenced 1 h 42 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Anurādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h 59 m, and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h 56 m., after mean sunrise

99.—In the Sākshināthasvāmīn temple at Avalivanallūr<sup>1</sup>

- 1 . . . Tiribu[va]ṇasakkara[va]-
- 2 ttiḡal śr[i]-Iraśēndura-Ś[ō]-
- 3 laḍva[r\*]kku yāndu 22[va]ḍu
- 4 Mēla-nāyayru apara-pakshattu
- 5 de(da)śam[ī]yum Budan kīlamiyūm [p]e-
- 6 yra [Śa]ḍai[yattu] n[a]l

"In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha "

The date will be expected to fall in A.D 1267 or 1268 It actually corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th April A.D. 1267, which was the 26th day of the month of Mesha, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaisākha) ended 13 h 40 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 4 h 36 m, after mean sunrise

This result reduces the time<sup>2</sup> during which Rājendra-Chōla III must have commenced to reign to the period between approximately the 21st March and the 20th April A D. 1248

#### F.—TRIBHUVANAVIRA-CHOLA.

100 — In the Arunāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śri [i]\* T[r]ibhuvanavira-Śōladēvaṇku yāndu llāvaḍu
- 2 Chitrabhānu-varushattu Simha-nāyayru apara-pakshattu la-
- 3 ptiyūm Ve[l]l-kīlamiyūm perṇa Uroṣani-nā-
- 4 l

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of Tribhuvanavira-Chōladēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Friday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha of the year Chitrabhānu "

If the Tribhuvanavira-Chōladēva of this date were identical with Kulōttunga-Chōla III who bears the name Tribhuvanavīradēva, the date would fall in A D 1188, but for that year it is in every respect incorrect. Between A.D 1000 and 1500 the only day for which the date is correct is Friday, the 23rd August A D 1342 This day by the southern luni-solar system fell in the Jovian year Chitrabhānu (Śaka-samvat 1264 expired) It was the 26th day of the month of Simha, and on it the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 10 h 8 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h 42 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h 3 m., after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> No 605 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol VII p 176

<sup>3</sup> No. 522 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

If correctly-recorded, the date would prove that there was a king or chief Tribhuvanavira-Chôla who commenced to reign between approximately the 24th August A.D. 1331 and the 23rd August A.D. 1332 (in Śaka-samvat 1253-54).

No 2.—TIRUVADI INSCRIPTION OF RAVIVARMAN,  
A.D. 1313

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription (No. 34 of 1903) is engraved on the south wall of the Virattānēśvara shrine at Tiruvadi near Panrutti in the Cuddalore taluka of the South Arcot district. It consists of a passage in the Sanskrit language and the Grantha alphabet, and of a sentence in the Tamil language and alphabet.

The Sanskrit portion (ll 1-3) is identical with the first four lines of the Ranganātha inscription of Ravivarman, which has been published and translated by Professor Kielhorn,<sup>1</sup> as far as the word *Kulaśēkharadēva*. The Tamil portion (l 3 f) records that Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśēkharadēva bathed and repaired the central shrine of the Tiruvirattānam temple at Tiruvadigar<sup>2</sup> in the fourth year of his reign, the Kaliyuga year 4414 and the Śa[ka] year 1235, on the day of Rôhuni, Saturday, the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of Makara.

Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that this date corresponds to Saturday, the 20th December A.D. 1313, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6h 14 m, and the *nakshatra* was Rôhini for about 21 hours, after mean sunrise.

In verse 4 of the Arulāla-Perumāl inscription of the same king we are told that he stayed at Kāñchi in his fourth year.<sup>3</sup> The subjoined inscription is dated in the same year, and adds the information that this year corresponded to A.D. 1313.

TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti śri-Jayasi[m]ha ity-abhihitas-Sômanvay-ôttamsako rāj-āsīd-īha Kēralēshu  
vishayê nāthô Yadu-kshmābhritam || jātô-smād-Raviva[r]mma-bhūpatir=  
Um[ā]dēvyām kumārās-śivād-dēhavyāpya-Śakābda-bhāḥ| samayê dēh-iva  
vītô ra[sā]h ८ [1\*] Kshayan-nitvā sô-yam kali-bala[m-iv-ār]āta-nivaha[n̄]=  
ja[ra]śrivat kritvā nija-sahacharim Pāndya-tanayām || trayastriṃśad-va[r]jshô  
yasa i[va] yayan Kēraḷa-padam(dam) raraksha avam rāshtra[n-na]garam-iva  
Kōlambam-adh[i]pah ८ [2\*] [Ji]tvā Samgrāmādhirô nripatir-adhira[nā]m(ṇam)  
vidvisham(śham) Vira-Pāndyam(ndyam) kritv-āsau Pāndya-Chôḷān-naya iva  
tanum[n]n Kēralēbhyô-py-adhī[n]ān || shatcha-
- 2 tvātriṃśad-abdas-tata-bhuvī mukutan-dhārāyan=Vēgavatyāḥ kridām samhāsana-sthās-  
churam-akrita mahi-kirtti-vāni-ramābhūh ८ [3\*] Â Mōḥr-â Malayād-â  
pūrvād-â cha pāschimād-ācha[i]āt || Yadukula-sēkhara ēsha kshônir  
Kulaśēkharas-svayam bubhujê || ८ [4\*] ८ Svasti śri [i] Chandrak[ula-  
mangalā]piādīpa || Yādava-Nārāyana || Kēraladēśa-punyaparināma || Nāmāntara-  
Kainṇa || Kūpaka-[s]arvabhauma || Kulaśikhari-pratishthāpita-Garudaddhvaja ||  
Kōlamba-puravai-ādhisvarā [i] Sri-Patma(dma)nābha-padakamala paramārādhaka [i]  
Prapatarāja-pratishthāchuryya || Vīmatarāja-bandikāra || Dharmmatarn-  
mūlala[n̄da] || Satga(ḍga)n-ālamkāra || [Cha]tashshaṣṭi-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol IV p 149

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol IV p 147

<sup>3</sup> For this ancient name of Tiruvadi see above, Vol VII p 162

<sup>4</sup> From an inked estampage prepared by Mr G Venkoba Rao.

- 3 kalā-va[lla]bha || Dakshina-Bhōjarāja | Sa[m]grāmadhira || Mahārājādhirāja-  
paramēśvara || Jayasimhadēva-nandana || Ravivarmma-mahārāja || [Ḷ] Śrī  
[Ḷ] Śrī-Kulaśēkharadēva || [Ḷ] [I]vaṅku yāndu nālāvadu Kaliyuga-varsham  
4414 idil nīngiya Śa . . . 35<sup>1</sup> idan mēl sellāniṅṇa Magara-  
nāyarṇu pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum Śaṇi-kk[la]m[aiyum] p[e]ṇṇa  
Rōsan[i]-nāl Tīruvad[ig]ai udaiyār Tīru[vira]ttānam-udaiya nāyaṇār kōyil  
Vāṇa-Kaiyilāya-Tīrumalai stūpi-paryyantamāga tūrumaṇṇamum panni  
[pu]ṇachchāranai tīrukkallum ś[āt]ti-  
4 y-arul[i]ṇār Raviva[r]mma-ma[h]ārā[ja]r-āṇa perumāl Kulaśēgaradēvar [Ḷ] Svasti  
śrī [Ḷ]

#### TRANSLATION OF THE TAMIL PORTION.

(Line 3) (In) the fourth year of this (*king*),—the Kaliyuga year 4414,—the Śa[ka] year 12]35 separated from this,<sup>2</sup>—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month Makara current after this (*Śaka year*),—Ravivarma-Mahārāja *alias* the lord Kulaśēkharadēva was pleased to bathe up to the pinnacle the Vāṇa-Kaiyilāya-Tīrumalai<sup>3</sup> (in) the temple of the lord of Tiruvirattānam, the god of Tiruvadigai, and to fix the stones which were bulging out Hail! Prosperity!

#### No 3 — MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VEMA,

A D 1345

By J RAMAIA, B A, B L

This inscription is engraved on five copper-plates which are deposited in the Madras Museum, and I edit it from ink-impressions kindly furnished to me by Prof Hultzsch. The plates are engraved on both sides, except the first plate which is engraved on one side only. The ring and seal are missing. The letters are bold and legible. The characters are of the old Telugu type. The language is Sanskrit, except the portion describing the boundaries of the village of Ātukūru, which is in Telugu.

The inscription opens with an invocation to the boar-incarnation of Vishnu (verse 1), whose feet gave birth to the fourth caste (v 2). In that caste was born Vēmaya, the founder of a family (*vamsa-kartā*, v 3). To him was born the great hero Kōmatī-Prōla (v 4), whose wife was Annemāmbā (v 5). To Kōmatī-Prōla, Annemāmbā bore five sons — Mācha, Vēma, Doddaya, Annaya and Mallaya (v 6). Of these Vēma ruled the earth (v 8). He was the torrent of a mighty river to the trees which were rebellious neighbouring kings, the full-moon to the water-lilies which were friendly kings, the wind to the cotton which was the mad *manne* chiefs,<sup>4</sup> a very Agastya to the ocean which was the Mlēchchhas<sup>5</sup> (v 9), and bore the *biruda* Rāyachēkōluganda (v. 10). King Vēma restored all the *agrahāras* of Brāhmanas, which had been taken away by the wicked Mlēchchha kings from (the time of) king Vira-Budra of the Kākati-vamśa (v 12). King Vēma, surnamed Śrī-Pallava-Trinētra, was a bee on the lotus-flowers which were the feet of the preceptor named Ghōderāya-Gaṅga<sup>6</sup> (v 13). Vēma's

<sup>1</sup> Restore Śakābdam 1235

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of this expression is perhaps 'separately stated along with this (Kaliyuga year)'

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* 'the holy mountain of the heavenly Kailāsa'. This seems to have been the name of the central shrine in the Tiruvirattānam temple.

<sup>4</sup> The reference seems to be to the hill-chiefs whom Vēma vanquished.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* the Muhammadans.

<sup>6</sup> This person seems to have been the family *Guru* of the Reddis. He is referred to in Śrīnātha's *Bhāmakhanda* and *Kāśikhanda* as Ghōderāya-Bhūmaya-Guru and Ghorarāya Bhūmēśvara, respectively.

capital was the city of Addanki in the country of Pūṅgi, which extended from the eastern slopes of Śrīgiri<sup>1</sup> to the eastern sea<sup>2</sup> on both sides of the river Kuṇḍi (vv. 14 and 15). At an eclipse of the moon on Chaitrī<sup>3</sup> in the Śāka year counted by the mountains (7), the seasons (6) and the suns (12),—in figures 1267,—in the presence of Māndūka-Śambhu,<sup>4</sup> king Vēma gave as an *agrahāra* to several Brāhmanas the village of Âtukūru, which was situated on the northern bank of the river Kṛishnā, and which was renamed Vēmapuram after the donor (vv. 17 and 18). After this comes a list of the donees, which is followed by a detailed account of the boundaries of Âtukūru,—boundaries which were entirely of a temporary nature, and which must have disappeared centuries ago. The inscription ends with the usual imprecatory verses and the signature *Śrī-Pallava-Trinētra* (line 87).

This is the earliest inscription of the Reddi dynasty as yet discovered. There is another inscription of Vēma at Amarāvati, also dated in the Śāka year 1267,<sup>5</sup> but in the month of Kārttika. The Śāka year quoted in the subjoined inscription was the expired and not the current year, and the date of the grant corresponds to Friday, the 18th March A.D. 1345, on which date there was, according to Professor Kiolhorn, "a total eclipse of the moon from 18 h. 49 m. to 22 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India." In the Amarāvati inscription the corresponding cyclo year is given as Pārthiva.

I have not met with the name of Pūṅgi elsewhere and cannot say whether it has anything to do with Ongole, which is a contraction of Vangavōlu—the town of Vanga. It would perhaps be more fanciful to derive the word from Pāka in Pākanādu. The country of Pūṅgi comprised parts of the modern districts of Kurnool, Nellore and Kistna. The village Âtukūru I identify with Gani-Âtukūru—west of Bezvāda. Addanki is the well-known village of that name in the Ongole tāluka of the Nellore district and is the head-quarters of a Deputy Tahsildar. The river Kuṇḍi is the Gundlakamma of the map and is called Brahma-Kuṇḍi and Kuṇḍi-Prabha in the Amarāvati inscription.

All the accounts hitherto published of the genealogy of the Reddi chiefs open with Kōmati-Prōla. This inscription gives us the name of Prōla's father Vēma, after whom his illustrious grandson was named. This account is corroborated by the Telugu *Harivamsam*, which was dedicated to Vēma, the donor of the present grant. In this book Vēma is called indiscriminately Vēma, Kōmati-Vēma, Prōlaya-Vēma, or Annama-Vēma. The second and third names are combinations of Vēma's own name with those of his father, and the last name he derived from his mother. From the *Harivamsam* we learn that Prōla's wife Annamā was the daughter of Dodda, who had three sons, viz. Pōta, Chitta and Nāga. Chitta had a son named Nāka who is said to have been a very dear friend of Vēma. He is perhaps identical with Nellanūka, who married Vēma's daughter Vēmasāni.<sup>6</sup> From the same book we learn that Vēma's younger brother Malla took Mōtupalli<sup>7</sup>—from whom it is not stated—and that he was of great help to Vēma. The latter statement derives corroboration from the Amarāvati inscription already referred to, which says that Vēma fixed five golden pots on the top of the temple of Amarēśvara for the eternal benefit (*punya*) of his younger brother Mallā-Reddi. Before taking leave of the *Harivamsam*, it may be pointed out that that book mentions only two sons of Vēma, viz. Pōta (afterwards called Anapōta or Anavōta) and Kōmati. Anavēma, Doddāmbikā and Vēmasāni were apparently not yet born when the *Harivamsam* was composed, and Kōmati probably died while yet a boy.

<sup>1</sup> Śrīśailam in the Kurnool district

<sup>2</sup> The Bay of Bengal.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the full moon day in the month of Chaitra.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. at the Śiva temple called Māndūkēśvara

<sup>5</sup> No. 268 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol. III p. 287, and the genealogical tree published in the *Report on Epigraphy* for 1899-1900

<sup>7</sup> In the Bāpatla tāluka of the Kistna district

The statement in the inscription that Vēma restored the *agrahāras* wrested by the Muhammadans from Pratāparudra is, so far as I am aware, the only epigraphical reference as yet discovered to the Muhammadan conquest of Warangal. It also shows, as has been already pointed out by Mr V. Venkayya in his *Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900*, that the Reddis were the political successors of the Kākatiyas. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence for determining exactly when the Reddis came into power. The account of the Kākatiya dynasty compiled for Colonel Colin Mackenzie and deposited in the Madras Library of Oriental Manuscripts says that Pratāparudra's generals were all Padmanayakas or Velamas, and this is confirmed by the poem entitled *Velugōtivarī Vamsāvali*, i.e. 'Genealogy of the Velugōti family (of Venkatagiri).' The only reference made by the former book to the Reddis is a short passage in which one Tērāla-Būchā-Reddi is said to have fought for Pratāparudra in his final battle against the Muhammadans. It is not known whether this Būchā-Reddi had anything to do with the Reddis of Kondavīdu.

According to the traditional history of Kondavīdu preserved in the *Kondavīdu Dandakavilī*, the Reddis became suddenly rich in the time of one Donti Ailāda-Reddi, who robbed a man named Vēma of the Kōmatī caste, who was his guest, of a piece of philosopher's stone (*sparśavēdi*). When the stone in securing which he had spent the best part of his life, was stolen, the Kōmatī, the book says died of broken heart, and on his death-bed he enjoined that his name should be perpetuated in the family of the Reddis, and that the wealth obtained through the stone should be spent on charity. The account proceeds to state that, with the money thus obtained, Pōlaya-Vēma raised troops, seized Dharanikōta and the neighbouring country from the officers of Pratāparudra, and subsequently established himself at Kondavīdu. It is difficult to say what truth there is in this story. It may have been suggested by the fact that Kōmatī was a recognised name of several members of the family. From Śrinātha's *Haravilāsam* we learn that a Kōmatī named Avāchi-Dēvaya, son of Pāvāni, a great merchant of Śūbhavikramapattana (Nellore), was the chief source of support (*prāpu*) to Vēma. Avāchi-Dēvaya's son Tippa, to whom the book was dedicated, was also a great merchant and was purveyor to Kumārāgiri-Reddi. It would seem that Avāchi-Dēva supplied Vēma with the sinews of war and thereby enabled him to found and extend his kingdom, and that his descendants rendered similar assistance to the descendants of Vēma.

The original sphere of influence of the Reddis was Pākāśādu or Pūngidēśa. It may be that they originally governed this province subject to the authority of the kings of Warangal, though no proof of it exists. When the power of the Kākatiyas began to decline, the Reddis became independent and made Addanki their capital. It seems to have been the fashion with the Reddis to have a surname for each. Vēma signed as Pallavatrīnētra, Kumārāgiri was Vasantarāja, and Kōmatī-Vēma was Viranārāyana.

According to the *Dandakavilī*, Vēma was the first independent Reddi chief, and there is no evidence that any of his predecessors was such. The present inscription shows that Vēma himself extended his dominions at least up to the northern bank of the Krishnā, while the Amarāvati inscription shows that his territories extended up to the banks of the Godāvarī.<sup>1</sup> There are no means of knowing when the capital was removed from Addanki to Kondavīdu. That this was not done prior to the Śaka year 1283 is clear from the Amarāvati inscription of that year,<sup>2</sup> which refers to Addanki as the capital. This inscription also shows that Vēma, son of Malla, was at that time governor of Dharanikōta or Dhānyavāti under Anapōtā-Reddi. I

<sup>1</sup> He is described as having granted to Brāhmanas villages on both sides of the Brāhmakundī, the Krishnā and the Godāvarī, and also in the country between these rivers (*Brāhmakundī-Krishnavatī-Godāvarī-māhanadī-tatadraya-tanmadhyadēśīn-dātī-śrēṣṭhī-āgrahāra*)

<sup>2</sup> No 253 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897

presume that Kopḍavidu did not become the capital till the time of Anavêma, and that, prior to this, Dharanikôta was the chief seat of Reddi power in what is now the Kistna district. The fact of Vêma building steps leading to the temples at Śrīsaṁlūm and Abôbalam is not mentioned in this inscription, though it is mentioned in the Amarāvati one. This omission can hardly be regarded as due to oversight, seeing that the act was considered so meritorious as to be mentioned in almost all the subsequent inscriptions of this dynasty. A more probable explanation seems to be, that the work was not finished when this inscription was composed.

Vêma was succeeded by his eldest son Anapôta, and he by his younger brother Anavêma. Both these kings were, according to the *Danḍakavilī*, wise and strong rulers, and they consolidated the kingdom founded by their father. In the *Velugôṭṭvārī Vamśāvalī*, Anapotanīdu and Mādānīdu, sons of Singa who was a general of Pratāparudra, claim to have defeated Anapôta-Reddi at Dharanikôta about the Śaka year 1283, which is also the year of an inscription at Amarāvati,<sup>1</sup> in which Anapôta's minister is referred to.<sup>2</sup> I know only of two inscriptions of the time of Anavêma, both dated in Śaka 1299 (expired). One of them is at Drākshārāma in the Gôḍāvarī district,<sup>3</sup> and the other on a stone pillar in the compound of the temple of Agastyēśvara at the junction of the Mūsi and the Kṛishṇā in the village of Vāḍapalli in the Miryālagūdem tāluka of the Nallagonda district in the Nizām's dominions. The poet Śrinātha seems to have first flourished at the court of Anavêma, in whose praise there are several verses extant.

On the demise of Anavêma, the crown passed on to Anapôta's son Kumāragiri, who, according to the *Danḍakavilī*, was an unpopular and wicked prince. From the *Haravilāsam* we learn that Kumāragiri was a contemporary of Harihara II of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1379-1399) and of the Bahmani king Firūz Shāh (A.D. 1397-1422). Tippa, to whom the book was dedicated, is said to have had the monopoly of supplying perfumes and spices for the great annual spring-festival (*vasantōtsava*) which Kumāragiri seems to have instituted. It is interesting to note that, at this period, the Telugu country had extensive trade relations—not only with other parts of India, but also with foreign countries. For, Tippa is said to have imported camphor trees from the Panjāb, golden spicots (*bangaru-molaka*) from Jālanogī,<sup>4</sup> elephants from Simhala (Ceylon), horses from Hurumāñji (Ormuz or Persia), essence (*drava*) of civet (*sankumada*) from Gôva (Goa), pearls from Āpaga,<sup>5</sup> musk from Chōtaugi,<sup>6</sup> and silk cloths from China. It was in the time of Kumāragiri that the kingdom was divided into two and the Eastern part with Rajahmundry as capital was given to his brother-in-law and minister Kātaya-Vêma.<sup>7</sup> This separation seems to have been effected not later than the Śaka year 1308, for we have inscriptions of Kātaya-Vêma issued in that year.<sup>8</sup>

Kumāragiri seems to have been the last of Vêma's branch of the family, and on his death the crown passed to Vêma or Peda-Kômatī-Vêma, grandson of Vêma's elder brother Macha. I know of two inscriptions of Kômatī-Vêma, one dated in the Śaka year 1331<sup>9</sup> and the other in 1334. The latter is a copper-plate inscription recently sent to the Collector of Kistna by the Tahsildar of Guntūr. Both the inscriptions purport to have been composed by Śrinātha, who is described as the *Vidyādhipatī* to Kômatī-Vêma. The *Danḍakavilī* says that Kômatī-Vêma was a wise prince and walked in the ways of Anavêma, and it proceeds to state that Kômatī-Vêma was succeeded by his younger brother Bācha-Vêma, who was the last of the dynasty. In

<sup>1</sup> No. 253 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription of Anapôta dated in the Śaka year 1281 is at Mōṭupalli.

<sup>3</sup> No. 505 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893.

<sup>4</sup> I am not able to identify these places.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 319.

<sup>6</sup> No. 277 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

<sup>7</sup> No. 162 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

the village of Aminâbâd in the Sattenapalli tâluka of the Kistna district there is an inscription<sup>1</sup> of Râcha-Vêma, son of Vêma, who is said to have, in the year Manmatha corresponding to the Śaka year 1337 (expired), excavated a channel to feed the tank called Santâna-Sâgara, which had been dug by his mother Sûrâmbâ. We know from the Phirangipuram inscription<sup>2</sup> that Peda-Kômatî-Vêma's wife Sûrâmbâ had a tank excavated and called it Santâna-Sâgara. The two inscriptions are about two miles distant from each other, and they, no doubt, refer to the same tank. This establishes the fact that Peda-Kômatî's successor Râcha was his son and not his brother, and the same conclusion is pointed to by the *Velugôṭṭvârî Vamṣâvalî*. This book says that Mâcha (who was the only brother Peda-Kômatî-Vêma seems to have had), son of Kômatî, was killed in battle by Pina-Vêdagiri or Kumâra-Vêdagiri, great-grandson of Mâdânîdu who had fought with Anapôta-Reddî at Dharanikota, and that Mâcha's elder brother Vêma killed Pina-Vêdagiri and was himself killed by Pina-Vêdagiri's younger brother Linga. When Peda-Kômatî-Vêma died, he had, therefore, no brother to succeed him.

The *Dandakavilî* says that the Reddîs of Kondavîdu ruled for 100 years and distributes the period as follows —

Pôlaya-Vêma or Vêma, Śaka 1242 to 1253 (both years inclusive)  
 Anapôta, Śaka 1253-1283.  
 Anavêma, Śaka 1284-1295  
 Kumâragiri, Śaka 1296-1309.  
 Peda-Kômatî-Vêma, Śaka 1310-1337  
 Râcha-Vêma, Śaka 1338-1341

This distribution conflicts with the dates furnished by some of the inscriptions quoted above. Taking 100 years as the approximate total of the reigns of the six Reddî chiefs, I would redistribute it as follows, so as to make the distribution accord with the latest information available on the subject —

Pôlaya-Vêma or Vêma, Śaka 1242-1271 (30 years)  
 Anapôta, Śaka 1272-1283 (12 years).  
 Anavêma, Śaka 1284-1299 (16 years)  
 Kumâragiri, Śaka 1300-1320 (21 years)  
 Peda-Kômatî-Vêma, Śaka 1321-1337 (17 years).  
 Râcha-Vêma, Śaka 1338-1341 (4 years).

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

#### First Plate

- 1 श्रीमत्कोमलनीलनीरजरचिर्लीलावराहचिर नातिप्रौढमृणालकांद-
- 2 ऋलसद्द्राकुरः पातु वः । यस्मिन्नुद्दहति क्रमेण विगळत्यायोधिनीलांशु-
- 3 का रागादार्द्रतनूरिव क्षणमभूदामोदिनी मेदिनी । [१\*] आसीत्कोस्तु[भर]-  
 लमं-
- 4 डिततनोर्देवस्य लक्ष्मीपतेः पादात्पद्मनिभत्विषो भगवती गंगीव पुण्योदया ।
- 5 आकल्पस्थिरजीवना त्रिजगतीसतारणोद्योगिनी पर्यायेण चतुर्थ-

<sup>1</sup> This inscription consists of a Telugu verse in the Sisa metre and is engraved on the western side of a hillock named Pullaribôdu, north east of Aminâbâd which adjoins Phirangipuram. At the end of the verse are the words *Śrindîtha kṛitî*, i.e. 'Śrinatha's composition'.

<sup>2</sup> No 162 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1899.

<sup>3</sup> From ink impressions.



- 6 वर्णविततिर्गाभीर्यधैर्यप्रसूः । [२\*] तदंशाव्यौ सकलजनतानेवस-  
 7 पूर्णचन्द्रो जात[ः] कीर्तिप्रभवसदनं वेमयो वंशकर्ता ॥ यस्योदये सूर-<sup>१</sup>  
 8 ति सततं भास्वतीव प्रतापे नासीत्कठेष्वरिमृगदृशां हारतारा[व]क्रिन्धीः  
 [॥ ३\*] तेना-  
 9 जनि द्विजनिकायहितावतार[ः]\* श्रेयान्गुणैस्तनुभृता मरुतामिवेदः । यो-  
 10 रात्रणीर्जगति कीमटिप्रोलनामा<sup>२</sup> प्रत्यर्थिभूपतिभुजंगविजंगराजः । [४\*]

*Second Plate, First Side.*

- 11 शभोरद्विस्तुतेव पक्वजभुवो देवी यथा भारती विष्णोस्त्रागरसभवेव सरितां प-  
 12 त्पूर्यथा जाह्नवी । सूर्यस्येव सुवर्चला शशभृतः पुण्या यथा रोहिणी रुद्रा  
 13 कीमटिप्रोलयस्य<sup>३</sup> सदृशो भार्यान्नेमावा सती । [५\*] उत्साहाच्चिदियौकसां  
 सुरत-  
 14 रुन् क्षीरोर्मिरेखा यथा पुत्रान्कीमटिप्रोलयाद्गुणवती<sup>४</sup> सासूत पच क्र-  
 15 मात् । अग्रे माचनृपालसुव्रतमथ श्रीवेमपृथ्वीपतिं पद्याद्दोड्डयभू-  
 16 पमन्नयनृपं श्रीमल्लयक्ष्मापति । [६\*] सत्येन सत्येन<sup>५</sup> पराक्रमेण रूपेण  
 17 बुध्या<sup>६</sup> च विराजतस्तान् । त्राणाय भूयोपि भुवोवतीर्णान्नूनं जनीमन्यत  
 18 पाण्डुपुत्रान् । [७\*] अथ सकलबुधानामाश्रयः पालनाय चितितलमवती-  
 19 र्णः कसमर्हीव देवः । कलिसमयविदृष्यद्भ्युभूपान्निरस्यन्वहति सकल-  
 20 पृथ्वीं वेमयक्षोणिपालः । [८\*] दृष्टानंतरराजभूरुहमहासोतीवहा-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 21 निर्भरौ मैत्रीसंगतराजकैरववनीसंपूर्णचन्द्रोदयः । मायन्मन्नेनृपा-  
 22 लतूलपवनी स्नेच्छाविकुभोजवः श्रीमान् कीमटिवेमभूपतिरसौ वीरः  
 23 कथं वर्णयति । [९\*] रणशिरसि विचित्र रायचेकोलुगडप्रकटतरुक्षपाणक्षु-  
 24 धनगात्राः क्षणेन । सपदि वियति भिदंत्युद्धतास्तत्रतापप्रतिकृतिमिनधिव  
 25 प्रत्यनीकचित्तीन्द्राः । [१०\*] नित्यं तारुण्यदर्पसुरितकुचभरोदारदृन्दा-  
 26 रनारीहेलासचारलीलासुभगसुरपुरप्रांगणरोहणा-  
 27 य । आ विंशद्विजानामतिकरुणतया येन पूर्वापराणां [नित्यं]<sup>७</sup> दा-  
 28 नातिदानव्रतसुकृतमहादाननिश्रेणिशिल्पं । [११\*] श्रीमत्काकोतवशशेखरमणे-  
 29 रा वीररुद्रानृपात्पापैस्तेच्छनराधिपैरपहृता विप्रायहाराः कलौ । सर्वे ये-  
 30 न समुद्धृतास्तमनघं श्रीवेमपृथ्वीपतिं वीरं विष्णुपराक्रम कथम-

<sup>१</sup> Read स्फुरति

<sup>२</sup> The metro requires a single instead of a double consonant after टि.

<sup>३</sup> Read सत्येन

<sup>४</sup> Read बुध्या.

<sup>५</sup> Read एण.

<sup>६</sup> Read स्फुरितं

<sup>७</sup> Read व्यक्त ?

<sup>८</sup> Read श्रीमत्काकति.

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 31 [हो] स्तोतुं समर्था जनाः । [१२\*] श्रीपक्षवचिनेचांकी धन्यो वेममही-  
पतिः । श्रीघोडे-
- 32 रायगंगाख्यगुरुपादाब्जद्वदः । [१३\*] आस्ते श्रीगिरिपूर्वपादनिकटादा  
पू[र्वपा]-
- 33 धोनिधेदेशः कुंडितरगिणीसुभयत[\*] श्रीपूंगिनामांकितः । तस्मिन् भासु-
- 34 रसौधगोपुरवती नित्योत्सवालकृता नदत्पौरजना विभाति नितरामहकिना-
- 35 मा<sup>१</sup> पुरी । [१४\*] उदंडमंडलिकमंडलकालदडदोईडविक्रमविनिर्जि-
- 36 तवैरिलोकः । सोयं विभर्त्ति नगरीं नगराजधीर[\*] श्रीवेमभूपतिरिमा<sup>२</sup>
- 37 जगनोव्वगंडः । [१५\*] सप्तसंतानवत्यासीन्मही वेमविभोरिति । स्र्जयेव  
धृताः कीर्त्या
- 38 गर्भे लोकाश्चतुर्दश । [१६\*] श्री शकान्दे कुधरर्तुभानु १२६७ गणितं  
चैच्यां श-
- 39 शांके तमोग्रस्ते विप्रगणाय वेमनृपतिर्मांडूकशंभोः पुरः । प्राट-
- 40 त्त स्फुटमातुकूचमनघस्त्रैश्वर्यभोगाष्टकं श्रीकृष्णोत्तरकूलसंस्थम-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 41 तुलं ग्रामं महात्रेयसे । [१७\*] स्वनामचिह्नित कृत्वा दत्तो वेमम[ही-  
भु]जा । त्रै-
- 42 हो भात्यग्रहाराणां ग्रामो वेमपुराद्वयः । [१८\*] श्री

## No 4.—SRAVANA-BELGOLA INSCRIPTION OF IRUGAPA,

A D 1422

By PROFESSOR H LÜDEKE, PH D., ROSTOCK

Transcripts of this inscription in Roman and Kanarese characters, together with an abstract of its contents, have been previously published by Mr Rice<sup>1</sup> My edition is based on excellent inked estampages<sup>2</sup> received from Prof Hultzsch

The inscription is engraved on three faces of a quadrangular pillar behind the image of the Kūshmāndinī-yakshi which is set up in the Brahmadvā-mandapa in front of the Gummata temple on the Vindhya-giri at Śravana-Belgola The inscription begins on the south face Above the writing we find a number of sculptures representing, from the left to the right, beneath two *chauris*, a woman seated with folded hands, a Jina seated with a triple umbrella overhead, and a man seated, with one hand holding a book and the other raised Next come two lines of the

<sup>1</sup> Read °नाची.<sup>2</sup> Read स्फुट°<sup>3</sup> No 7 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1891<sup>4</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line<sup>5</sup> *Inscriptions at Śravana-Belgola*, No 82

inscription, after which we have another row of figures, viz a woman seated with folded hands and having big ear-lobes, a man seated with folded hands and wearing necklaces, and again a female figure seated with folded hands and having big ear-lobes. Then the inscription continues. I am unable to offer any explanation of these sculptures, and I do not even venture to decide whether they have any special reference to the events and persons spoken of in the inscription or not.

The alphabet of the inscription is Kanaresc. The average height of the letters is  $\frac{1}{2}$ ", but the last four lines have been added in characters of about half that size. The writing is beautifully executed. Occasionally the letters are drawn out into more or less ornamental flourishes, compare *śrī* in ll 1 and 3, *jā* in l 21, *ja* in l 36. To avoid a blank at the end of l 31, the sign for *anusvara*, usually a small circle above the line, is enlarged to the size of a full letter. As partly already in inscriptions of the twelfth century A D, medial *ē* is expressed in two ways, either by a sickle-shaped sign with its end slightly curved inward as in *ḍē* in l 3, or by a sign consisting of two arches with their openings turned downward as in *dhē* in l 4. The same two signs appear as parts of the signs for medial *ai* and *ō*. The two forms are used quite promiscuously. *Th*, *cg*, shows the first form in ll 23, 49, 74, 75, 89, the second in ll 7, 34, 77, 96, 111, *ne* the first in ll 8, 40, 42, 58, 60, 61, 62, the second in ll 58, 59, *re* the first in ll 36, 39, 57, 61, 63, the second in ll 101, 110, *ba* the first in l 3, the second in l 8, *va* the first in ll 6, 33, 89, the second in l 71, *mō* the first in l 1, the second in ll 44, 80, 100, *yō* the first in ll 10, 14, 23, 32, 47, 66, 69, the second in ll 31, 109, 110, etc.—The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of some propitious words in the last line, the whole text is in verse. Rare words are *jaghlāḥa*, 'swift-footed,' in l 17, *prakopa*, 'incensed with passion,' in l 33, *dhaṭ*, 'to charge,' apparently meant as the root of the noun *dhātī*, in l 34, *prōllāsāt*, 'shining,' which owes its origin merely to the metric, in l 39, *saustava*, 'praise,' in l 63, *vaikhari*, 'speech,' in l 80.—As regards orthography, it may be mentioned that final *t* is changed into *d* before *j* in *jagad=jagamtaḥ* (l 9) and *-bharat=jagati* (l 15), but the correct *sandhi* is found in *atanōj=jamā-* (l 20). The dental nasal is written instead of the lingual in *varnam* (l 44), *ākarnnanāśhu* (l 59), *karnnār* (l 66), *akarnnār* (l 68) and *-ārnnara-* (l 94). Initial *r* appears as *y* in *Yirugapa-* (ll 12, 61, 105) and initial *r* as *y* in *supūtra yēva* (l 57). The *y* after *j* is dropped in *jāyān* (l 24). *S* is written instead of *ś* in *śrayas* (l 16). The spelling *sullōpī* (l 86) instead of *samlāpī* is according to Dr. Kittel's *Kannadu-English Dictionary* a Kanaresc peculiarity. Occasionally the groups *chchh*, *ddh*, *bbh* are spelt *chhchh*, *dhdh*, *bhbh*, as usual in inscriptions of this class.

After an invocation of the Jaina religion (v 1), the inscription gives in the next 18 verses an account of a certain Irugapa Bukkarāya, who must be identical with Bukka I of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, had a minister Baicha (v 2) or Baichapa (I) (v 3), who had three sons (v 4)—Mangapa, Irugapa (I) and Bukkana (v 5). Mangapa, the eldest of them, who was a follower of the Jaina religion (v 6), was married to Jānaki (v 7). They had two sons, Baichapa (II) (v 8) and Irugapa (II) (v 9), who in vv 12, 13, 14 is called also Irugēśvara and Irugendra. As appears from vv 8 and 16, the two brothers were Jainas like their father. With the exception of Bukkana, all the members of this family are called generals (*dandatara*, *dandanṭi*, *dandanatha*, *dandapati*, *dandapa*, *dandādhipati*, *dandādhiśvara*, *dhanajapati*), and most of the verses devoted to the praise of Irugapa II (9-19) refer in general terms to his military achievements. Twice (vv 10, 11) Irugapa II is given also the title of prince (*śiṣhāpā*), and twice (vv 13, 14), with a strange blending of his two titles, he is even called *dandamipati*.<sup>1</sup>

The family of Irugapa II is partly already known to us from other records. An inscription at Vijayanagara, dated in Saka 1307=A D 1385,<sup>2</sup> mentions, according to Prof. Hultzsch, a certain Chuchā or Chuchapa, the hereditary minister and general of Harihara II, and his

<sup>1</sup> Compare above, Vol. VII p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I No. 152.

son, the general or prince Iruga or Irugapa, who adhered to the doctrine of the Jainas, but as the letters *cha* and *ba* closely resemble each other in the Telugu alphabet, I have no doubt that Chaicha and Chaichapa are merely misread for Bucha and Baichapa.<sup>1</sup> Two other inscriptions in the Jaina temple at Tirupparuttikunru near Conjeeveram, dated in A.D. 1382 and 1387-88 respectively,<sup>2</sup> record some donations by the general or minister Iruga-pa the son of the general Vaichaya<sup>3</sup> and a follower of the Jaina religion. The two persons referred to in these three inscriptions have already been identified by Prof. Hultzsch with Baichapa I and Irugapa I of the present record. If in the Vijayanagara inscription Baichapa is called the minister of Harihara II, the successor of Bukka I, this proves only that he remained in office after the death of his first master.

Verses 20 and 21 are in praise of a Jaina ascetic (*ya'i, yamin*) called Panditārya. In the two following verses (22, 23) a Jaina ascetic of the name of Śrutamuni is praised in very similar terms. There is nothing to show in what relation this Śrutamuni stood to Panditārya. The second group of verses is added to the first quite abruptly, not even one of the common particles being used to mark the transition. Under these circumstances I think it most likely that Panditārya and Śrutamuni are merely different names for the same person, a fact which will not be surprising, if we remember that Jaina monks were in the habit of bearing a surname generally referring to their literary accomplishments. The Śravana-Belgola epitaph of Mallishēna,<sup>4</sup> for instance, furnishes the following parallels: Śrīpālādēva-Traividyā, Hēmasēna-Vidyādhanaṃjaya, Ajitasēna-Vāḍibhasma-Vāḍibhakanthura, Śāntaṇītha-Kavītākānta-Kāntasānti, Padmanābha-Vāḍikōlāhala, Mallishēna-Maladhārin.

The object of the grant is stated in verses 24-26. They record that at Belugula, in the presence of Śrutamuni, the general Irugapa gave away for the eternal enjoyment of the holy Gummatēśvara, the village or *tīrtha* of Belugula, supplied with a grove and a new tank built by Irugapa himself. The donation took place 'while the year Śubhakrit was flourishing, in the month of Kārttika, on the *tīrth* of the slayer of Mura, when the moon had attained increase,' or, in plain language, on Vishnu's 12 the eleventh or twelfth, *tīrth* in the bright half of Kārttika in the cyclic year Śubhakrit. According to Mr. Rice, the Śubhakrit year corresponds to A.D. 1362, but from the dates for Irugapa I quoted above it appears that this is too early, and Prof. Hultzsch has already noticed<sup>5</sup> that the true European equivalent of the year is A.D. 1422. The rest of the date does not admit of verification.

The inscription concludes with two of the ordinary benedictive and imprecatory verses. It is hardly necessary to state that Belugula is Śravana-Belgola itself, and that the holy Gummatēśvara is the Jaina saint whose colossal image rises on the top of the Vindhyagiri to the south of the village.<sup>6</sup>

#### TEXT

##### South Face

- 1 श्रीमत्परमगंभीरस्याद्वादामोघलाङ्कनं [1\*] जी-
- 2 याज्ञैलोक्यनाथस्य शासनं जिनशासनं ॥ [१\*] ◎ ॥ ◎
- 3 श्रीवृक्करायस्य बभूव मंत्री श्रीवैवदडेष्-
- 4 रनामधेय । नीतियेदीया निखिलाभिन्द्या नि:-

<sup>1</sup> The same mistake was made by Mr. Rice in editing the present inscription.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VII p. 115 f.

<sup>3</sup> [This Tamil form proves that Prof. Lüders' reading *Baicha* is correct, for *v* can only correspond to *ś*, and not to *ch* — E. H.]

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 180 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. VII p. 115, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid* p. 108 and Plate

<sup>7</sup> From inked estampages supplied by Prof. Hultzsch.

- 5 शेषयामास विपक्षलोकां ॥ [२\*] दानं चैकथयामि तु-  
 6 ध्वपदवीं गाहेत संतानको वैदग्धीं यदि सा बृहस्यति-  
 7 कथा कुत्रापि संलीयते । क्षांति चेदनपायिर्ना जड-  
 8 तया सृष्ट्येत सर्वसहा स्तोत्रं वैचपदंडनेतुरव-  
 9 नौ शक्यं कवीना कथ ॥ [३\*] तस्मादजायंत जगदजयंतः<sup>१</sup> पु-  
 10 चारुयो भूषितचारुशीलाः । यैर्भूषितो-<sup>२</sup>  
 11 जायत मध्यलोको रत्नैस्त्रिभिर्जैन इवापव-  
 12 र्गः ॥ [४\*] <sup>३</sup>यिरुगपदंडनाथमथ बुक्कणमप्यनु-  
 13 जो स्वमहिमसंपदा विरचयन् सुतरां प्रथि-  
 14 तौ । प्रतिभटकामिनीपृथुपयोधरहारहरो  
 15 महितगुणोभवदजगति<sup>४</sup> मगपदंडपतिः ॥ [५\*] दा[ि]क्ष-  
 16 ण्यप्रथमाष्टदं सुचरितस्यैकात्म्यस्त्यवा-<sup>५</sup>  
 17 गाधारस्ततत वदान्यपदवीसंचारजघाल-  
 18 कः [१\*] धर्मोपपन्नरुः <sup>६</sup>क्ष्माकुलगृह सौजन्यसक्ते-  
 19 तभूः कीर्ति मगपदडपोयमतनो-  
 20 ज्जैनागमानुव्रतः ॥ [६\*] जानकीत्यभवदस्य गेहिनी  
 21 चारुशीलगुणभूषणोज्ज्वला<sup>७</sup> । जा-  
 22 नकीव तनुवृत्तमध्यमा राघवस्य रमणी-  
 23 यतेजसः ॥ [७\*] आस्तां तयोरस्तमितारिवर्गी<sup>८</sup> पु-  
 24 त्रौ पवित्रीकृतधर्ममार्गी<sup>९</sup> । <sup>१०</sup>जायानभूत्तत्र  
 25 जगद्भिजेत भव्याशणीर्वैचपदंडनाथः ॥ [८\*] इ-  
 26 रुगपदंडाधिपतिस्तस्यावरजस्तमस्त-  
 27 गुणशाली । यस्य यशश्चद्रिकया मीलंति दि-  
 28 वाप्यरातिमुखपद्माः ॥ [९\*] वृ ॥ ब्रह्मन् भाळलि-  
 29 पिं प्रमार्ज्य न चेद्ब्रह्मत्वज्ञानैर्भवेदन्या<sup>११</sup>  
 30 कल्पय काल राजनगरी तद्देरिष्ट-  
 31 ध्योभृतां । वेतालव्रज <sup>१२</sup>वर्धयोदरततिं  
 32 पानाय नव्यासृजां <sup>१३</sup>युधायोधतशात्र-  
 33 वैरिरुगपच्छापः प्रकीपोभवत् ॥ [१०\*] यात्रा-

<sup>१</sup> Read जगज्जयंत<sup>२</sup> Read भवन्मगति<sup>३</sup> Read शीवज्ञसा.<sup>४</sup> Read वर्धयो.<sup>५</sup> Read यैर्भूषितो.<sup>६</sup> Read काश्यप<sup>७</sup> Read न्यायान<sup>८</sup> Read युद्धायोदरत.<sup>९</sup> Read इरुगप<sup>१०</sup> Read चमाकुल.<sup>११</sup> Read हानिर्भव

- 34 यां ध्वजिनीपतेरिरुगपक्ष्मापस्य धाटीध-  
 35 टद्धोटीधोरखुरप्रहारततिभिः प्रो-  
 36 'धूतधूळिप्रजैः [1\*] रुध्वे' भानुकरेगम-

## East Face

- 37 द्विपुकराभोज च संकोचन प्रापत्कीर्त्तिकुसुदती  
 38 विकसन दीप्तः प्रतापनलः<sup>2</sup> ॥ [११\*] यात्रायाभि-  
 39 रुगेश्वरेण सहसा ग्रन्थारिसौभाग्यप्रो-  
 40 क्षासद्विधुकांतकांतशकलैश्चहनेभाधिपः [1\*]  
 41 हत्वा स्वप्रतिमां प्रतिद्विपमिति क्षिन्नैकदत्-<sup>4</sup>  
 42 स्तदा चाहि चाहि गजाननेति बहुधा वेता-  
 43 ऋवृदै[.]\* स्तुतः ॥ [१२\*] को धात्रा लिखितं ललाटफ  
 44 लके वने<sup>5</sup> प्रमाष्टुं क्षमो वार्त्ता धूर्त्तवचो-  
 45 मयीमिति वय वार्त्ताद्र मन्यासहे ।  
 46 'यध्वात्र्यामिरुगेद्रदडनृपतो सजा-  
 47 तमात्रे प्रियो नि[.]\*त्रीरघ्यधिकत्रियाघ-  
 48 टि रिपुस्त्रयीरपय्यीकृतः ॥ [१३\*] यद्वाचाविरु-  
 49 गेद्रदडनृपतेर्विभ्रत्यनताधुरं<sup>6</sup> शेषा-  
 50 धीशफणागणे नियमितां स स्वागनाया-  
 51 स्मदा । गाढानिगनसाद्रसभवसुखप्रोद्भू-  
 52 तरोमावलिः माहृक्षीं रसनामधात्तव गु-  
 53 णान् स्तोतुं क्ष[ता\*]त्यः फणी ॥ [१४\*] आहारसपदभया-  
 54 र्पणमौपधं च शास्त्र च तस्य समजायत  
 55 नित्यदानं । हिसानृतान्यवनिताव्यसन स-  
 56 चौर्य मूर्च्छा च देशव्रततोस्य वभृ-  
 57 व दूरे ॥ [१५\*] दान चास्य सुपात्र येव<sup>7</sup> करुणा  
 58 दोनेषु दृष्टिर्जिने<sup>8</sup> 'भक्तिर्दर्मपथे जिनेद्रय-  
 59 शमासाकर्त्तव्येषु<sup>9</sup> श्रुतो । जिह्वा तद्गुणकीर्त्त-  
 60 नेषु वपुषः सौख्य च तद्वदने प्राणं तच्च-  
 61 रणाक्षसोरभभरे सर्वं च तत्सेवने ॥ [१६\*] यि-<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read 'धूत'<sup>2</sup> Read 'क्षिन्नैक'<sup>3</sup> Read 'ललाटफ'<sup>4</sup> Read 'भक्तिर्दर्म'<sup>5</sup> Read रुध्वे<sup>6</sup> Read वणं<sup>7</sup> Read 'नृपते विभ्रत्य'<sup>8</sup> Read 'कर्णनेषु'<sup>9</sup> Read दीप्ति प्रतापनलः<sup>10</sup> Read यद्वाचा<sup>11</sup> Read एव<sup>12</sup> Read इ०

- 62 रुगपदडनाथयशसा धवले भुवने  
 63 मलिनिमसौस्तवः परमधीरदृशां चिकुरे [1\*]  
 64 वहति च तस्य बाहुपरिधे धरणीवल-  
 65 य 'परमितरितराक्रमकथापि च  
 66 तत्कुचयोः ॥ [१७\*] 'कन्नैर्व्विस्मृतकुंडलै-  
 67 रतिलकामंगैर्लला-  
 68 टस्थलैराकीर्णैरल-<sup>३</sup>  
 69 कैः पयोधरतटैर-  
 70 स्पृष्टमुक्तागुणैः । बिंबो-  
 71 छैरपि वैरिराजसदृशस्तांबू-<sup>४</sup>  
 72 लरागोज्जितैर्यस्य स्फारतरं मू-<sup>५</sup>  
 73 तापमसकृद्ग्राकुर्व्वले<sup>६</sup> सर्वतः ॥ [१८\*]

*West Face*

- 74 यत्कीर्त्तिभिः सुरधुनीपरिलंघिनीभि धीते' चि-  
 75 राय निजविवगते कळंके । स्वच्छात्मकस्तुहिन-  
 76 दीधितिरंगनानामव्याजमाननरुचि कवलो-  
 77 करोति ॥ [१९\*] यत्पादाञ्जरज,कणो<sup>७</sup> प्रस्रवते  
 78 भक्त्यानताना भुव यत्कारुण्यकटा-  
 79 चकांतिलहरी प्रचालयत्याश्रय ।  
 80 मोहाद्भकरणं क्षिणोति विमला यद्दे-  
 81 खरोमौखरी वंद्यः कस्य न माननीयम-  
 82 ह्योमा<sup>८</sup> श्रीपडिताय्यो यतिः ॥ [२०\*] सदा-  
 83 रद्रुममजरीमधुभरीमंजुस्फुरन्मा-<sup>१०</sup>  
 84 धुरोप्रोढाहकतिरूढिपाटवपरीपा-  
 85 टीककाटीभटः । <sup>११</sup>नृत्यदृढकपर्दगत्तं-  
 86 विलुठत्स्वर्लोकाकलीलिनीसल्लापो<sup>१२</sup> खलु पं-  
 87 डितार्थयमिनो व्याख्यानप्रोक्ता-

<sup>१</sup> Read 'मितरितरा'

<sup>४</sup> Read 'जसुदृश'

<sup>७</sup> Read 'नीभिर्धति'

<sup>३</sup> Read कणैर्व्वि'

<sup>५</sup> Read म'

<sup>८</sup> Read 'कणा'

<sup>९</sup> Read 'राकीर्णैर'

<sup>१०</sup> Read 'कुर्व्वति'

<sup>११</sup> Read 'महिमा'

<sup>१२</sup> At first 'मधुजरी' was engraved, but the ज has been cancelled by placing a dot in it, and a small भ has been written above it

<sup>१३</sup> Read 'नृत्यदृढ'

<sup>१४</sup> Read 'सल्लापो'

- 88 ह्रः ॥ [२१\*] कारुण्यप्रथमावतारस-  
 89 रणिशान्तिर्निशान्तं स्थिर वैदुष्यस्य तपःफ-  
 90 लं सुजनतासौभाग्यभाग्योदयः ।  
 91 कदर्पहिरदेद्रपंचवदनः काव्यामृ-  
 92 तानां 'खनीर्ज्जनाध्वावरभास्करः श्रुत-  
 93 मुनिर्ज्जगत्तिं नम्रात्तिजित् ॥ [२२\*] यु-  
 94 त्थागमार्धवविलोलनमदराद्रिः<sup>२</sup> शब्दाग-  
 95 मांवरुहकाननवालसूर्यः । शु-  
 96 ध्वाश्रयः<sup>३</sup> प्रतिदिनं परमागमेन संवर्द्धते  
 97 'श्रुतसुनोर्यतिसार्वभौमः ॥ [२३\*] तत्सनिधौ  
 98 वेळुगुळे जगदश्रुतीर्त्य श्रीमानसावि-  
 99 रगपाह्वयदडनाथः [१\*] श्रीगुमटेश्वर-  
 100 मनातनभोगहेतोग्रामीत्तमं वेळुगु-  
 101 ळाश्रमदत्त धीर. ॥ [२४\*] शुभकृति वत्सरे ज-  
 102 यति कार्तिकमासि तिथौ सुरमय-  
 103 नस्य पुष्टिसुपजम्बुपि शीतरुचौ । सद्गु-  
 104 वन स्रनिर्मितनवीनतटाकयुतं सचिव-  
 105 कुलाग्रणीरदित तीर्थवरं मुदितः ॥ [२५\*] यि-<sup>४</sup>  
 106 रगपदडाधीश्वरविमलयशःकलम-  
 107 वर्द्धनचेत्र । आचंद्रतारकमिदं वे-  
 108 ळुगुळतीर्थं प्रकाशतामतुलं ॥ [२६\*] ◎ ॥  
 109 दानपालनयोन्मेषे दानात् त्रियोनुपालनं<sup>५</sup> । दानात् स्वर्गम-  
 110 वाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पद ॥ [२७\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेच्च  
 व-  
 111 सुधरां । 'पट्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टाया<sup>६</sup> जायते क्षमिः<sup>७</sup> ॥ [२८\*] ◎ ॥  
 112 मगल<sup>१०</sup> महाश्री श्री श्री श्री श्री [॥\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) May the glorious religion of Jina be victorious,— the religion of the lord of the three worlds, the unfailing criterion of which is the most profound doctrine of possibility !

<sup>१</sup> Read खनीर्ज्ज<sup>१०</sup>.

<sup>२</sup> Read 'मुनिर्य<sup>१०</sup>

<sup>३</sup> Read पट्टि वर्ष<sup>१०</sup>.

<sup>४</sup> Read मगल

<sup>५</sup> Read 'माएणव<sup>१०</sup>.

<sup>६</sup> Read र<sup>१०</sup>

<sup>७</sup> Read विष्टायां

<sup>८</sup> Read गदाश्रय .

<sup>९</sup> Read दानाश्रयो<sup>१०</sup>.

<sup>१०</sup> Read क्षमि.



(V 2) There was a minister of the illustrious Bukkarāya, known as the illustrious general Baicha, whose policy, which was to be approved by everybody, completely destroyed the multitude of his enemies

(V 3) If I (*want to*) speak of his liberality, the Samtānaka (*tree*) enters the way of the greedy, if of his intelligence, that talk of Brihaspati hides somewhere, if of his invariable patience, the earth is affected by insensibility. How on earth is it possible for poets to praise the general Baichapa?<sup>1</sup>

(V 4) From him were born three sons, conquerors of the world, who had good morals for their ornament, adorned by whom the middle world became similar to the final bliss of the Jainas (*which is adorned*) by the three jewels<sup>2</sup>

(V 5) Praised in the world were the virtues of the general Maṅgapa, who took away the necklaces from the broad breasts of the wives of his adversaries, (*and*) who made his younger brothers, the general Irugapa and Bukkana, still more famous by the abundance of his own glory

(V 6) Being the chief seat of kindness, the only shelter of morality, the abode of veracity, always swift-footed in running on the back of the munificent, the supporting tree of religion, the noble residence of forbearance, the meeting-place of goodness, this general Maṅgapa, who was attached to the doctrine of the Jainas, spread his fame

(V 7) His wife was Jānaki, shining by the ornament of her excellent moral qualities, as the daughter of Janaka with her slender round waist (*was the wife*) of the descendant of Rāghu, possessed of agreeable splendour<sup>3</sup>

(V 8) They had two sons, through whom the hosts of the enemies perished, (*and*) who cleansed the path of religion. The elder of them was the general Baichapa, a conqueror of the world, the foremost among the pious<sup>4</sup>

(V 9) His younger brother was the general Irugapa, possessed of all virtues, through the moonshine of whose fame the lotuses of the faces of his enemies close even in daytime<sup>5</sup>

Metre (*uṣṭita*) — (V 10) Brahman, wipe off the writing on the forehead! Otherwise thy reputation as Brahman will suffer damage<sup>6</sup>. Build another capital, Death, for the kings hostile to him! Thou host of Vātālas, widen the extent of your bellies to drink the fresh blood! Prince Irugapa was incensed with passion to fight with the haughty enemies

(V 11) When on the march of the general prince Irugapa the sun was obscured by the clouds of dust whirled up by the continual violent blows of the hoofs of his mares charging by assault, the day-lotuses of the hands of his enemies closed,<sup>7</sup> the night-lotus of his glory opened, and the fire of his majesty became bright

<sup>1</sup> The author wants to say that it is impossible to describe the virtues of Baicha, because they are not to be equalled. His liberality and his cleverness are so great that, compared to him, the tree of desires appears to be covetous and Brihaspati a mere nothing, and as for his patience, even the earth is not a fit object for comparison, because it is *jada*, which may mean inanimate or dull

<sup>2</sup> The three jewels (*triratna*), which according to the doctrine of the Jainas are indispensable for a Śramana who wants to attain eternal beatitude, are *jñāna* or knowledge of things as revealed in the *āgamas*, *darsana* or *ARSS*, 1883 84, p. 100

<sup>3</sup> The attributes of Rāma and Sītā are applicable to Maṅgapa and Jānaki also, and *vice versa*

<sup>4</sup> *Dharmya* must be understood here as in other Jaina inscriptions as referring to the Jaina community

<sup>5</sup> Generally the *pradma* has its flowers opened by daylight

<sup>6</sup> Brahman's predictions of a happy lot to the hostile kings will prove false, because they will be slain by Irugapa

<sup>7</sup> His enemies clenched their fists in rage

(V 12) (*Once*), a huge wild elephant was reflected by a beautiful fragment of glimmering moon-stone in the court of an enemy's palace, which had been deserted in a hurry through (*fear of*) the lord Iruga (*who was*) on the march. Thinking that it was a hostile elephant, he struck his image (*and*) broke one of his tusks, (*and*) was (*therefore*) afterwards often invoked by the hosts of Vêtâlas (*with the words*). 'Have mercy, have mercy, Gajânana!'<sup>1</sup>

(V 13) 'Who is able to wipe off a letter written by the Creator on the surface of the forehead?' In this saying we do not believe, (*considering it to be*) a saying made up of a liar's words, because as soon as the general Irugêndra was born on earth, his friends, even if they had been without wealth, were supplied with abundant wealth, and his wealthy enemies were deprived of their wealth.

(V 14) While thy arm, O general Irugêndra, was carrying the burden of the earth (*originally*) laid on the group of the hoods of the lord Śēsha, that serpent, contented, the lines of his hair always bristling with joy on account of the frequent opportunities for closely embracing his wife, used his thousandfold tongue in praising thy virtues!<sup>1</sup>

(V 15) Plenty of food, protection from dangers, medicine and instruction became his continual gift. Acts of violence, falsehood, passion for the wives of others, theft, and infatuation kept away on account of his ruling the country.

(V 16) His liberality (*was directed*) only towards worthy persons, his pity towards the poor, his looks towards the Jina, his love towards the path of religion, his two ears towards listening to the fame of the lord of the Jinās, his tongue towards praising his virtues, the health of his body towards worshipping him, his nose towards the excessive fragrance of the lotuses of his feet, and all that was his towards serving him.

(V 17) While the world was made white by the fame of the general Irugapa, blackness was praised only in (*connection with*) the hair of (*women*) with rolling eyes, and while his bar-like arm was wearing the bracelet of the earth, mutual oppression also was spoken of only in (*connection with*) their breasts.

(V 18) By their ears with their ear-rings forgotten, by the surfaces of their foreheads with no marks fixed to them, by their dishevelled curls, by their swelling breasts untouched by strings of pearls, and by their *bimba*-like lips deprived of the redness (*caused*) by the betel, even the fair-eyed (*wives*) of the kings hostile (*to him*) repeatedly (*and*) thoroughly betray his excessive power.

(V 19) Since his fame, surpassing the river of the gods,<sup>2</sup> has washed off, at last, the spot in her disk, the moon, being (*now*) perfectly clear, really swallows the beauty of the faces of the women.

(V 20) Who would not do homage to the ascetic (*yati*), the venerable Panditârya, whose greatness is to be honoured, the grains of dust of whose foot-lotus produce a world for those who bow (*to him*) in devotion,<sup>3</sup> the wave of loveliness of whose compassionate side-glances purifies the heart, the faultless fluency of whose speech destroys delusion and self-conceit.

(V 21) The roar of the discourse of the ascetic (*yamin*) Panditârya which is a warrior (*in cutting*) the neck of the succession of great self-conceit, fame and skill of the pleasant and distinguished sweetness of the streams of honey of the flowers of the *mandâra* tree, verily resembles the river of the celestial world,<sup>4</sup> winding through the hollows of the braids of the dancing Rudra.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Ganēśa, who has the head of an elephant, but only one tusk.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the Gangâ.

<sup>3</sup> The dust of the lotus like foot of Panditârya is compared to the pollen of the lotus of Brahman which produces the world.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the Gangâ.

(V 22) Śrutamuni, the main-road for the descent of compassion, the lasting dawn of calmness, the fruit of the austerities of learning, the mountain from which benevolence and prosperity and happiness rise, a lion to the mighty elephant of passion, a mine of the nectar of poetry, the sun in the sky of the Jaina sect, is watchful, removing the distress of the humble.

(V 23) The pure-minded Śrutamuni, an emperor among the ascetics (*yatis*), the Mandara mountain for the stirring of the ocean of the science of reasoning, the rising sun to the lotus-grove of grammar, is daily increasing (in prosperity) through the most excellent (Jaina) doctrine

(V 24) In his presence, at Belugula, the most sacred place of the world, that glorious brave general, called Irugapa, gave away the most excellent village called Belugula for the eternal enjoyment of the holy Gummatēśvara.

(V 25) While the year Śubhakṛit was flourishing, in the month of Kārttika, on the *tithi* of (Viṣṇu) the slayer of Mura, when the moon had attained increase, the chief of the family of ministers gladly presented the excellent sacred place, possessing a beautiful grove (and) supplied with a new tank built by himself

(V 26) May this matchless holy place Belugula, a field for growing the rice of the general Irugapa's white fame, shine as long as the moon and stars!

[Verses 27 and 28 contain the usual imprecations]

## NO 5 — TALAGUNDA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KAKUSTHAVARMAN

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CIE, GOTTINGEN

This inscription was discovered in 1894 by Mr B Lewis Rice, Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore<sup>1</sup> From a photograph and a transcript furnished by him, a preliminary notice of it was published by the late Prof Bühler in September 1895, in the *Academy*,<sup>2</sup> and about the same time a summary of its contents was given by Dr Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, p 286 f, from an ink-impression lent by Mr Rice The inscription has now been edited by its discoverer, with a photo-lithograph and translation, in *Ep Carn* Vol VII p 200 ff I re edit it from ink-impressions supplied by Prof Hultzsch<sup>3</sup>

According to Mr Rice, the inscription is engraved on a pillar of very hard grey granite, which stands in front of the ruined Pranaśēśvara<sup>4</sup> temple at Talagunda, in the Shikarpur taluka of the Shimoga district of the Mysore State The pedestal of the pillar is 5 feet 4 inches high and 1 foot 4 inches square at the top, a little more at the base The shaft is octagonal, 6 feet 4 inches high,<sup>5</sup> each face being 7 inches wide, but tapering slightly towards the top Seven faces of the shaft contain each two vertical lines of writing which commences at the bottom, while on the 8th face there is only one short line (line 15 of the text), written in the same way "The invocation at the beginning" of the inscription (i.e. the words *Siddham* || *Namaś=Śivāya* || of line 1) "is on the pedestal, and runs up connecting with the first line" In the impressions the length of lines 1-14, disregarding the words *Siddham* || *Namaś=Śivāya* ||

<sup>1</sup> See *Ep Carn* Vol IV Introduction, p 1 f

<sup>2</sup> Prof Bühler's article is reprinted in *Ind Ant* Vol XLV p 27 f

<sup>3</sup> In October 1898 Dr Fleet kindly gave me his own transcript of the text and the photograph which had been sent to Prof Bühler by Mr Rice, and my translation was prepared in the summer of 1899, at the time when I published a note on the principal metre of the inscription

<sup>4</sup> So the name is given in *Ep Carn* Vol VII p 200 On pp 4 and 47 of the Introduction of the same volume we find, instead of it, 'Pranamaśvara' Prapaṅgalinga is the name furnished to me with the ink-impressions

<sup>5</sup> Judging by the length of the lines, the shaft must really be slightly higher.

of line 1, varies between 5' 11" (in line 10) and 6' 5" (in lines 1 and 2), that of line 15 is only 2' 5". The size of such *akṣharas* as *ja*, *ma*, *ya*, *va* is between  $\frac{3}{4}$  and  $\frac{7}{8}$ ", while the average height of *akṣharas* like *a*, *ī*, *ra*, *pra*, *vya*, *jja*, *mā*, *mri* is between 2 and 2½". The inscription is most carefully written and engraved, and is generally in so perfect a state of preservation that nearly every syllable of it may be read with certainty — The characters are of the 'box-headed' type of the southern alphabet. Among Kadamba inscriptions, they seem to resemble most those of the Dēvagēri plates of the 4th year and the Hitnabebbhāgula plates of Mṛgēsavarman,<sup>1</sup> but, as is elsewhere the case with stone-inscriptions, they exhibit a more regular and artistic style of writing than is found in the copper-plates. Of initial vowels the text contains *a*, *ā*, *i* (e.g. in *itya*-, l 10), *u* (in *udvararha*-, l 5) and *ī* (e.g. in *ēvam*-, l 3), and of the consonants, all excepting *gh*, *ṭh*, *ph*, and *l*, but *chh* occurs only as subscript letter (e.g. in *chchhāyā*-, l 11). Attention may perhaps be drawn here to the signs for *lh* (e.g. in *-sēlharah* l 8), *n* (e.g. in *bhangur*-, l 7), *j* (e.g. in *jayatī*-, l 1), *ñ* (e.g. in *yajñā*², l 2, and *pañchabhīr*-, l 13), *d* (in *-mridita*-, l 11, *-chūdāmanayāh*-, l 13, and *tadālam*-, l 14), *dh* (in *-samrūdha*-, l 3), *th* and *dh* (e.g. in *vidha-yajñā-cabhritha*-, l 2), *b* (e.g. in *brahma*-, l 4), and *l* (e.g. in *-lulam*-, l 2, and *Pallavēndra*-, l 4), and to the peculiar form³ of the subscript *n* in *-aparānnai*-, l 7. As regards medial vowels, it may suffice to point out the two forms of the *al-hara* *ā*, employed e.g. in *gurunī* and *śarmmanā*, both at the commencement of line 4, and the manner in which *ā* is written in the *akṣhara* *īā*⁴ (of *-jatā*-, l 1). The alphabet includes the signs of the *jihāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya* (e.g. in *-nipunah=latih* and *-lusalah=prayā* both at the end of line 9), those of final *n* (e.g. in *siddham*-, l 1, and *-mandalam*-, l 2), final *t* (e.g. in *bhayāt*-, l 1, and *tat*-, l 3), and final *n* (in *yō-rin*-, l 9), and the sign of punctuation consisting of two vertical lines — The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory *Siddham* [||] *Namas=Śivāya* || and the words in line 15, the whole is in verse. The orthography suggests the following remarks. Within a half-verse and in the words *Namas=Śivāya* of line 1, the final *visarga* of a word before one of the three sibilants is always (altogether 19 times) assimilated to the sibilant. Before a surd guttural (*k* or *kh*) it is nine times changed to the *jihāmūliya* and left unchanged twice both times at the end of a Pāda (in *-lilah Kākustha*-, l 10, and *-sthah Kūyas*-, l 14). The *jihāmūliya* is also employed in *dihlham*-, l 4. Before *p* — *ph* does not occur — *visarga* is changed to the *upadhmanīya* five times and left unchanged seven times (once, in *putrah prathita*-, l 9, at the end of a Pāda). Before the conjuncts *sn* and *st* (but not before *sv* and *sr*) *visarga* is dropped, in *brāhmanai snātakai stūyamānē*-, l 13. In the words *say=sha* (for the ordinary *sa sha*) of line 13 the final *visarga* of *saḥ* has by Pāṇini, VIII 3, 17 (or 18) been changed to (the ordinary or the *laghuprayatnatara*) *y*⁴ — The final *m* of a word remains unchanged, and is denoted by the sign of final *m*, in the word *siddham* in line 1 and always at the end of a half-verse, exceptionally (and wrongly) also at the end of the odd Pādas of verse 28. Otherwise final *m* before a consonant is changed to *anusāra* except in *āpadan=tān=dhārayām-āsa* (for *āpadaṁ tām dhā*⁵), l 6, *yan=dātu-* (for *yam datva*)-, l 13, *yam=mitram*-, l 7, *prithivīm=prasahya*-, l 9, *tam=bhūpāh*-, l 11, *-sambhrama*-, l 12, and *tadākam=mahat*-, l 14. In

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol VII p 37, Plates, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV p 136, Plates, compare also Prof. Bühler's *Ind. Palaeographie*, Plate VII Col. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> In the Goa plates of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarmān (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol X p 365) the Satarā plates of Vishnuvardhana I (*Ind. Ant.* Vol XIX p 303), and elsewhere, the subscript *n* of *rnna* is denoted by the sign of the dental *n*. The subscript *n* of the present inscription has a somewhat similar form.

<sup>3</sup> In the collotype facsimile the upward stroke, rising from the end of the top-line of the sign for *t*, by which *d* is denoted, is not clearly visible. The same sign for *tā* is quite clear e.g. in the word *ghatā* in line 10 of the Aihole inscription, above, Vol VI p 6.

<sup>4</sup> Hemachandra gives as an example *kay=sha*, for the ordinary *ka sha*. With this we may compare *kay=sa* for *ka sa* in line 25 of the Kauchīm plates of Vikramāditya V, *Ind. Ant.* Vol XVI p 22. In line 11 of the Bādām (Mahakūta) pillar inscription of Mangaleśa (*ibid.* Vol. XIX. p 17) I would similarly suggest *say=ntta*⁵ for *sag=ntta*⁵.

the interior of a simple word a nasal before a consonant of its own class is always denoted by its own sign, nowhere by the sign of *anusvāra*. After *r*, a consonant (other than a sibilant or *h*) is generally, about five times out of six, doubled. Before *r*, *t* is doubled in *māttira*, l. 6, *śakti-ttray-*, l. 13, and *paṭṭa-ttray-*, l. 14, while it remains single in twelve similar cases, and *l* is doubled in *vikramaiḥ*, l. 7, *parākkramatas-*, l. 9, and *-ākkraṇtā*, l. 11. Before *y*, *dh* is changed to *ddh* in *addhyēya-*, l. 2, *ārāddhya*, ll. 4 and 7, *addhyuvāsa*, l. 5, and *aśāddhyāsa-*, l. 13, but not in *anudhyāya*, l. 8. The number of clerical errors is very small, I need only point out here *Sthānura* (for *Sthānur*) in line 1, and *utkrishṭa* (for *utkrishṭa*) in line 8.

In respect of grammar generally and lexicography the text calls for few remarks. The use of the gerunds *ārāddhya* and *adhītya* in verse 12 does not accord with the rule of the grammarians,<sup>1</sup> but may be defended by the less strict practice of even classical writers. Similarly, the employment of *bhojya* (instead of *bhōgya*) in *prithvivim . . . svavāṁśa-bhōgyām* of verse 25 is contrary to Pāṇini, VII 3, 69, but the word is often used in the same way elsewhere, especially in epic poetry. Like other inscriptions, this one also contains some words which are not found in the published dictionaries. Of these, *antarālaya* (formed like *antarāgūra*, *antargriha*, *antarbhavana*) in verse 6, *sānāmya* (an abstract noun derived from the adjective *sānāman*, 'having the same name') in verse 8, *brahmasiddhi* in verse 12 and *samutthāpana* in verse 16 can offer no difficulty. The word *aśvasamsthā* in verse 11 I take to be synonymous with *aśvārōha*, 'a horseman,' and I would compare with it such words as *gajastha*, *rathastha*, *syandanastha*, as well as *turagādhirāṭha* and *tuṅgasādīn* (e.g. in *Ragh* VII 34 and *Sis*. XVIII 2). On the word *ghaṭikā* in verse 10 I have published a special note in *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1900, p. 345 ff., where I have tried to prove that a *ghaṭikā* was an establishment (probably founded in most cases by a king) for holy and learned men, such as is often mentioned in other inscriptions under the name *brahmapurī*. In the note referred to I have shown that *ghaṭikā* is used in this sense e.g. in the Kāśākudī plates of the Pallava Nandivarman Pallavamalla (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II p. 349, lines 56 and 59) and in the Chikkula plates of Vikramēndravarmān II (above, Vol. IV p. 196, line 14).<sup>2</sup> The last remark which I would offer on the wording of the present inscription is, that the author in verse 29 uses *va . . . tadvat*, instead of *yadvat* (or *yathā*) . . . *tadvat*. This, so far as I know, is foreign to the usage of classical writers, from whose works I am unable to quote quite analogous instances.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription contains 34 verses. The metres of nine of them (verses 25-32 and 34) are the ordinary ones: Pushpitāgrā, Indravajrā, Vasantatilakā, Mandākrāntā and Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The metre of the long verse 33, with which the poem proper here presented to us fitly closes,<sup>4</sup> is a species of Dandaka, called by the general name Prachita. It consists of four Pādas, each of which contains six short syllables and eight amphimacers (—○—).<sup>5</sup> Most interesting from a metrical point of view are the verses 1-24, composed in a metre<sup>6</sup> which is found rarely elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> Since writing my paper on *ghaṭikā*, I have come across the word *ghaṭikāsāhasa*, which in line 41 of the Hallegere plates of the W. Ganga Śivamara I (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III p. 108, where it is wrongly transcribed by *ghaṭikā sāhasa*) occurs as an epithet of a Brahman. I have little doubt that this word is identical with the words *gahyāsāhasa*, *ghaṭāsāsa*, mentioned above, Vol. VI p. 211, note 2. In Hēmachandra's *Dēśnāmadā*, ll. 105, to which Prof. Pischel has drawn my attention, we find *ghaṭvaghadda* (i.e. *ghaṭikaghadda* or *ghaṭikāghadda*), paraphrased by *gōśāhā*.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Ramāyana*, *va . . . tathā* is used like *yathā . . . tathā*, but passages like VII, 7, 18 ff., where this is the case, are somewhat different from the one in our text. Exactly like the *va . . . tadvat* of the text I find *va (or va) . . . evam* used in the Pāli Gāthās; compare e.g. *Jāt.* Vol. IV, p. 172, l. 11 *Garari va singino singam eaddhamānassa vaddhati evam mandassa posassa kālassa avijānato bhayyo tapā piddha cha eaddhamānassa vaddhati*, 'as the horn grows, so thirst grows.'

<sup>3</sup> Verse 31 gives the name of the author, who also wrote the inscription on the stone.

<sup>4</sup> For a much longer species of Prachita (in which each Pāda contains six short syllables and 10 amphimacers) see *Atītatilakādhara*, Dr. Bhandarkar's ed., p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> I have published a short paper on this metre in *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1907, p. 162 ff. As that paper is in German, I repeat here what has been stated in it.

and has not, so far as I know, been described in any treatise on prosody. This metre may be described as a species of *mātrāsamālā*, the name of which as yet is unknown. Each verse contains four Pādas, the general scheme of which is —

Pādas 1 and 3     $\sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim$  (15 Mātrās),

Pādas 2 and 4     $\sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim$  (15 Mātrās).

In Pādas 2 and 4 this scheme is uniformly adhered to. But in Pādas 1 and 3 we find it strictly observed only in 30 cases out of the 48. In 14 others of the odd Pādas a long syllable takes the place of the 6th Mātrā of the general scheme, followed in 4<sup>1</sup> out of these 14 Pādas by two short syllables instead of a long one. And in the four remaining odd Pādas<sup>2</sup> a trochee ( $\sim \sim$ ) occurs instead of the 6th Mātrā of the above scheme. This gives us, as subsidiary schemes for Pādas 1 and 3 —

$\sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim$  (16 Mātrās),  
and  $\sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim$  (17 Mātrās)<sup>3</sup>

Examples of Pādas showing these subsidiary schemes are —

V. 2, Pāda 3    yat-prasādas=trayate nityam,

V. 4, Pāda 1    atha babbhūva dvija-kulam prāmēu,

V. 5, Pāda 1    vīvidha yajñ-āśabhritha-pṇny-āmbu-,

and V. 11, Pāda 3    Kali-yugē=smṛnn=aho bata kshatrat,

V. 21, Pāda 3    Prāhar-antām=ananyasamcharana-

I may state here that the same metre occurs in lines 1 and 2 — hitherto regarded as prose — of the Tusām rock inscription (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 270), which, on palæographical grounds, has been allotted by Dr Fleet to the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth, century A.D. The verse is —

Jitam=abbikshnam=ēva Jāmbavatī-    vadanāravind-ōrjūt-ālinā |  
dānavāngana-mukhāmbhoja-    lakṣmī-tushārēna Vishnunā ||(II)

The metre is also found in lines 5-8 of the Ajantā Vākātaka inscription, published in *Archæol. Survey of West India*, Vol IV p. 125, and from the only complete verse preserved there it appears that for the second long syllable (Mātrās 3 and 4) of the even Pādas two short syllables may be substituted. The verse is —

[Ari]narēndra-mauli-vinyasta-    mam-kirana-lidha-<sup>4</sup>kramāmbujah [I]  
Pravarasēnas=tasya putrō=bhūd=    vīkasannavēndīvar-ēkshana[h II]

Lastly, I find the same metre on page 4 of the *Bower Manuscript*, in a passage which by Dr Hoernle at first was regarded as prose, but has afterwards been printed by him as a single verse (verse 36) the metre of which is stated to be irregular. Really the passage contains the following two verses which are regular in every respect —

Iti sur-ēyam pañcha-pañch-āhād=    rasa-varna-gandhah samanvitā [I]  
bhavati tailam nāmataś=ch=ēdam=    undīram=<sup>5</sup>atyarthakārmukam [II]  
Tailam=ētat=yah surām=api vā    puruṣah prayujita yatnatah [I]  
pariharami tam gad-ānikāny=    ājan krit-āstrān=iv=ētarē [II]

From all this it may be inferred that from about the fifth to the seventh century A.D. the metre above described was well known in different parts of India. That it should now

<sup>1</sup> Viz in V. 4, Pāda 1, V. 5, Pāda 1; V. 10, Pāda 3, and V. 12, Pāda 3.

<sup>2</sup> Viz in V. 11, Pāda 3, V. 17, Pāda 3; V. 21, Pāda 3, and V. 24, Pāda 3.

<sup>3</sup> According to Mr Rice a long syllable occurs in place of the second — Mr Rice means the third — Mātrā in the third Pādas of verses 19 and 21, but this remark is due to wrong readings.

<sup>4</sup> Thus, not *ālīdha*, was the reading of Dr Bhagvanlal Indraji, which is shown to be correct by the metre.

<sup>5</sup> The metre shows that this may not be altered to *udīrṇam*.

have been rescued from oblivion is due to, and is a point of special interest in, the present inscription

In the 7th of the introductory verses of the *Harshacharita* Bāṇa says <sup>1</sup>—

“In the North plays on words are mainly admired, in the West it is only the sense, in the South it is poetical fancy, in Gauda pomp of syllables”

Judging hereby the present little poem, which the author himself in verse 34 calls a *Kāvya*, I would say that, taken as a whole, it would certainly be assigned to the West of India. There is in it no pomp of syllables, and little of poetical fancy (*utprākṣhā*) or any of those other ornaments which lend their charm to the classical *Kāvya*s. But the author presents to us a vivid picture of the persons and events dealt with, and does so in plain, but vigorous language. This, at any rate, is the case with the verses 4-24. The verses 25-32 are in a different style, approaching somewhat to that of a real *Kāvya*, but they mainly contain such conventional phrases as are met with in any ordinary *prastāvi*.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription was composed and written on the stone by Kubja, under the orders of the king Śāntivarman. And its immediate object is, to record that Śāntivarman's father Kākusthavarman constructed a great tank near a Śiva temple at which Śātakarni and other kings had formerly worshipped (at Sthānakundūra, the modern Tālagunda where the inscription is still preserved). The occasion is taken by the poet to celebrate the origin and advancement of the Kādamba family to which Kākusthavarman belonged, and to give the names of his ancestors.

The<sup>3</sup> Kādambas were a Brahman family, devoted to the study of the Vēdas and the performance of sacrificial rites, their name, the poet says, they had received from the fact that they carefully tended a *kādamba* tree which grew near their home. Now once upon a time a member of this family, named Mayūrasārman, went with his *guru* to (Kāñchīpura,) the city of the Pallavas, to study fully the sacred writings. The poet tells how he became exasperated there with the Kshatriya Pallavas and, abandoning his priestly vocation, took up the sword, ‘eager to conquer the earth’. Mayūrasārman defeated the frontier-guards of the Pallavas and occupied the forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata.<sup>4</sup> He levied tribute from the Great Bāna<sup>5</sup> and other kings, and caused much trouble by his raids. The Pallava kings of Kāñchī, finding it impossible to subdue him even when they had taken the field with a large army, and recognizing his valour and ability, then made a compact with him by which he entered their service and eventually received a territory of his own, bounded on the west by the sea and on the east (?) by the (?) Prēhara(?), of which he was anointed chief or king. His son was Kangavarman,<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> I quote from the English translation.

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen from the above that in my opinion this poem, however interesting, is not ‘written in the highest *Kāvya* style’. So far as I can see, its author was better acquainted with the Mahabharata than with the *Kavyas* which may have existed in his time.

<sup>3</sup> For the details, see the translation, below.

<sup>4</sup> Śrīparvata, which we also find in line 1 of the Chikkulla plates of Vikramāndravarmā II (above, Vol. IV p. 195), I here as there take to be the sacred Srisaṇḍa in the Karnul district. It is the modern Srisaṇḍam situated on the west of the Eastern Ghats, between them and the river Kistna, see Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 34, D a.

<sup>5</sup> According to Prof. Hultzsch (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 89) the capital of the Bāna dynasty appears to have been Tiruvallam, ‘as one of its names was Vānapuram, and as it belonged to the district of Perumbānappādi,’ i.e. the country of the Great Bāna. Tiruvallam is only about 40 miles west by north of Conjeeveram (Kāñchīpura). It may be noted that the *Bṛihad Bāna* of our text exactly corresponds to the Tamil *Perumbāna*, *brihad* apparently forms an essential part of the name, and is not a mere *epitheton ornans*.

<sup>6</sup> It is significant that, while the name of the founder of the family, Mayūrasārman, ends with *sārman*, the names of nearly all his descendants (Kangavarman, Kākusthavarman, Śāntivarman, Mrigēsavarman, Māndhātṛivarman, etc.) end with *varman*. The former is the characteristic ending of a Brāhman's name, the latter that of a Kshatriya's. In the inscriptions of the later Kādambas Mayūrasārman's name, too, appears as Mayūrasavarman, see my *Southern List*, No. 210.

his son was Bhagiratha. Bhagiratha's sons, again, were Raghu and Kākustha (Kākusthavarman). Nothing of note is recorded of these later chiefs, excepting that Kākusthavarman is intimated to have married his daughters to the Gupta and other kings

When in the course of the above story Kubja, in verse 20, tells us that Mayūrasarman, after entering the service of the Pallavas, pleased them by his acts of bravery in battles, I understand him to mean that at first Mayūrasarman became a *dandanāyaka* or general of theirs, and I believe this view to be supported by the fact that in verse 3 the poet describes the Kadamba family generally as 'the great lineage of the Kadamba leaders of armies (*sēnāni*),' as well as by the circumstance that according to verse 22 Mayūrasarman was anointed by Shadānana (the six-faced god of war) after meditating on Sēnāpati, i.e. the general of the gods (Kārttikīya). With regard to the territory afterwards given to him, there is the difficulty that the word Prēhara or Prēharā, which indicates its boundary on apparently the east, is entirely unknown to us. The present inscription is at Tālagunda, and one of the chief places of the Kadambas mentioned in their copper-plates is Vanjayanṭi, i.e. Banavāsi, which is not far from the former. Assuming that the eastern boundary of their territory was about as distant from Tālagunda and Banavāsi as the sea is from them on the west, that boundary would probably have been formed by the river Tungabhadra, but I cannot in any way connect the word Prēhara or Prēharā with this river,<sup>1</sup> and am in fact unable to suggest any explanation of it

The word Gupta in verse 31, which implies that Kākusthavarman gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings, has been understood<sup>2</sup> to refer in all probability to the *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta who ruled in the second half of the fourth century A.D. But beyond the fact that Samudragupta conquered many kings of Southern India, nothing has been adduced to prove this. Granted that Kubja's account cannot be due solely to poetical exaggeration, the Gupta king or kings mentioned by him might, irrespectively of other considerations, be any of the Gupta rulers down to the seventh century A.D., and the reference to them cannot in my opinion be used to establish the time of Kākusthavarman with any degree of accuracy. When the poet Bāna<sup>3</sup> tells us that the lotus-feet of his great-grandfather Kuvēra were adored by many Guptas, we may infer that these Guptas were kings who ruled about the beginning of the sixth century, because we know Bāna himself to have lived at the beginning of the seventh. But if nothing were known regarding Bāna's own time, the statement would not help us in the least to fix in any definite way the time of his great-grandfather

Another royal family of importance is referred to in verse 33 of the inscription, where we are told that the Śiva shrine near which Kākusthavarman constructed his tank had been worshipped by Sātakarni (or the Sātakarnis) and other pious kings. I need hardly say that Sātakarni is a well-known name or surname of several kings of the Andhrabhritya or Sātavāhana dynasty who ruled over part of Southern India during the first centuries of the Christian era. An inscription of a Sātakarni has years ago been found, not far from Tālagunda, at Banavāsi which has already been mentioned.<sup>4</sup> And Mr Rice has been fortunate enough to discover, and has published,<sup>5</sup> another inscription of apparently the same Sātakarni at Malavalli, in the Tālagunda subdivision of the Shikārpur tāluka. The existence of these inscriptions shows that, what Kubja tells us, is not at all improbable, and that the poet really knew something of the history of his country

Kākusthavarman is the earliest king known to us from the published copper-plates of the Kadambas. The present inscription carries the family back by three more generations, from it

<sup>1</sup> There is of course no *a priori* reason why the word should denote a river more than anything else

<sup>2</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol XXV p 27

<sup>3</sup> See the 10th of the introductory verses of his *Kādambarī anēka-Guṇī-archita pādapantakajah Kuvēra nāmā*. The published commentary explains the word *gupta* in this passage to mean 'Vaiśyas and Śūdras'

<sup>4</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol XIV p 333, and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> See *Ep Carn* Vol VII p 251, No 263, and Plate



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<sup>2</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV p. 27.

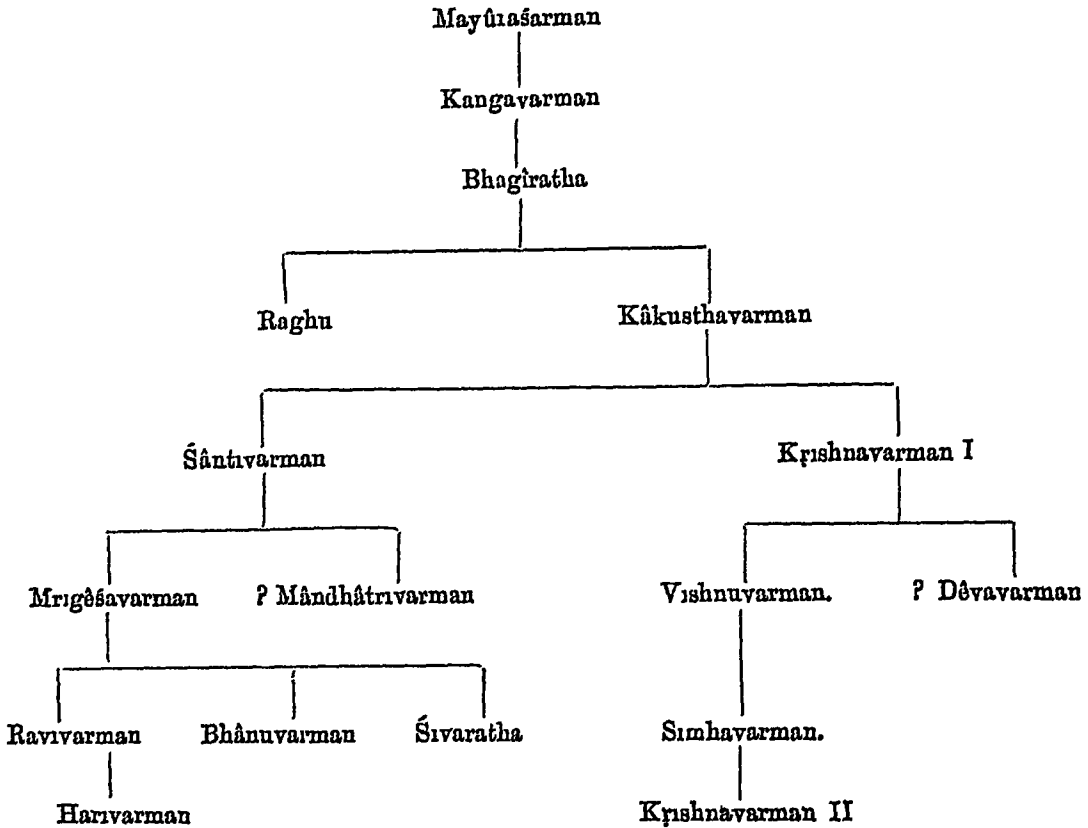
<sup>3</sup> See the 10th of the introductory verses of his *Kādambarī* *and* *the Gupta-archita-pādapankajah Kuvēra* *śmṛd.* The published commentary explains the word *gupta* in this passage to mean 'Vaiśyas and Śūdras.'

<sup>4</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV p. 333, and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII p. 251, No. 263, and Plate.

and the plates<sup>1</sup> I have compiled the following genealogical Table, which will be found to differ considerably from the one published by Mr. Rice in *Ep Carn* Vol VI Introduction, p 4.

Genealogical Table.



I ought to state that the correctness of this Table greatly depends on the reliability<sup>2</sup>—assumed here—of the Bīrūr plates, published by Mr. Rice in *Ep Carn* Vol VI p. 91, No. 162. These plates record a grant by the Kadamba *Dharmamahārāja* Viṣṇuvarman, the eldest son of the *advamēdha-yājñ*, the *Dharmamahārāja* Kṛṣṇavarman. By stating that Viṣṇuvarman was making the grant with the permission of his *jyēśhṭha-pitṛ* (i.e. his father's eldest brother<sup>3</sup>) Śāntivarman (Śāntivarman), they enable us to combine, as shown in the Table, the information given by the Bannahalli plates of Kṛṣṇavarman II (above, Vol VI p 17) with that furnished by various plates from Halsi and Dēvagēri (Nos 604, 606, 608, 610-612 of my *Southern List*). What I am not sure about in the Table is, whether I have correctly placed Māndhātṛvarman and Dēvavarman. Mrigēśavarman was an eldest son, and Māndhātṛvarman

<sup>1</sup> For the fifteen Kadamba copper-plate inscriptions known to us see below, p 34, note 2

<sup>2</sup> I have some doubts about the genuineness of the Bīrūr plates, but see no reason to question what is stated in them regarding the degree of relationship between Viṣṇuvarman and Śāntivarman

<sup>3</sup> The word *jyēśhṭha-pitṛ* is synonymous with *jyēśhṭha-tāta* which in the *Varāyanti* is explained by *pitṛ-jyēśhṭha*, 'a father's eldest brother', and it is actually used in this sense in the Muraḥ plates of Jayasimha II. Jagadikamalla, *Ind Ant* Vol VIII p 17a, l 4. I may note besides that in *Rām* VII. 25, 23, Malyavat, the eldest brother of Sumali, is called the *pitṛ jyēśhṭha* of Sumali's daughter Kaikasi, i.e. 'the eldest brother of the father' of Kaikasi. (*Ibid* verse 24 Malyavat's granddaughter Kumbhina is called 'the sister' of Sumali's grandson Ravana, and in verse 47 Ravana is called 'the brother' of the same Kumbhina). This shows how vaguely words denoting relationship were used already in early times in India.)

may have been his younger brother,<sup>1</sup> but there is nothing to prove this with certainty. Dêvarman, described as the son of a Kṛishṇavarman, in my opinion more probably was a son of Kṛishṇavarman I (and younger brother of Vishṇuvarman who was an eldest son) than of Kṛishṇavarman II,<sup>2</sup> but of this, again, we have no definite proof. It is also not certain that Śivaratha was a younger brother of Bhānuvarman. Of the three brothers, Bhānuvarman is described as the younger brother of Ravivarman, Śivaratha as the paternal uncle of Harivarman — It will be seen that according to the Table the number of generations is eight, not eleven, as found by Mr Rice

There remains the question as to the age of this inscription. The inscription itself is not dated in any way. Of the fifteen Kadamba copper-plate inscriptions, four are not dated at all, ten are dated in regnal years,<sup>3</sup> varying between 2 and 11, and the plates of the Yuvarāja Kākusthavarman are dated in the 80th year, which, as intimated already by Dr Fleet, in all probability was reckoned from the commencement of Mayūrasarma's reign. Neither in the present inscription nor in the plates is there any reference to a king whose time can be determined with any certainty, and the inscriptions of other dynasties do not mention any specific Kadamba king. That our inscription belongs to comparatively early times, there can be no doubt. I have shown that the rare metre, chiefly employed in it, is elsewhere found in records from about the fifth to the seventh century A.D., and much the same period is indicated by Kākusthavarman's connection with some Gupta king or kings. Of the copper-plates which are later than this inscription, two — instead of quoting the ordinary lunar months which are quoted in seven others — quote fortnights of the rains and winter (*varshā* and *hēmanā*). This also would suggest a considerable antiquity, although we must not forget that we have a similar season-date in the Duda plates of Pravarasena II (above, Vol III, p 260), which have been assigned to about the beginning of the 8th century A.D.<sup>4</sup> To what particular portion of the time from the 5th to the 7th century A.D. our inscription should be referred, seems to me extremely difficult to say. I have carefully studied all Kadamba inscriptions from a palæographical point of view, and have compared them with other inscriptions from the South, without being able to arrive at any certain and definite conclusion. My general impression is that the present inscription may be assigned to about the first half of the 6th century A.D.<sup>5</sup>

#### TEXT<sup>6</sup>

- 1 Siddham? [1] Namaś=Śivāya || Jayatī<sup>8</sup> viśvadē[va]-<sup>9</sup>sa[m]ghāta-nichit-aikamūrttis= sanātanaḥ Sthānu(nu)r-indu-rasmi-vichchhurita<sup>10</sup> dyutimaj-jatābhāra-mandanah || [1\*]  
Tam=anu bhūsūrā dvija-piavarās=sāma-rg-yajur-vveda-vadinah yat-prasādas-trāyatē  
nityam bhuvana-trayam pāpmanō bhayāt || [2\*] Anupadam Surēndra-tulya-  
[va]puh=Kākusthavarmanmā viśala-dhīh bhūpatih=Kadamba-sēnāni-brihad-<sup>11</sup>anvaya-  
vy[o]ma-chandramāḥ
- 2 || [3\*] Atha babbhūva dvija-kulam prāmsu vicharad-gunēndvamśu-mandalam  
tryārshavartma-Hāritīputram=ṛishimukhya-Mānavya-gōtra-jam || [4\*] Vividha-yajñ-  
āvabhritha-puny-āmbu-myat-ābhishēk-ārdra-mūrdhajah pravachan-āvagāha-nishnātam

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. VI p 13

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid* p '7

<sup>3</sup> Two dates, with reference to the motion of Jupiter, qualify the regnal years by the statements that they were Vaisākha and Pausa years respectively, compare *Ind Ant* Vol XXII p. 83 f

<sup>4</sup> Compare above, Vol IV p 195, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> See also Dr Fleet's *Dynasties*, p 291

<sup>6</sup> From impressions supplied by Prof Hultzsch

<sup>7</sup> This word stands in front of, and between, lines 1 and 2,

<sup>8</sup> For the metre of verses 1-24 see the introduction

<sup>9</sup> The *akshara* in brackets might perhaps be read as *dā* (or rather *dā*), but the preceding *akshara* is clearly *dā*, not *vā*

<sup>10</sup> The reading *vichchhurita* is certain

<sup>11</sup> The *akshara* *bri* of *brihad* has no superscript *r*

- vidhivat=samiddh-āgni sōma-pam || [5\*] Pranavapūrvva-shadvīdhāddhyēya-<sup>1</sup>  
nānardyamān-āntarālayam ||<sup>2</sup> akriśa-chāturmāśya-hōm-ōshti paśu-pārvvapa-śrāddha-  
panshtikam || [6\*]
- 3 Atithi-nityasamśrit-āvasatham savanatray-<sup>3</sup>āvandhya-naityakam gṛiha-samipa-dēśa-  
samrūdha-vikasat-kadamb-aika-pādapam || [7\*] Tad-upachāravat=tad=āsya tarōḥ-  
sānāmya-sādharmyam=asya tat pravavritō satirtthya-vipranām piūchuryyatas=tad-  
viśēshanam || [8\*] Ēvam=āgatō Kadamba-kulō śrīmān=babhūva dvij-ōttamah  
nāmatō Mayūrasarm-ōti śruta-sīla-śauch-ādy-alamkritah || [9\*]
- 4 Ych prayāya Pallavēndra-purim gurunā samam Viraśaimmanā adhijigāmsuḥ=  
pravachanam nnikhilam<sup>4</sup> ghatikām vivś=āsu tarkkukah<sup>5</sup> || [10\*] Tatra  
Pallav-aśvasamsthēna kalabhēna tivrēna rōshitah Kali-yugē=sminn=ahō bata  
kshatrāt=paripīlavā vipratā yatah || [11\*] Guru-kulāni samyag=ārāddhya  
śakham=adhity=āpi yatnatah brahma-siddhir=yyadī nrip-ādhinā kum=atah=param  
duhkham=ity=atah || [12\*]
- 5 Kuśa-samid-drishat-srug-ājya-churn-grahan-ādi-dakshōpa pāninā udvavarha<sup>6</sup> diptimach=  
chhastram vijigishamānō vasundharām || [13\*] Yō=ntapālan=Pallavēndrānām  
sahasā vinirjitya samyugō addhyuvāsa durgamām=ataim Śriparvvata-dvāra-  
samśritām || [14\*] Ādadō karān=Brihad-Bāna-pramukhad=babhūn-rāja-mandalāt  
ēvam=ōbhīh=Pallavēndrānām bhrikuti-samutpatti-kāranaih || [15\*]
- 6 Svapratijñā-pāran-ōttihāna-laghubbhīh=krit-ārtthais=cha chēsthitaih bhūshanaiv=iv=ābabhau  
balavad-yātrā-samutthāpanēna cha || [16\*] Abhiyuyukshay=āgatēshu bhriśam  
Kāñchi-narēndrēshv=arātishu vishama-[d]ēsa-prayāna-samvēśa-<sup>7</sup>rajanishv=avaskanda-  
bhūmishu || [17\*] Prāpya sēnā-sugaiam tēshām prāhan=bali śyōnavat=tadā  
āpadan=tun=ōdhārayām=āsa bhujakhadgamāttra-[vya]pārayah || [18\*]
- 7 Pallavēndrā yasya śaktim=imām labdhvā pratāp-ānvayāv=api n=āsya hānis=  
śrōyas=ity=uktivō yam=mitiam=ēv=āsu vavritō || [19\*] Samśritas=tadā mahipālān=  
ārāddhya yuddhēshu vikramaih prāpa pattahandha sampūjām lara-pallavaih=  
Pallavar=ddhritām || [20\*] Bhāngur-ōrmmi-valgitair=nrityad-aparānnav-<sup>8</sup>āmbhah-  
krit-āvadhum<sup>10</sup>Prēhar-āntām=ananyasamcharana-samaya-sthitām bhūmim=ēva cha  
|| [21\*]
- 8 Vibudha-samgha-mauli-sammrisha-charanāravindash=Shadānanah yam=abhishiktavān=  
anudhyāya Sēnāpatim mātṛibhis=saba || [22\*] Tasya putrah=Kangavarmm-ōgra-  
samar-ōddh[u]ra-prā[m]śu-chēsthitah pranata-sarvva-mandal-ōtk[r]ishtha-<sup>11</sup>sita-chāmar-  
ōddh[ū]ta-sēkharah || [23\*] Tat-s[u]tah=Kadamba-bhūmivadbū-ruchit-aikanāthō  
Bhagirathah Sagara-mukhyas=s[v]ayam Kadamba-kulē<sup>12</sup> prach[ehh]an[n]a-jan-  
[m]ā jan-ādhipah || [24\*]
- 9 Atha<sup>13</sup> nripa-mahitasya tasya putrah prathita-yasā Raghu-pārthivah prithu-śrīh  
Prithur=iva prithivīm=prasahya yō=rin<sup>14</sup> akrita parākkramatas=svava[m]śa-bhōjyām  
|| [25\*] Pratibhaya-samarēshv=arātī-śastr-ōllikhita-mukhō=bhīmukha-dvishā[m]

<sup>1</sup> Originally \**addhyēyam* seems to have been engraved, the *akshara ddyē* is certain

<sup>2</sup> This sign of punctuation should be struck out

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the original has *savanatray-*

<sup>4</sup> Read *nikhilam*, the sign of *anusvāra* of *lam* is quite clear

<sup>5</sup> So far as I can judge, this, and not *tarkkakah*, is the reading of the original

<sup>6</sup> Originally *udvavarhē* seems to have been engraved

<sup>7</sup> Originally *samvēśa-* was engraved, but the lower *v* of the *akshara viś* is clearly struck out.

<sup>8</sup> Originally *āpadantārvindhē* seems to have been engraved

<sup>9</sup> This word is quite clear in the original

<sup>10</sup> The second *akshara* of this word is distinctly *ha*, and cannot possibly be read *ma*

<sup>11</sup> Read *-ōtk[r]ishtha-*

<sup>12</sup> This reading is certain

<sup>13</sup> Metre of verses 25 and 26 Pushpitāgrā

<sup>14</sup> Read *-rin=akṛita*



1

2

- praharttā śrutipatha-mṇunah=kaviḥ pradātā vīvidha-kalā-kuśalah=prajā-priyaś=cha  
|| [26\*]
- 10 <sup>1</sup>Bhrāt=śasya chāru-vapur=abda-gabbhira-nādō mōksha-trivargga-patur=anvaya-vatsalaś=cha Bhāgīrathir=nnarapatir=mrigarāja-lilah Kākustha ity=avani-mandala-ghushta-kirtih || [27\*] <sup>2</sup>Jyāyobhis=saha vīgrahō=rttishu dayā samyak=prajā-pālanam<sup>3</sup> din-ābhyuddharanam pradhāna-vasubhir=mukhya-dvi-ābhyarhanam
- 11 yasy=aitat=kula-bhūshanasya nripatēh prajā-ōttaram bhūshanam<sup>4</sup> tam=bhūpāh=khalu mēnirē sura-sakham Kākustham=atr-āgatam || [28\*] <sup>5</sup>Gharmm-ākkrāntā iva mriga-ganā vriksha-r[ā\*]jīm praviśya chehbhāyā-sēvā-mrīdita-<sup>6</sup>manasō nirvritim prāpnuvanti tadvaj=jyāyō-vihata-gatayō bāndhavās=s-ānubandhāh prāpus=śarmm=āvyathita-manasō yasya bhūm[īm] praviśya || [29\*]
- 12 <sup>7</sup>Nanāvīdha-dravina-sāra-samuchchayēshu matta-dvipēndra-mada-vāsita-gōpurēshu sam-gita-valgu-ninadēshu grihēshu yasya Lakshmy-anganā dhritmatī suchiram cha rēmē || [30\*] Gupt-ādi-pārtthiva-kul-āmbaruha-sthalāni snēh-ādara-pranaya-sambhrama-kēsarāni śīmanty=anēka-nripa-shatpada-sēvitani yō=bōdbayad=duhitṛ didibitibhir=nrip-ārkkah || [31\*]
- 13 <sup>8</sup>Yan=daiva-sampannam=adīna-chēshtam śakti-ttray-ōpētam=ath=āsana-stham śeshair=gunaiḥ paūchabhir=apy=asāddhyas=sāmanta-chūdāmanayah pranēmuh || [32\*] <sup>9</sup>Say=iba bhagavatō Bhavasy=ādi-dēvasya siddhy-alayā siddha-gā(ga)ndharvva-rakshō-ganaś=sēvitē vīvidha-niyama-hōma-dīkshā-parair=brāh[m]anaī snatakai stūyamānē sadā mantra-vādais=śubhaiḥ
- 14 sukṛitibhir=avanisvarair=ātma-niśśrēṣasam prēpsubhis=Sātakarny-ādibhis=śraddhay=ābhyarchchitē<sup>10</sup> idam=uru-salil-ōpayōg-āśrayam bhūpatih=kārayām-āsa Kākusthavarmanā tadākam=<sup>11</sup>ma[hat ||] [33\*] <sup>12</sup>Tasy=aurasasya tanaya[s]ya vīśāla-kirttēh [pa]tta-ttray-ārppana-vrā[ṇ]ta]-charu-mūrttēh śrī-Śāntivarmma-nripatēr=vvara-śāsana-sthah Kubjas=sva-kāvya=īdam=aśma-talē līlēkha || [34\*]
- 15 Namō bhagavatā Sthānakundūra-vāsinē Mahādēvāya [I\*] Nandatu sarvva-samant-āgatō=yam=adhivāsah [I\*] Svasti prajabhya itī [II]

## TRANSLATION.

(Be it) accomplished ! Obeisance to Śiva !

(Verse 1) Victorious<sup>13</sup> is the eternal Sthānu,<sup>14</sup> whose one body is framed by the coalescence of all the gods, who is adorned with a mass of matted hair, lustrous because inlaid with the rays of the moon

(V 2.) After him, (victorious are) the gods on earth,<sup>15</sup> the chief of the twice-born, who recite the Śīma-, Rīg- and Yajur-vēdas, whose favour constantly guards the three worlds from the fear of evil

(V 3) And next, (victorious is) Kākusthavarman, whose form is like that of the lord of the gods (and) whose intelligence is vast, the king who is the moon in the firmament of the great lineage of the Kadamba leaders of armies

<sup>1</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā.

<sup>2</sup> Read -pālanam

<sup>3</sup> Metre Mandakrāntā

<sup>7</sup> Metre of verses 30 and 31 Vasantatilakā.

Metre A kind of Dandaka, either called by the general name Prachita or specifically Chandavēga or Arnava,

see *Ind Stud* Vol VIII p 403

<sup>10</sup> Read =ābhyarchchita

<sup>11</sup> The reading tadākam=ma is certain

<sup>12</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā

<sup>13</sup> With verses 1-3 compare the first three verses of the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II, above, Vol VI p 4 and p 7, note 15

<sup>14</sup> I.e. the god Śiva

<sup>15</sup> I.e. the Brāhmins

(V. 4) There was a high family of twice-born, the circle of whose virtues, resembling the moon's rays,<sup>1</sup> was (ever) expanding, in which the sons of Hārati trod the path of the three Vēdas, (and) which had sprung from the *gōtra* of Mānavya,<sup>2</sup> the foremost of Rishis

(V. 5) Where the hair was wet from being constantly sprinkled with the holy water of the purificatory rites of manifold sacrifices, which well knew how to dive into the sacred lore, kindled the fire and drank the Sōma according to precept.

(V. 6) Where the interiors of the houses loudly resounded with the sixfold subjects of study<sup>3</sup> preceded by the word *ōm*; which promoted the increase of ample *chāturmāsya* sacrifices, burnt-offerings, oblations, animal sacrifices, new- and full-moon and *śrāddha* rites

(V. 7) Where the dwellings were ever resorted to by guests (and) the regular rites not wanting in the three libations; (and) where on a spot near the house there grew one tree with blooming Kadamba flowers

(V. 8) Then, as the (family) tended this tree, so there came about that sameness of name with it of (these) Brāhman fellow-students, currently (accepted) as distinguishing them<sup>4</sup>

(V. 9) In the Kadamba family thus arisen there was an illustrious chief of the twice-born named Mayūrasarman, adorned with sacred knowledge, good disposition, purity and the rest

(V. 10) With his preceptor Vīrasarman he went to the city of the Pallava lords,<sup>5</sup> and, eager to study the whole sacred lore, quickly entered the *ghaṭikā*<sup>6</sup> as a mendicant<sup>7</sup>

(Vv. 11 and 12) There, enraged by a fierce quarrel with a Pallava horseman (he reflected) 'Alas, that in this Kali-age the Brāhman should be so much feeble than the Kshatriyas! For, if to one, who has duly served his preceptor's family and earnestly studied his branch of the Vēda, the perfection in holiness<sup>8</sup> depends on a king, what can there be more painful than this?' And so—

(V. 13) With the hand dexterous in grasping the *kūśa*-grass, the fuel, the stones, the ladle, the melted butter and the oblation-vessel, he unsheathed a flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth

(V. 14) Having swiftly defeated in battle the frontier-guards of the Pallava lords, he occupied the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Śrīparvata.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol VI p 20, line 5 of the text *guṇ-dmubhīr-vyāpya jagat-samasam*

<sup>2</sup> In the fourteen Kadamba copper-plate inscriptions enumerated under Nos 602-614 of my *Southern List*, to which may now be added the Benpur plates in *Ep. Carn.* Vol V Part I p 591, the two epithets *śidhaviya-sagōtra* and *Hārati-putra* are six times applied to the Kadambas generally, and four times to individual Kadamba kings, in one case (No 613) *Mānavya sagōtra* alone is applied to a king. The word *trayāśha-vartman* of the text, which with *Hārati-putra* forms a Bahuvrīhi compound, I take to be practically equivalent to *śuddhyā-charchāpāra* (-*charchika*, etc.) in the terms *pratikṛti-śuddhyā charchāpāra*, etc., of the plates, see above, Vol VI p 15, note 3. None of the terms mentioned here occur in my No 602, the only plates which are earlier than the present inscription.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the six Vēdangas

<sup>4</sup> The simple meaning of the verse is that the members of the family, as they tended the Kadamba tree, came to be currently called by the specific name 'Kadamba'. I take the word *sandmāya-sddharmyam* of the text to be a Karmadhāraya, not a Dvandva compound, it literally means 'a sameness of property which appears as sameness of name' (*sandmāya rūpam sddharmyam*)

<sup>5</sup> I.e. Kāñchipura

<sup>6</sup> I.e. a particular establishment for holy and learned men, probably founded by a king, see my introductory remarks, above, p 26

<sup>7</sup> The word *tarkuka* is given in Hémachandra's *Abhidhānaśāstrī*, v 388, as a synonym of *yāchaka*, etc., and is explained by *yāchaka* in a gloss on *Rājataranginī*, III. 254

<sup>8</sup> The attainment of holiness was obstructed by the rage caused by the Pallava king's horseman



(V 15 and 16.) He levied many taxes from the circle of kings headed by the Great Bāna. So he shone, as with ornaments, by these exploits of his which made the Pallava lords knit their brows—exploits which were charming since his vow began to be fulfilled thereby and which secured his purpose—as well as by the starting of a powerful raid.

(V 17 and 18) When the enemies, the kings of Kāñchi, came in strength to fight him, he—in the nights when they were marching or resting in rough country, in places fit for assault—lighted upon the ocean of their army and struck it like a hawk, full of strength. (So) he bore that trouble,<sup>1</sup> relying solely on the sword of his arm.

(V 19) The Pallava lords, having found out this strength of his as well as his valour and lineage, said that to ruin him would be no advantage, and so they quickly chose him even for a friend.

(V 20.) Then entering the kings' service, he pleased them by his acts of bravery in battles and obtained the honour of being crowned with a fillet, offered by the Pallavas with the sprouts (*pallava*) of their hands.

(V 21) And (he) also (received) a territory, bordered by the water of the western sea which dances with the rising and falling of its curved waves, and bounded by the (?) Prēhara,<sup>2</sup> secured to him under the compact that others should not enter it.<sup>3</sup>

(V 22 and 23) Of him—whom Shadānana,<sup>4</sup> whose lotus-feet are polished by the crowns of the assembly of the gods, anointed, after meditating on Sēnāpati with the Mothers<sup>5</sup>—the son was Kaṅgavarman, who performed lofty great exploits in terrible wars, (and) whose diadem was shaken by the white chowries of all the chiefs of districts who bowed down (before him).

(V 24) His son was Bhagiratha, the one lord dear to the brde—the Kadamba country, Sagara's chief descendant<sup>6</sup> in person, secretly born in the Kadamba family as king.

(V 25) Now the son of him who was honoured by kings was the earth's highly prosperous ruler Raghū, of wide-spread fame, who, having subdued the enemies, by his valour, like Prithu, caused the earth to be enjoyed by his race.<sup>7</sup>

(V 26) Who in fearful battles, his face slashed by the swords of the enemy, struck down the adversaries facing him, who was well versed in the ways of sacred lore, a poet, a donor, skilled in manifold arts, and beloved of the people.

(V 27) His brother was Bhagiratha's son Kākustha, of beautiful form, with a voice deep as the cloud's, clever in the pursuit of salvation and the three objects of life,<sup>8</sup> and kind to his lineage; a lord of men with the lion's gait, whose fame was proclaimed on the orb of the earth.

(V 28) Him, to whom war with the stronger, compassion for the needy, proper protection of the people, relief of the distressed, honour paid to the chief twice-born by (the bestowal of)

<sup>1</sup> Vir: the attack made on him by the Pallavas.

<sup>2</sup> See the introductory remarks, above, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> With the wording of the original text I would compare *e.g.* from the Virataparvan of the *Mahābhārata* *ojāṭavasa-samayam tisham carsham trayodasam*, but there the meaning is 'the remaining 13th year, to which was attached the condition that they should dwell incognito'. The sense of the passage in our inscription I take to be similar to that of *e.g.* *ananyasiddhantam=uritm* in *Ragh.* I. 30, 'the earth, not ruled by any other king'.

<sup>4</sup> Shadānana and Sēnāpati are really only two different names of one and the same divine being (Śaṇḍa, Kārttikeya).

<sup>5</sup> Compare the epithet—of either the Kadambas generally or individual Kadamba kings—*Śrāmī-Mahātēna-māṭṭigan-anudhyat-dhūshikra* in the copper-plates, *e.g.* above, Vol. VI p. 14, line 2 of the text, and p. 18, line 3 of the text. See also above, p. 34, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> See Sir M. Monier-Williams's *Dictionary* under *Bhagiratha* and *Sagara*.

<sup>7</sup> With the wording of this verse we may compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 53, lines 6 and 7 of the text. The story of the earth's conquest by the mythical Prithu is well known from the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*.

<sup>8</sup> *Vir. dharma, artha and kāma*.

pre-eminent wealth, were the rational ornament of a ruler (*who wished to be*) an ornament of his family, kings thought to be indeed Kākustha,<sup>1</sup> the friend of the gods, descended here.

(V 29) As herds of deer, oppressed by the heat, when they enter a cluster of trees, have their minds delighted by the enjoyment of the shade and find comfort, so kinsmen with their belongings, who were waylaid by the stronger, had their minds relieved and found shelter, when they entered his territory.

(V 30) And in his house which contained manifold collections of choice wealth, the gateways of which were perfumed with the rutting juice of lordly elephants in rut, (*and*) which gaily resounded with music, the lady Fortune delighted to stay steadfast, for very long

(V 31) This sun of a king by means of his rays — his daughters — caused to expand the splendid lotus-groups — the royal families of the Guptas and others, the filaments of which were attachment, respect, love and reverence (*for him*), and which were cherished by many bees — the kings (*who served them*)<sup>2</sup>

(V 32) Now to him, favoured by destiny, of no mean energy, endowed with the three powers,<sup>3</sup> the crest-jewels of neighbouring princes bowed down (*even*) while he was sitting quiet — they who could not be subdued by the other five measures of royal policy together<sup>4</sup>

(V 33) Here, at the home of perfection of the holy primeval god Bhava,<sup>5</sup> which is frequented by groups of Siddhas, Gandharyas and Rakshas, which is ever praised with auspicious recitations of sacred texts by Brāhman students solely devoted to manifold vows, sacrifices and initiatory rites, (*and*) which was worshipped with faith by Śātakarni and other pious kings seeking salvation for themselves, that king Kākusthavarman has caused to be made this great tank, a reservoir for the supply of abundant water

(V 34) Abiding by the excellent commands of that (*king's*) own son, the wide-famed glorious king Śāntavarman whose beautiful body is made radiant by the putting on of three fillets, Kubja has written this poem of his own on the surface of the stone

Obeisance to the holy Mahādēva<sup>6</sup> who dwells at Sthānakundūra! May joy attend this place, inhabited by men come from all the neighbourhood! Blessed be the people!

## No. 6 — JUNAGADH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADAMAN, THE YEAR 72

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CIE, GÖTTINGEN

This inscription was first edited, with a translation and small lithograph, in April 1838, by Mr James Prinsep, in *Journal As Soc Bengal*, Vol VII p 338 ff. and Plate xv,<sup>6</sup> from a facsimile which at the suggestion of the Rev Dr J Wilson of Bombay had been prepared by

<sup>1</sup> The proper spelling of this word in literature is *Kakustha*. The mythical being referred to probably is Rāma.

<sup>2</sup> The general idea expressed in the above is very common, compare e.g., in a Kadamba inscription, *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 37, line 13 of the text, *svayana-kumudavana-prabōdhana-sasānkah*, and in another inscription, above, Vol VII p 207, line 4 of the text, *kula-kumudavana-lakshmi-vibōdhana-chandramāva*. Whether our author has been very successful in elaborating that idea in detail, the reader may judge for himself, he may compare *Ragh* XVII 48, where the spies of a king are compared to the rays (*dīdhiti*) of the sun, and, for the lotus-groups, filaments, bees, and the sun's rays, *Kir* IV 14. The word *duhitṛi* of the verse must of course denote the king's daughters, and what the poet wishes to say can only be that they were given in marriage to the Gupta and other kings.

<sup>3</sup> *Vīra* the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy, see above, Vol VI p 10, note 7.

<sup>4</sup> For the six *gundh*, i.e. measures of royal policy, see e.g., *Bdm* II 100. 69, *Ragh* VIII 21, *Śis* II. 26, and *Manu* VII 160 ff. One of them, *śana*, 'sitting quiet, halting,' we have in the word *śana-stham* of our verse, the five others are alliance, war, marching, dividing the army, and seeking protection.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. Siva.

<sup>6</sup> Compare also *ibid* Plate xix.

Captain Lang of the Kāthiavād Political Agency<sup>1</sup> A critical essay on that edition was published in 1841 by Prof Lassen in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol IV p 146 ff, and Prinsep's translation was subsequently reprinted, with part of a revised translation by Prof H. H. Wilson,<sup>2</sup> in Mr Thomas's edition of Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Vol II p 57 ff. A month after the appearance of Prinsep's edition fresh facsimiles of the original were taken by Lient Postans, but they reached Calcutta only when Prinsep, at whose instance they were made, had already left India,<sup>3</sup> and in July 1842 another facsimile, the joint labour of Captain (afterwards General Sir) George LeGrand Jacob, Mr N L Westergaard and a young Brāhman, was presented to the Bombay Asiatic Society, and a small lithograph of it published in the Society's Journal, Vol I p 148. A great advance in the reading and interpretation of the inscription was made in 1862, when, in the same Journal, Vol VII p 118 ff, Dr Bhau Daj again published the text and a translation of it, with a large lithograph reduced from facsimiles made by Bhagvanlal Indrajī. Moreover, a revised version of Dr Bhau Daj's work, by Prof Eggeling, appeared in 1876, in *Archaeol Surv of West India*, Vol II p 128 ff, with a collotype from estampages by Dr Burgess. Two years later Dr Bhagvanlal Indrajī's own text and translation were published, under the editorship of Prof Bühler, in *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 257 ff. And finally,<sup>4</sup> in 1890, Prof Bühler again gave the text and a translation of part of it, in his essay *Die Indischen Inschriften und das Alter der Indischen Kunstpoesie*, pp 45 ff and 86 ff. — Some four or five years ago Dr Fleet most generously presented to me his excellent paper impression of the inscription and requested me to re-edit this record. In now, at last, complying with his request, I would gratefully acknowledge my obligations to the labours of my predecessors. Though from the first I saw that I could add but little to the main results of their work, I have persevered in my task because I felt that, even in its more minute details, the text of this, our earliest Sanskrit inscription of importance, ought to be given in as reliable a form as possible. A careful study of the impression enables me to add that the accompanying photo-lithograph, made under Dr Fleet's own supervision, apparently is the first facsimile of this inscription that has been prepared by purely mechanical processes.

The inscription is on the western side, near the top, of the famous rock which also contains the Aśoka edicts<sup>5</sup> as well as a long inscription of the Gupta king Skandagupta,<sup>6</sup> about a mile to the eastward of the town of Junagadh in Kāthiavād, and at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Gīrnār.<sup>7</sup> It contains twenty lines of varying length<sup>8</sup> of well-engraved writing which covers a space of about 11' 1" broad by 5' 5" high. Of these, only the four last lines (17-20) are fully preserved, while in each of the lines 1-16, as will be seen from the facsimile, a more or less extensive part of the writing is entirely gone, through wilful damage or the peeling off of the surface of the rock. Taking the total length of the twenty lines to be about 1900", the missing portion of the writing would be about 275", or approximately one-seventh of the whole inscription. Where the surface of the rock has

<sup>1</sup> See *Jour Bo As Soc* Vol II p 27, and Vol III Part XIII p 27.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Wilson's revised translation was based on a Nāgarī transcript of the text, which Mr Thomas 'had prepared with much care from the improved facsimile of Messrs Westergaard and Jacob,' which will be mentioned below.

<sup>3</sup> See *Jour As Soc Bengal*, Vol VII p 865 ff. and p 887.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps I should mention that the inscription has also been 'edited,' with a facsimile, in *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, published by the Bhavnagar Archaeol Department, p 18 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Some letters of the 6th edict will be seen in the upper left corner of the accompanying facsimile, compare the facsimile of that edict opposite p 454 of *Ep Ind* Vol II, near the upper right corner of which the first word (*siddham*) of the present inscription may be seen.

<sup>6</sup> Edited in *Gupta Inscr* p 58.

<sup>7</sup> See *Jour As Soc Bengal*, Vol VII pp 337 and 871-73, and *Gupta Inscr* p 57; and, for a photograph of the rock, *Archaeol Surv of West India*, Vol II. Plate ix.

<sup>8</sup> The length of line 1 is about 6' 3", of line 9 (the longest line) about 11' 1", of line 11 about 9' 8", of line 17 about 5' 2", and of line 20 only 2' 5".

remained intact, the writing is generally well preserved and may be read with confidence nearly throughout. The average size of such letters as *n*, *p*, *b*, *m* is about  $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

The characters according to Dr. Fleet (*Gupta Inscr* p 57) present an earlier form of the decidedly southern alphabet in the inscription of Skandagupta on the same rock. And this agrees with the opinion of Prof Bühler who, in his *Ind Palæographie*, p 42, has described the alphabet here used as one of the precursors of the southern alphabets. Some of the more characteristic features in which this alphabet agrees with the later southern alphabets, according to Prof Bühler, are the curves at the lower end of the vertical strokes of initial *a* and *d* and of the consonants *k*, *ñ* and *r*, the round form of *ḍ*,<sup>1</sup> the manner in which the upper part of the vertical line of *l* is turned towards the left, and the form of medial *ṛ* which sometimes it is difficult to distinguish from the subscript *r*. Of initial vowels the inscription contains only *a*, *d*, *i*, and *e* (e.g. in *Aśokasya*, l 8, *d garbhāt*, l 9, *idam*, l 1, and *ĉkārṇava*, l 5), of the ordinary Sanskrit consonants all excepting *n* and *jh*, but *ohh*, *ñ*, *ṣh* and *ph* occur only as subscript letters (e.g. in *-ōchōhhraya*, l 1, *rājñō*, l 3, *saushṣhava*, l 13, and *sphuṣa*, l 14). We have besides the so-called southern *ḷ*, in *-pālīkatvāt*, l 1, *-pprandāḥi*, l 2, *prandāḥibhir*, l 9 (but not in *prandāḍyā* in the same line), and *vyāḷa*, l 10. The signs for *d*, *ḍ* and *ḍh* are throughout clearly distinguished as may be seen from e.g. *idam*, *taḍākam* and *drīḍha*, in line 1. Of final consonants only *t* occurs, in *-āsīt*, l 7. Subscript consonants, including *y*, are written by the ordinary full forms of the letters, excepting perhaps the *l* of *Pahlavāna*, l 19, which has a somewhat cursive form. The superscript *r* stands well above the top-line of the consonants, and in syllables like *rbhā*, *rtti*, *rshā*, etc., is the bearer of those vowel-signs which are ordinarily attached to the top of a letter. Medial *ā*, *ḁ*, *aḥ* and *ō* are mostly denoted by quite horizontal lines which are generally attached to the top of the consonant sign, (see e.g. *taḍākam*, l 1, *parjanyāna*, l 5, *vyamjanair*, l 15, and *ghōra*, l 7, but compare also e.g. *ḁā* in *taḍāḥḥālāk*, l 6, *dhā* in *dhūrāṇa*, l 13, *dā* in *śaranādāna*, l 10, *mā* in *-āyāmōchōhhraya*, l 1, and other instances in which the vowel-signs are not attached to the top). As regards *ā*, the chief exceptions to this are formed by *jā*—compare e.g. *[va]jāḍīn*, l 2<sup>2</sup>—, and by *mā* where (except in *°m=Anartta*, l 18) *ā* is denoted by a hook-shaped line at the right top of *m* (as in *mālyā*, l 15). For *i*, *ī* and *ṛ* compare e.g. *nīḥsandhi*- and *-pālīkatvāt*, l 1, *ṛṣṣṭa-vrṣṣṭīnā*, l 5, and *-āvīḥkṛita*, l 11. Except in *ru*, medial *u* is denoted by a subscript curved line which is turned to the right when the consonant sign (as in *g*, *t*, *ṣ*) is open at the bottom or (as in *k* and *d*) ends in a single down-stroke, while otherwise it is turned to the left, compare e.g. *gu* in *gulma*, l 7, *tu* in *sētu*, l 2, *ku* in *Kukur*, l 11, with *su* in *Sudarśanam*, l 1, *pu* in *putrasya*, l 4, *mu* in *-abhīmukh*, l 10, etc. For the corresponding forms of *ā* compare *bhā* in *bhātāyām*, l 5, *dā* in *°dārayā*, l 12, with *sthā* in *sthāla*,<sup>3</sup> and *dā* in *vaḍūrya*, l 14, etc. For *ru* and *rā* see e.g. *taru*- and *-ānurūpa*, l 6. As in the case of *u* and *ā*, there are three forms of medial *au*, one of which appears in the *pau* of *pautra*, l 4, and *paura*, ll 16 and 18, another in the *yau* of *Yaudhēyānām*, l 12, and *sau* of *saushṣhava*, l 13, and the third in the *nau* of *dhanaughāna*, l 16, and the *mau* of *Mauryasya*, twice in line 8. The signs of the *jīhvāmālīya* and *upadhāmāṇīya* do not occur, but the characters, in line 4, include numerical symbols for 70 and 2. A sign of punctuation, consisting in a single slanting line, is employed only at the end of the inscription

<sup>1</sup> In Table III Col vi of Prof Bühler's work, where the alphabet of our inscription is given, the sign of *da* (No 18) is imperfectly drawn; it resembles the *da* rather than the *ḍa* of the inscription. The signs No 16 (which also is mutilated) and No 25 in the same column, which unaccountably are transcribed by *ta* and *nā*, are really *ḁā* and *nau*, and Prof Bühler's remarks on them, on p 42 of his text, are therefore incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> Compare, similarly, *rājñō* in lines 3 and 4.

<sup>3</sup> In the *mu* of *śamudryuktair*, l 17, the subscript sign is exceptionally turned towards the right.

<sup>4</sup> The *au* of *pau* is not, as has been stated, like the *au* of the *pau* given in Prof Bühler's Table II. Col. xviii. No 28, but differs from it in this that the shorter horizontal line is placed below, not above, the longer one.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, we may notice the use, already mentioned above, of the lingual *l* in the words *pāli*, l. 1, *pranāli*,<sup>1</sup> ll 2 and 9 (but not in *pranādyā*, l. 9), and *vyāla*, l. 10, the exceptional doubling of *p* before *r* in *pāda-ppratīsparddh-* and *supprativihita-ppranāli-*, both in line 2, and of *t* and *n* before *y* in *prabhṛitty=avihata-*, l. 9, and *kannyā-*, l. 15, (but not *eg* in *°rūpa-pratī*, l. 6, *mahaty=upa*, l. 3, and *parjanyēna*, l. 5), the insertion (occasionally found in later inscriptions from the south) of an *anusvāra* before *nv* and *my* in *marudhamnva*, l. 8, and *abhisgammya*, l. 9, and the use (common enough everywhere) of *tv* instead of *ttv*, in *satv-ādibhīḥ*, l. 14, and *atimahatvād-*, l. 17. There is, besides, a certain want of uniformity in the writing, shown by the facts that, after *r*, consonants (excepting sibilants) are doubled 38 times but left single 29 times, that, in the interior of simple words before *ch*, *t*, *d*, etc, the special nasal of a class is used 12 times and *anusvāra* 8 times, and that at the end of a word, before following *s*, *visarga* is left unchanged 6 times and changed to *s* three times. With reference to the external *sandhi* it may also be noted that no less than 10 times the rules concerning the combination of final with following initial vowels have been disregarded, even where two words are closely connected in sense (as *eg* in *parjanyēna ēkārṇava-bhūtāyām-*, l. 5, *-āv[ī]dūrayā anutsādanāt-*, l. 12), that before an initial vowel *anusvāra* is three times written instead of *m* (as *eg* in *nadinām atimātr-*, l. 6),<sup>2</sup> and that in *rājñah Chandra*, l. 8, *visarga* has been left unchanged before *ch*. And as regards the internal *sandhi*, the dental *n* has been wrongly used instead of the lingual *n* in *-ānūrāgēna*, l. 13, and *Surāśhtrānām*, l. 18.<sup>3</sup> These two last may of course be mere clerical errors, and so no doubt are *-vōgēna* for *-vāgēna*, in line 7, *rakshan-ārtha* for *rakshan-ārtham*, in line 9, *nirvyājam=avajity-āvajitya* for *nirvyājam=avajity-āvajitya* in line 12, and very probably *tasm-*<sup>4</sup> for *tasmim-*, in line 9, and *kōśā* for *kōśān-*, in line 16. The *ī* of *viśad-uttarāny-* in line 7 may be ascribed to the influence of the Prākṛit *viśa*, what the author intended was *viśad-uttarāny-*, where *viśat* would have been used for *viśa* in accordance with the practice of literary works like the *Rāmāyana*.<sup>5</sup> In *-āv[ī]dūrayā*, l. 12, for apparently *-āvidūratayā*, the syllable *ta* must have been left out by a mistake of the writer, and similarly the syllable *kṛ-* may have been omitted in *Maurasya tē*, l. 8, for which I propose to read *Maurasya kṛtē* — Looking at the language in general, what strikes one at once is the extreme dearth of verbal forms. In the text as preserved there are only two finite verbs, *varatē* in line 3 and *āsīt* in line 7, and even in its complete state the inscription could not have contained more than four such verbs, viz., in addition to the two just mentioned, probably another *āsīt* in line 8, and perhaps one verb in line 9. This scarcity of verbs will cause no surprise to the reader of classical prose works. While the chapter on conjugation takes the comparatively largest share of a Sanskrit grammar and presents considerable difficulties to the student, prose writers often employ only a few of the most common verbs and easiest verbal derivatives. On the other hand — and here again our text agrees with some of the best prose

<sup>1</sup> This word is ordinarily spelt *pranādi* or *pranāli* — Attention may perhaps be drawn also to the spelling of *tadāka*, l. 1, and *vaidūrya*, l. 14. This last word, according to the Nagari MSS of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyī* and of the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Kaśikā-Vṛtti* on P. IV. 3, 84, would have to be spelt *vaidūrya*, but the Kaśmir MSS known to me derive it from *vidūra*. *Vaidūrya* also is the reading of the MSS of Hēmachandra's grammar which I have compared. In Pali the word is *veḷuriya*.

<sup>2</sup> This use of the *anusvāra* as well as the non-observance of the rules of *sandhi* may be due to the influence of the Prākṛit.

<sup>3</sup> The statement that *ch* has been frequently omitted before *chh* in this inscription is incorrect, it has not been omitted once.

<sup>4</sup> See the note on the text. If the reading were really *tasmim*, the *anusvāra* here too might be ascribed to the influence of the Prākṛit (Pali).

<sup>5</sup> Compare, *eg*, *viśad-bhūya*, *Rām* (Bombay ed.) III 32, 8 (*viśat-bhūya*, but against the metre, III 35, 9); *viśad-yōjana*, V 1, 15; VI 39, 20, *viśat*, VI 67, 7 and 98, *chaturviśat*, IV 42, 20 — Either *viśat-* or *viśat-* was apparently intended above, Vol. III p 321, l 15.

works—we find in the inscription a decided predominance of compounds over simple words. On a rough calculation the text contains about 1,330 syllables, about 440 of them belong to 144 simple words, while the remaining 890 are taken up by 88 compound nouns, consisting variously of from two to as many as fifteen members. But throughout, these compounds are plain and easy to understand, so that there is nothing embarrassing about their prevalence. In respect of inflection and syntax, the language is generally correct. Of grammatically wrong forms there is only the instrumental *patinā* (for *patyā*), in line 11, but this form is equally found in the *Rāmāyana*, *Mahābhārata* and similar works, with which the writer seems to have been familiar.<sup>1</sup> An unusual construction we have in *anyatra samgrāmēshu*, 'except in battles,' in line 10, for the customary *anyatra samgrāmēbhyah*,<sup>2</sup> a redundant word in *ā garbhāt=prabhriti*, 'from the womb,' in line 9, for either *ā garbhāt* or *garbhāt=prabhriti*, and an apparently wrong addition of *pūrva* in *anuparīṣṭhapūrva*, in line 10, used in the sense of simply *anuparīṣṭha*.<sup>3</sup> Of words not found in dictionaries the text presents only *upatalpa*, in line 6, denoting in my opinion 'an upper story,' and *Śvabhra*, in line 11, as the name of a particular country or people, but attention may also be drawn to the words *mīḍha*, l. 3, *rāṣṭriya*, l. 8, and *pranaya-kriyā*, l. 16, the meanings of which will be considered below.

The author's disposition of his subject-matter is simple and lucid. His object being to record the restoration, by the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, of the lake Sudarśana near which the inscription was engraved, he treats of his theme in six sentences, five of which have for their subject the words 'this lake Sudarśana' with which the inscription opens. This lake is now in an excellent condition (lines 1-3). It was destroyed by a storm during the reign of Rudradāman (ll 3-7). All the water having escaped, the lake, from being *sudarśana*, became *durdarśana* (ll 7-8). The lake had been originally constructed during the reign of the Maurya Chandra-gupta, and was perfected under the Maurya Aśoka (ll 8-9). It has now been restored and made more beautiful than ever (*sudarśanātara*) by Rudradāman (ll 9-16), under whom this work has been carried out by the provincial governor Suvisākha (ll 17-20).—From this it will be seen that the greater part of the text is devoted to the actual restoration of the lake, which naturally furnishes the occasion for a full eulogistic description, and a record of the exploits, of the Mahākshatrapa by whom it was accomplished (ll 9-15). The previous history of the lake is sketched in a short, though historically important,<sup>4</sup> sentence. On the other hand, a vivid and striking account is given of the storm by which the lake and the surrounding country were devastated, in

<sup>1</sup> That the author has used what I may call the epic *vismat*—the text actually has *viśat*—for *vismati*, has been already stated. The phrase *paura-jānapadam janam* in line 16 is a Pāda of an ordinary Śloka, and actually occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and we find in the text a number of words which seem peculiar to, or at any rate occur often in, epic poetry.

<sup>2</sup> *Anyatra samgrāmēshu* has been said to be the quite correct expression for 'except in battles,' but whether correct or no from a theoretical point of view, it is not the customary Sanskrit expression, as may be seen from the numerous quotations under *anyatra* in the St Petersburg dictionary. In fact, the authors of that work quote only a single passage from the *Mahābhārata* in which *anyatra* "quite exceptionally" is not construed with the ablative. The case, for all I know, may be different in Pāli, but when in Aśoka's edict VI (Girnār, l. 14, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 455) we read *dukkaram tu idam añāta aṇa parāḥkramena*, 'but this is difficult to do except by the utmost exertion,' this in Sanskrit would have to be expressed by *duṣhkaram tv=idaṃ=anyatr=dgryāt=parāḥkramāt*. And I could certainly quote many passages from the *Jātakas* in which *añātra* is construed with the ablative, while theoretically another case might have been considered more appropriate. With the passage in our inscription we may to a certain extent compare *Rām* V 88, 19 and 84, 32 *drīṣṭā na ch=anyēna Hanūmata* for *drīṣṭā na ch=anyēna Hanūmata*.

<sup>3</sup> I must leave it to Pāli scholars to decide whether the author could have been possibly misled by the Pāli to employ *anuparīṣṭhapūrva* for *anuparīṣṭha* (or *na kaddhā=uparīṣṭha*). In *Jdt* Vol. VI p. 78, l. 15 (*taṭṭha mam amachchā pucchhissanti* 'apī nu kho te mahārāja Himavante vasantena na kiñchā aachchhariyam dīṭṭhapubbanti') *dīṭṭhapubbam* undoubtedly is equivalent to simply *dīṭṭham*.

<sup>4</sup> I refer to the fact that the Mauryas Chandragupta and (his grandson) Aśoka (under this name) are mentioned in this sentence.

a piece of writing which, mutilated as it is, shows the writer to have been endowed with no mean poetic power. Prof. Bühler<sup>1</sup> has well shown that the author, trusting to the effect of a plain, yet forcible narrative and characterization of events and individuals, makes spare use of those, often merely conventional, ornaments which abound in later inscriptions. With the exception of a play on the word *Sudarāna*, the name of the lake, and one or two cases of an *upamā*, the so-called *arthālamkāras* may be said to be absent from his text. On the other hand, he shows a decided predilection for that kind of *śabdālamkāra* which consists in the repetition of one and the same group of syllables in neighbouring words (as e.g. in *praharāna-vitarāna*, l. 10, *samagrānām*, l. 19, etc.),<sup>2</sup> and he occasionally makes use of the ornament of alliteration (as e.g. in *akṛitrīmāna*, l. 15, *śaktēna dāntēna āchapaḷēna*, l. 12, *-nāmnā*).

The general purport of the inscription has been given above. It remains to point out briefly some details, the full discussion of which, after all that has already been written about them,<sup>3</sup> would necessitate a careful examination of other records some of which are in course of being re-edited critically by another scholar, and lies beyond the scope of this paper. The principal figure in our inscription is (the Western Kshatrpa,) the king (and) Mahākshatrpa Rudradāman; the name of his father (the Kshatrpa Jayadāman) was given in line 4, but has disappeared, his father's father was the king (and) Mahākshatrpa, Lord Chashtana (l. 4). From an epithet in line 15 we learn that Rudradāman himself acquired or assumed the title of Mahākshatrpa. Other epithets in lines 11 and 12 tell us that by his own valour he gained, and became the lord of, eastern and western Yaudhēyas; and that he twice defeated Ānarta, Surāshtra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparānta, Śātakarni,<sup>4</sup> the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, but on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him — The storm by which the lake Sudarsana was devastated is stated (in lines 4 and 5) to have taken place on the first of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha in the 72nd year — according to the actual wording of the text — of Rudradāman himself, but the meaning clearly is<sup>5</sup> that it took place during the reign of Rudradāman, on the given day in the 72nd year — era used by Rudradāman (and the Western Kshatrapas generally). With other scholars I feel convinced that this is the Śaka era,<sup>6</sup> and taking the year in the ordinary way as an expired year, I find that the date would correspond to either the 18th October, or more probably the 16th November, A.D. 150. Accordingly, our inscription may be assumed to have been composed about A.D. 151 or 152.

The minister Suvisākha, by whom the work of restoring the dam of the lake was carried out, is called (in line 19) a Pahlava and the son of Kulapa, and is stated (in line 18) to have been appointed by the king (Rudradāman) to govern (the province of) Ānarta and Surāshtra — The officials who in earlier times had constructed and perfected the lake under Chandragupta and Aśoka respectively were (line 8) the provincial governor, the Vaiśya<sup>7</sup> Pushyagupta, and the 'Yavana king' Tushāshpa, governing (the province or district under Aśoka)

<sup>1</sup> See his *Die Indischen Inschriften*, p. 51 f.

<sup>2</sup> For quite similar instances compare e.g. the first pages of the *Dātakumaracharita* Vol. XII, p. 272 ff., M. Senart, *ibid* Vol. XXI, p. 204 ff., Dr Bhandarkar's *Early Hist. of the Dekkan*, p. 28 f.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Prof. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, p. 272 ff., Dr Bhuganlal Indrap, in *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1890, p. 646 f., the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 34 ff., etc.

<sup>4</sup> For some of these names see the Nāsik inscription in *Archaeol. Surv. of West India*, Vol. IV, p. 108, line 2.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. one of the Andhrabhūṭya kings, but there is a difference of opinion as to which of them is here intended.

<sup>6</sup> Compare the similar dates of my *Northern List*, No. 439, etc., and of my *Southern List*, No. 602. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 153.

<sup>7</sup> The Vaiśyas according to Varahamihira are a people of the western division, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, p. 192.

Proper names, other than those given in the preceding, that occur in the inscription, are (besides the name Sudarsana of the lake itself) Girinagara in line 1, Ūrjayat, the name of a mountain, in line 5, and Suvarnasikatā and Palāsini, the names of two rivers, in lines 5 and 6. Of these, Girinagara, 'the hill city,' as was recognized already by Prof Lassen, is the earlier name of the town of Junāgadh or its ancient representative,<sup>1</sup> while Ūrjayat denotes the mountain now called Girnār.<sup>2</sup> Of the two rivers the first, according to Dr Bhagvanlal Indrajī, is a small perennial stream now called Sonarēkhā, the name of the other does not seem to survive

TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Siddham [i\*] Idam tadākam<sup>4</sup> Sudarsanam Gir[i]nagarād-ap[ī] [d][āp]ram=  
a[n?][t][a]<sup>5</sup> . . . . . [tt]ik<sup>6</sup>-ōpala-vistār-āyām-  
ōchchhraya-<sup>7</sup>nihsandhi-baddha-dṛidha-<sup>8</sup>sarvva-pālikatvāt=parvvata-pā-  
2 da-prratīsparddhi-suslish[t]a-<sup>9</sup>[ba][udha?]m . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . .  
[va]jātēn-ākṣitrimēṇa  
sētubandhēn-ōpapannam suppratīvṛita-ppranāli-pari[v]āha-<sup>11</sup>  
3 midhavīdhānam<sup>12</sup> cha tri-śkan[dha?]<sup>13</sup> . . . . .  
n-ādibhir-anugrahair-mahaty-  
upachayē varttatē [i\*] Tad=idam rājñō mahākshatrapasya sugṛihī-  
4 ta-nāmnah Svāmī-Chashtānasya pautra<sup>14</sup> . . . . .  
h putrasya rājñō mahākshatrapasya  
gurubhi=abhyasta-nāmnō Rudradāmnō varshē dvīsaptatitām[ē] 70 2  
5 Mārggaśirsha-<sup>15</sup>bahula-prat[i]<sup>16</sup> . . . . .  
h<sup>17</sup> śrīṣhta-vṛīṣhtinā parjanyēna<sup>18</sup> ēkārnava-  
bhūtāyām=iva pṛthivyām kṛitāyām girēr=Ūrjayataḥ Suvarnasikatā-

<sup>1</sup> The town Girinagara is mentioned in an inscription of A D. 706, *Ind. Ant.* Vol XIII p. 78, line 19.

<sup>2</sup> See *Gupta Inscr* p 57

<sup>3</sup> From Dr Klee's impression. An asterisk after a letter or syllable shows that such letter or syllable is entirely broken away. In the following notes the letter B denotes Prof Buhler's text, the letter I that of Dr Bhagvanlal Indrajī.

<sup>4</sup> B has *tadākam*, but the second syllable is undoubtedly *da*, compare *td* in *-taḍ-āttālak-*, l 6. The word is spelt *tadaka* also in the Junāgadh rock inscription of Skandagupta, *Gupta Inscr* p. 61, ll 21 and 23 — It may be noted that Prinsep's wrong reading *tataham* is responsible for the word *tataka*, 'shore,' of our dictionaries.

<sup>5</sup> I and B have *Girinagara[dri pada rama]*, but in his notes on I Prof Buhler stated that the reading *rādri* is very improbable. In the impression, the *akshara* which by Bhagvanlal Indrajī was read *dra* seems undoubtedly to be only *da*, and the following *akshara* cannot be read *pa*, but is most probably *pa*.

<sup>6</sup> The original apparently had *mrīṭtik-*

<sup>7</sup> I has *ōchhhraya-*

<sup>8</sup> B. omits *dṛidha*

<sup>9</sup> From here, commencing with the *t* of *shṭa*, the lower part of the *aksharas* is broken away. The word read *bandham* might equally well be *baddham*.

<sup>10</sup> Here there are remainders of three *aksharas*, the second of which seems to have contained the conjunct *rk*.

<sup>11</sup> I and B. have *-parivāham*

<sup>12</sup> The sign of *anusvāra* over *na* looks somewhat like the superscript *r*

<sup>13</sup> I and B have *-skandham*

<sup>14</sup> The lacuna may be filled up thus *pautra[ṣya rājñah kshatrapasya sugṛihita-nāmnah Svāmī-Jayadāmnah]*, but I should have expected five or six syllables more.

<sup>15</sup> I and B have *Mārga*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>16</sup> B has *pa*, but the *akshara pra* and the *t* of *ti* are clear in the impression. The original most probably had *-pratipadi*.

<sup>17</sup> I. and B. have *śrīṣhta-*, but the sign of *visarga* before *śrīṣhta* is quite clear. What remains of the *akshara* preceding the *visarga* looks as if that *akshara* had contained the letter *k* or *r*, or a subscript *u*.

<sup>18</sup> Read *nyēn-arīḍa*.



- 6 Palāśini-prabhritinām nadinām<sup>1</sup> atumātr-ōdvrittair=vvēgaiḥ<sup>2</sup> sētum=[aḥ] . . .  
 . . . . . [ya]mān-<sup>3</sup>ānurūpa-pratikāram=api  
 gurisikhara-taru-tat-āttālak-ōpatalpa-dvāra-śaranōchchhaya-<sup>4</sup>vidhyamsinā yuganidhana-  
 sadri-
- 7 śa-paramaghora-vōgēna<sup>5</sup> vāyuna pramathita-salila-vikshipta jarjarikrit-āva[diḥ] . .  
 . . . . . [k]sh[ī]pt-asma-vriksha-gulma-latāpratānam<sup>6</sup> ā nadi [ta]-  
 lā[d]-ny=ndghātita=āsīt [i\*] Chatvān hasta-sātāni viśad-<sup>7</sup>uttarāny=āyatēna<sup>8</sup>  
 ētāramty=<sup>9</sup>ēva vistīrṇēna
- 8 pamcha-saptatim<sup>10</sup> hastān=avagadhēna bhēdēna nissrita sarvva-tōyam marudhamnyak-<sup>11</sup>  
 lpam=atibhrisam durd[da]<sup>12</sup> . . . . . [s]y=[ā]rthē Maurya-  
 sya<sup>13</sup> rājūah<sup>14</sup> Chamdrag[u]pta\*[s][ya\*] [r]āshtriyēna [V]aiśyēna<sup>15</sup> Pushya-  
 guptēna kārītā<sup>16</sup> Aśōkasya Mauryasya tē<sup>17</sup> Yavanarājēna Tush[ā]sphēn=<sup>18</sup>  
 ādushthāya
- 9 pranālibhur=ala[m]krita[m] tat-kārītayā cha rāj-ānurūpa-krita-<sup>19</sup>vidhānayā tasmī<sup>20</sup>  
 bhēdē dṛishtayā pranādyā<sup>21</sup> vis[tri\*]ta sāt[u] . . . . . nā<sup>22</sup>  
 a garbhat=prabhritty=avihata samud[ī][ta\*]<sup>23</sup>r[ā]jalakshmi-dh[āra]nā-guṇatas=sarvva-  
 varnan=abhigamya<sup>24</sup> rakshan-ārtha<sup>25</sup> patitvā vritēna<sup>26</sup> ā prān-ōchchhvāsāt=  
 purushavadhanivritti-krita-
- 10 satyapratijñena<sup>27</sup> anya[t]ra samgrāmēshv=abhimukhāgata-sadrīśa-śātru-praharana-  
 vitaranati-āviguna-rī[pu ?] . . . . . ta-<sup>28</sup>kārūnyēna  
 svayamabhiyata<sup>29</sup>janapada-pranipatī[t\*]-ā[y][n?]-sha-<sup>30</sup>śaranadēna dasyu-vyāla-  
 mriga-rōg-ādibhur=anupasrīstapūrvva-<sup>31</sup>nagara-nigama-

<sup>1</sup> Read *nadinām* =<sup>2</sup> I and B have *ryamān* -<sup>3</sup> Read *vegaiḥ*, which is the reading of I and B<sup>4</sup> Read *viśad* - (for *viśaty* -)<sup>5</sup> I has *canty=cca*<sup>2</sup> I has *vegaiḥ*<sup>4</sup> I has *nochhaya* -<sup>6</sup> Read *pratānam* =<sup>8</sup> Read *tēna=aitā* °<sup>10</sup> I and B have *saptati* -<sup>11</sup> Read *marudhanta*°, which is the reading of I and B<sup>12</sup> I e, probably, *durddarśa sam=āsīt* i, with two or three words introducing the following sentence<sup>13</sup> I and B have *Mauryasya*.<sup>14</sup> Read *rājūah* =<sup>15</sup> The initial consonant, the lower part of which is damaged, has been restored by Dr Bhagvanlal Indrajī<sup>16</sup> Read *kārītā* =<sup>17</sup> For *tē* Dr Bhanu Dajī proposed *tēna*, and Dr Bhagvanlal Indrajī *tat* I would suggest *kritā*<sup>18</sup> I and B have *Tusāspēna*, but the sign for *ph* is distinct in two impressions of this passage Compare also Dr Fleet in *Ind Ant* Vol XXII p 195<sup>19</sup> B omits *krita*.<sup>20</sup> The original may possibly have *tasmim*, as read by Prinsep Read *tasmim* =<sup>21</sup> I has *pranadyā*, and B *prandīya*, but *pranadyā* is quite distinct<sup>22</sup> This *akshara* has been hitherto read *nā*, but the back of the impression clearly shows that *nā* was engraved, this must be the last syllable of a noun in the instrumental case Read *nā garbhāt* =<sup>23</sup> The vowel *i* over *d* appears to be quite certain, of the *akshara* which follows upon *di* the upper part is gone, and what remains looks like the remnant of *pa* or *sha* rather than of *ta* But I consider *samudīta* to be certain; *samudaya* would be impossible<sup>24</sup> Read *abhigamya*, which is the reading of I and B<sup>25</sup> Read *drīham*, which is the reading of I and B<sup>26</sup> Read *vritēna* =<sup>27</sup> Read *jñēna=anyatra*<sup>28</sup> I and B have (*dhri*)*ta*- and *dhrita*-, but the *akshara* preceding *ta* is quite illegible.<sup>29</sup> Over the *ta* of *gata* is a mark which might be taken for the sign of *anusvara*<sup>30</sup> I and B have *pranipatī* [*viśē*]*sha*, I with the sign of interrogation after *viśē* In my opinion, the *akshara* read *ti*: by them is undoubtedly *ti*, with, below it, an accidental scratch (which, if it were really *t*, would stand under the right, not the left, vertical line of the upper *t*) Again, what remains of the consonant of the *akshara* preceding *sha*, does not look at all like a remnant of *t*, but seems to be an almost fully preserved *y*<sup>31</sup> I and B have *śrīstapūrvva*-, but two impressions of this passage have clearly *śhā*, not *śhā*

- 11 janapadānām svavīry-ārjitānām=anurakta-sarvva-prakṛitānām pūrvv-āpar-Ākarāvanty-  
Anūpanivṛd-Ānartta-Surāshṭra-Śva[<sup>1</sup>h\*]ra-<sup>1</sup>[Ma]ru-[Kach]chha-[S]i[n]dhu-S[au]-  
v[ī]ra-Kukur-Āparāmta-Nishād-Ādinām samagrānām tat-prabhāvād=[y]a . . .  
. . . . r[ttha]-<sup>2</sup>kāma-vishayānā[m] vishayānām patinā<sup>3</sup> sarvva-kshatr-  
āvishkrita-
- 12 vīrasabda-jātōtsāk-<sup>4</sup>āvidhēyānām Yaudhēyānām prasahy=ōtsādakēna Dakṣiṇāpatha-  
patēs=Sātakarnēr=dvir=apī nirvyājam=avajity-āvajitya<sup>5</sup> sambamdh-āv[ī]dūrayā<sup>6</sup>  
anutsādanāt=prāpta-yasāsā mā[d?] . . . . [pta]-<sup>7</sup>vijayēna bhrashta-  
raja-<sup>8</sup>pratishtāpakēna yathārttha-<sup>9</sup>hastō-
- 13 chohhray-<sup>10</sup>ārjit-ōrjita-dharm-ānuiāgēna<sup>11</sup> śabdārttha-gāndharvva-nyāy-ādyānām vidyā-  
nām mahatīnām pāraṇa-dhāraṇa-vijñāna-prayōg-āvāpta-vipula-kirttīnā turaga-gaja-  
rathacharyy-āsi-charma-<sup>12</sup>nyuddh-ādyā . . . . . [ti]-para-  
bala-lāghava-saushthava-kriyēna<sup>13</sup> ahar-ahar-ddāna-<sup>14</sup>mān-āna-
- 14 ramāna-śilēna sthūlalakshēna yathāvat=prāptair=bali-śulka-bhāgaḥ kanaka-<sup>15</sup>  
rajata-<sup>16</sup>vajra-vaidūrya-<sup>17</sup>ratn-ōpachaya-vishyandamāna-kōśēna sphuta-laghu-madhura-  
chitra-kānta-śabdasamayōdār-ālamkṛita-gadya-padya . . . . .  
na pramāṇa mān-ōnmāna-svara-gati-varṇna-<sup>18</sup>sāra-satv-<sup>19</sup>ādibhih
- 15 parama-lakṣhaṇa vyamjanair-upēta-kānta-mūrttīnā<sup>20</sup> svayamadhigata-mahākshatrapa-  
nāmā narēndra-kannya-<sup>21</sup>svayamvar-ānēka-mālya-prāpta-dāmn[ā] mahākshatrapēna  
Rudradāmnā varsha sahasrāya gō-brāh[m]a . . . . .  
r[ttha]m dharmma-kirtti-<sup>22</sup>vṛiddhy-artham cha<sup>23</sup> apīdayit[v]ā kara-vishiti-
- 16 pranayakriyābhih paura-jānapadam janam svasmāt=kōśā<sup>24</sup> mahatā dhan-aughēna<sup>25</sup>  
anātimahatā cha kālēna trig[u]ṇa-dṛidhatara-vistār-āyāmam sētum vidhā[ya]  
[sa?]r[v]va-ta[t?]ā<sup>26</sup> . . . . . [s]u-  
darśanatarām kāmītam=ī[t]i [i?] [A?] [s]minn=<sup>27</sup>artthē<sup>28</sup>
- 17 mahākshatrapa[s]ya matīsachiva-karmasachivair=<sup>29</sup>amātyaguṇa-samudyuktair=apy-  
atimahatvād=<sup>30</sup>bhēdasy=ānutaśha-vimukha-matibhi[h] praty[ā]khyāt-ārambham

<sup>1</sup> From *dhra* to *Sauvi* the upper portion of the *aksharas* is broken away. The text has been restored by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajit to whom the word *Sindhu* was suggested by Prof. Bühler. Of the first *akshara* of the word *Maru* enough remains to show that the *akshara* was not *dhā*.

<sup>2</sup> I omits this, and B has *rvva*, but the *akshara* is undoubtedly the same which we have in *r[ttha]*, l. 15, only without the *anusvāra*—B proposed to fill up the lacuna by reading *ya[tthēpsitvāpta-sarvva]kāma*, I myself would read *ya[tthēvatprāpta dharm artthā]kāma*.

<sup>3</sup> The grammatically correct form would be *patyā*.

<sup>4</sup> The *t* of the syllable *tō* of this word looks as if *tā* or *tā* had been originally engraved.

<sup>5</sup> Read *nirvyājam=avajity dvajitya*.

<sup>6</sup> I and B. have *dvādūra[ta\*]yā*, but there are clear traces of the vowel *i* above the sign for *v*. The top of the *akshara* *dā* is slightly damaged. Read *dvādūra[ta\*]y=anu*.

<sup>7</sup> I and B have *[tā]*.

<sup>8</sup> B has *bhrashtardāya*, but the reading *bhrashtardāya* appears to me to be quite certain.

<sup>9</sup> I has *yathārtha*.

<sup>10</sup> I has *chhhray*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *dhurāgēna*.

<sup>12</sup> This *akshara* *s rma*, not *rmma*, but the top part of it looks as if some other *akshara* had been originally intended to be engraved.

<sup>13</sup> Read *kriyēna=dhar-*

<sup>14</sup> I. has *=ddāna*.

<sup>15</sup> Possibly *lānaka* may have been actually engraved.

<sup>16</sup> B omits *rajata*.

<sup>17</sup> I and B have *raidūrya*, but the sign for *d* is most distinct in the impression. Besides, the sign for the *i* of *du* differs, as has been shown above, from the sign for *d* which is here used, compare the *dā* of *dr[r]dūrayā*, above, l. 12.

<sup>18</sup> I has *=varna*.

<sup>19</sup> Read *=sattu*.

<sup>20</sup> I has *=mūrtind*.

<sup>21</sup> I and B have *=kariyā*, but the *akshara* *nyā* is quite clear in the impression.

<sup>22</sup> I has *kirtti*.

<sup>23</sup> Read *ch=dpi*.

<sup>24</sup> Read *=kōśēna*.

<sup>25</sup> Read *aughēna=danā*.

<sup>26</sup> I and B have *[sarvva]naga[ra]*, but the *akshara* read *na* by them is clearly *ta*.

<sup>27</sup> The *a* of *asminn* is very doubtful, but I consider it more probable than the *ta* of *asminn* in I. and B.

<sup>28</sup> I has *=artthē*.

<sup>29</sup> I has *=karmna*.

<sup>30</sup> Read *=mahatvād*.





- 18 punahsētubandha-nar[ā]syād=baḥabhuṭaṣu prajāṣu<sup>1</sup> ih=ādhiśchīnī pāra-janā-jā-  
jan-ānugrah-ārtham<sup>2</sup> parthivēna kṛtsnānam-Ānartta-Surashtrānam<sup>3</sup> [...]  
ārthan=‘niyuktēna
- 19 Pahlavēna<sup>4</sup> Kulapa-patrēn=āmātyēna Suviśākhēna yathavād=artha-dharmā-  
vyavahāra-darsanair=anurāgam=abhivarddhayatā śaktēna dantā=achapālēn=ś. amānēn=  
āryyēp=ābhāryyēna<sup>5</sup>
- 20 svadhitiśthātā dharma-kīrti-<sup>6</sup>yaśāṁ bhartur=<sup>7</sup>abhivarddhayat=ānuśthitām=iti (11)

## TRANSLATION.

(Be it) accomplished!

(Line 1) This lake Sudarśana, from Girinagara [even a long distance<sup>2</sup>]. . . . .  
. . . . . of a structure so well joined as to rival the spire of a mountain, because  
all its embankments are strong, in breadth, length and height constructed without gaps as they  
are of stone, [clay], . . . . . furnished with a nat-  
ural<sup>10</sup> dam, [formed by?] . . . . ., and with well-  
provided conduits, drains and means to guard against foul matter,<sup>11</sup> . . . . .  
. . . . . three sections . . . . . by . . . . . and other  
favours is (now) in an excellent condition.<sup>12</sup>

(L 3.) This same (lake)<sup>13</sup>—on the first of the dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa in the  
seventy-second—72nd—year of the king, the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman whose name is  
repeated by the venerable,<sup>14</sup> the son of<sup>15</sup> . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Read *prajāṣu*=ih=<sup>3</sup> I has -*ārtham*<sup>2</sup> Read *śāstrānam*, which is the reading of L and B<sup>4</sup> I has -*ārtham*<sup>5</sup> I and B have *Pahlavēna*<sup>6</sup> I has -*dharma*<sup>7</sup> I and B have *ādhyāna*<sup>8</sup> I has -*kīrti*<sup>9</sup> I has *bhartur*<sup>10</sup> Literally 'non artificial'

<sup>11</sup> The word *mīdhā* of the original text has been translated only by Dr Bhagvanlal Indraji. Taking *mīdhā-  
vidhānam* as a separate epithet of the lake, he rendered it by 'the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of  
urine,' to which Prof Bühler added the note that *mūtrarekhā* is a common expression in Gujarati for "crooked." Both  
scholars apparently took *mīdhā* to be synonymous with *gṛm-traka*, but this could hardly be approved of.  
Besides, *mīdhā-vidhānam*, as we now see, really forms part of the *śabuvri* compound commencing with *śapra-  
vīṣṭa*, and therefore either *mīdhā* by itself or *mīdhā vidhāna* must denote something that was provided for the lake  
just as conduits and drains were provided for it. In my opinion *mīdhā* is identical with the Pāli *mīḥa* (e.g. in  
*mīḥena litta*, *Jātaka*, Vol III p 244, l 18, *mīḥa-littam viśāḥapatham*, *ibid* p 515, l 27, *mīḥena tam vadhūṣaṇa  
pāṭi kaññatu pūṭina*, Vol II. p. 211, l. 25, *mittadduno mīḥam adenti bāḍa*, Vol VI p 113, l. 2), meaning 'excre-  
ments' or 'dirt, foul matter' generally, according to the smaller St Petersburg dictionary *mīdhā* is used in this  
sense also in the *Lalitavistara*, e.g. in *mīdhā-giri*, 'a dunghill,' Calcutta ed p 210, l 4. Now since foul matter  
would not have been provided for the lake, that which was so provided must be denoted by *mīdhā-vidhāna*, and I  
feel no hesitation in explaining this word to mean 'arrangements made to guard against foul matter or impurities.'  
By the context *vidhāna* here as elsewhere becomes practically equivalent to *parihara* or *pratikriyā*, on Edm III  
24, l 11 *anāgata-vidhānari* is explained by *ayagamūṣitasy=anurīṣaya pratividhānam paritarah*, and on VII 21, 5  
*vidhāna* is similarly paraphrased by *pratikriyā*.

<sup>12</sup> If it were possible to say so with reference to a lake, I should have translated 'is (now) in a highly  
prosperous state'

<sup>13</sup> The sentence is continued below, in the words 'with stones, trees, bushes,' etc

<sup>14</sup> As has been pointed out by Prof. S Lévi (*Jour Asiatique*, 1902, p 100), the use of *ādhyāna* and the state-  
ment that Rudradāman's name was repeated by *gurus* at once suggest the notion that for these reverend personages  
the name was like another Vēda, demanding assiduous study and devout veneration, and yielding the most precious  
fruit. *Gurubhāṣa=ādhyāna-nāman* seems a stronger expression than the ordinary *sugrāhita-nāman* which will be  
mentioned presently. In *gurubhāṣa=ādhyāna-nāman* (for the more logical *gurubhāṣa-nāman*) we have one of  
those constructions which Indian grammarians impeach by the statement *śāpīkīyam=namoṣṭam śāpīkī*, but  
after all justify by *gama-kārit=namoṣṭam*, similar constructions occur elsewhere in the text.

<sup>15</sup> I.e. 'the son of the king, the Kshatrapa Lord Javadāman,' see the note on the text. In inscriptions and  
on coins Jayadāman is called Kshatrapa, not Mahākshatrapa, compare *Ind Ant* Vol. X p 157; *Ar. Jacq. Surv. of  
West. Ind.*, Vol. II. p. 140; *Ind Ant* Vol. XII p 32, and *Jour. Roy. As. Soc* 1890, p 645



conducts for <sup>1</sup> Ashoka the Maurya by the Yavana king Tushāspa while governing and by the conduct ordered to be made by him, constructed in a manner worthy of a king (and) in that breach, the extensive dam . . . . .

(L. 9) <sup>2</sup> . . . . . he who, because from the womb he was distinguished by the possession of undisturbed consummate Royal Fortune, was resorted to by all castes and their lord to protect them, who made, and is true to, the vow to the latest breath of his life to abstain from slaying men, except in battles, <sup>3</sup> who [showed] compassion . . . . . not failing to deal blows to equal antagonists meeting him face to face, who grants protection of life to people repairing to him of their own accord and those prostrating themselves before him, <sup>4</sup> who is the lord of the whole of eastern and western Ākarāvanti, the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāshṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kauchhha, Sindhu-Sauvir, Kukuru, Aparānta, Nishāda and other territories gained by his own valour, the towns, marts and rural parts <sup>5</sup> of which are never troubled <sup>6</sup> by robbers, snakes, wild beasts, diseases and the like, where all subjects are attached to him, (and) where through his might the objects of [religion], wealth and pleasure [are duly attained], who by force destroyed the Yaudheyas who were loath to submit, rendered proud as they were by having manifested their title of heroes among all Kshatriyas, who obtained good report because he, in spite of having twice in fair fight completely defeated Sātakarpi, the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him, who [obtained] victory . . . . , who trust that deposited

<sup>1</sup> The word *krīṭa*, of which 'for' is the translation, is conjectural

<sup>2</sup> In the original text the subject of this long sentence again is *idam laddham*, 'this lake,' the predicate is *sudarśanatarāṃ kṛtām* in line 10; 'this lake has now been caused to be made (even) more beautiful by Rudradāman (l. 16) who, because he was distinguished . . . . In the translation I have adopted the active construction

<sup>3</sup> On the construction of the words *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* of the original text see above, p. 10, note 2. Here I would add two minor remarks. In the first place, it appears strange that, where is elsewhere the end of one epithet (or phrase serving as an epithet) of Rudradāman is not joined by the rules of *sandhi* with the commencement of the following epithet—compare *vr̥ṣṭha d pr̥ṇ bhechchīdsat* in line 9, and *-kryāna ahar ahar* in line 11—here the rules of *sandhi* have been observed between *saṃgrāmēṣu* which belongs to the preceding, and *abhimulāgata* with which a new epithet begins. The observance of the rules of euphony in this case is the more striking, as the rules have not been observed between *aryatra* and the word preceding it with which *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* is closely connected in sense. Secondly, the way in which the author has put *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* reminds me somewhat of the Sūtra style of literature, the words *d pr̥ṇ bhechchīdsat-purushavādhanavip̥līṣṭa kṛta satyapratijñas* contain a rule, *anyatra saṃgrāmēṣu* the exception. Both together look much like, e.g., the two Sūtras of the *Viśṇu-smṛiti*, III. 48 and 49, the former of which is *na rājakulam-ucchechchīdyat*, 'he should not extirpate a royal family,' while the latter adds *anyatr-<sup>2</sup>akulīna rājakulāt*, 'except an ignoble royal family.' Introduced in this way the non observance of the rules of euphony as between *satyapratijñas* and *anyatra* may lose somewhat of its strangeness; the observance of them as between *saṃgrāmēṣu* and *abhimulāgata* I can only regard as accidental.

<sup>4</sup> For the general meaning of this epithet we may compare, e.g., *nṛgām śaranyāḥ śarajajamiranti saṃ aśhīndm śaranyam* in *Gupta Inscri* p. 59, l. 10, and p. 105, l. 7. The word *dyusha* of the text, translated by 'life,' is more or less conjectural, it is used at the end of compounds for *ajus* (see the St. Petersburg dictionary under *dyusha*). In the original I should have expected *pranipatita* to stand before *janapida*; as it is, I can only take *svayamabhiḡatajanapada pranipatita* as a Dvandva compound. For *janapida* itself compare *Gupta Inscri*. p. 82, l. 11, *bhīṭasya yā janapadasya cā bandhur-dāt*.

<sup>5</sup> With *nagara nigama janapada* compare e.g. *grāma-nagara nigama* in *Harṣacharita*, p. 220, l. 1.

<sup>6</sup> There is no doubt about the reading of the word *anuparīṣhṭapūṛṣa* of the text. Ordinarily the word 'not troubled before,' would imply that the territories now were, or might possibly be, troubled for the first time by robbers, etc., but it has apparently been (incorrectly) used by the writer simply in the sense of 'never troubled.' The territories are never troubled by robbers, etc., just because they are ruled by Rudradāman. He is the *apārīṣṭa* *prajāpāḡḍita kdr̥ṇḍm-upaplavāḇḇm*, as the Valabhi plates express the same idea—Compare above, p. 40 note 3.

<sup>7</sup> For *ava-yi*, 'to defeat,' the St. Petersburg dictionary quotes only passages from the *Māhābhārata*, it occurs in the same sense in the Nāśik inscription in *Archaeol. Surv. of West India*, Vol. IV p. 123, l. 6 *andha samer-dvayita-satyaḡhaṇa*.

kings,<sup>1</sup> who by the right raising of his hand has earned the strong attachment of Dharma,<sup>2</sup> who has attained wide fame by studying and remembering, by the knowledge and practice of, grammar,<sup>3</sup> music,<sup>4</sup> logic and other great sciences, who . . . the management of horses, elephants and chariots,<sup>5</sup> (the use of) sword and shield, pugilistic combat and other . . . the acts of quickness and efficiency of opposing forces,<sup>6</sup> who day by day is in the habit of bestowing presents and honours and eschewing disrespectful treatment,<sup>7</sup> who is bounteous,<sup>8</sup> whose treasury by the tribute, tolls and shares rightfully obtained overflows with an accumulation of gold, silver, diamonds, beryl stones and (other) precious things, who<sup>9</sup> .

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Gupta Inscr* p 8, l 23, *anēka-bhrashtarādyōtsanna-rājavamsa pratishthāpana*

<sup>2</sup> In this epithet Rudradāman has been understood to be eulogized for making religious gifts; but I have searched in vain for passages in which 'the raising of the hand' is laid stress on or even mentioned where donations are spoken of. Both in literature and in inscriptions what characterizes the hand of a person engaged in making any kind of gift, is that it is moistened by the water (poured into the hand of the donee), compare e.g. *Kaddambari*, p 5, l 12, *anavaratapravṛtta dān drdhrīkṛita karah*, the Nāsik inscription in *Archaeol Surv. of West India*, Vol IV p 108, l 4, *abhayōdakaddāna kulina-nibhaya-karasa*, *Gupta Inscr* p 175, l 29, *pradānasalila-kṣhānti dgrahasīlāravindah*, *Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge*, p 17, note 2, etc. Occasionally the person who makes a gift is described as taking or raising the pitcher from which the water is poured into the hand of the recipient, see e.g. *Jāt* Vol VI p 341, l 10, *rājā tussitvā gandhōdakapunnam suvanna-bhīṣṁkāraṁ dūḍya . . . seṭṭhissa hattho udakam patetvā*, and *Rām* II 118, 50, *aham tatra Rāmdya pitrā . . . udyatā datum=udayanya jalabhājanam=uttamam*, 'there my father, having raised the excellent water-pitcher, proceeded to give me to Rāma' But that in the latter case the raising of the water pitcher is quite an incidental matter we see from an analogous passage in *Harshacharita*, p 156, *Gruhavarmanā kanyāṁ prārthayitum prēṣitasya pūrvagatasya=iva pradhāna dūtāpurushasya karā sarvarājakula samakṣham dūhitrīdāna jalam=apdiṭayāt*, translated by Prof. Cowell and Mr Thomas: 'in the presence of the whole royal household, he poured the betrothal water upon the hand of an envoy extraordinary, who had arrived previously with instructions from Gruhavarman to sue for the princess.' Considering these and similar passages, I do not think that *hasibhoḥhāraya* by itself could convey the idea of donation. In my opinion the expression perhaps finds its explanation in the precept of Manu, VIII 2, according to which a king, when investigating cases of law, should do so seated or standing, *raising his right hand* (*panim=udayanya dakṣiṇam*), etc. This explanation, which would make 'the raising of the hand' during legal investigations equivalent to 'the dispensation of justice' itself, may seem far-fetched, but it would fit in well with the statement that by the right raising of his hand Rudradāman earned the strong attachment of Dharma, i.e. Law or Justice personified.

<sup>3</sup> It may seem doubtful whether the compound *śābdārtha* of the original, in connection with the following *vidyādāt*, should be understood to denote two sciences, — viz *śabda vidyā* or grammar, and *artha vidyā* in the sense of *artha śāstra* = *nīti śāstra* — or only one, viz the science of words and their meanings, i.e. grammar (including lexicography). The manner in which *śābdārtha* elsewhere is immediately connected with *nūḍya* (e.g. above, Vol VI p 18, l 9, *śābdārtha nyāya viduṣh*, and *Gupta Inscr* p 85, l 4 of the text, *śābdārtha-nyāya loka-jñāḥ=avyāḥ*) seems to render the adoption of the second alternative more natural. *Śābdārtha-nyāya* in my opinion would convey to a Hindu at once the notion of 'grammar and logic,' because these two belong closely together and would hardly be separated by something so different from them as 'policy.' It may be added that *śābdārtha*, on account of the irregular position of its two members, in grammar is a well-known compound in the sense of 'word and meaning' and frequently occurs in this sense in the titles of grammatical, lexicographical and other works.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the commentary on *Viṣṇu purāṇa*, III 26 *gāndhārva-śābdō Bharatamuni-pranītō nṛtyagītādī-vaishayak*. See also e.g. *Rām* II 2, 35 *gāndhārvaśa bhuvī śrēṣṭhō babhūva Bharat āgrajah*, where *gāndhārva* is explained by *saṁgīta śāstrō*, *Gupta Inscr* p 8, l 27, and p 81, l 7.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Rām* I 18, 27 *guṇa skandhōśva-prīṣṭhōścha rathacharyāsu sammatah*.

<sup>6</sup> I take the sense of the whole epithet to be that by his skill in the management of horses etc. he rendered futile the acts of quickness etc. of opponents.

<sup>7</sup> Compare e.g. *duna mān arjaya*, above, Vol III p 320, l 2.

<sup>8</sup> See *Haldyudha*, II 410: *sthūlalakṣhō bahuvyayō*.

<sup>9</sup> After 'who' we evidently have to supply something like 'is skilled in producing compositions in.' On the epithet which begins here compare Prof. Bühler's *Die Ind. Inschriften und das Alter der Ind. Kunstpoesie*, p 53 ff., where Prof. Bühler has tried to show that the adjectives *sphuta* etc. of the text have reference to certain rules of the *Alaṅkāra śāstra*. Agreeing with him in general, I take *sphuta*, *madhura* and *kānta* to indicate the qualities *prasāda*, *madhurya* and *kānti* of Dandin's *Kāvyaḍḍarṣa* (I 45, 51 and 80), *sphuta*, 'clear,' would thus be what is readily understood (*prāṭhi subhaga*), *madhura*, 'sweet,' that which pleases by its sound and (refined) diction, and *kānta*, 'beautiful,' that which is free from exaggeration, is not too far fetched, etc. *Śābdasamaya* being almost synonymous with *śābdanyaya* in *Kāvyaḍḍarṣa*, I. 75, I incline to connect *śābdasamayōddara* with Caplin's *artha-*



. . . . . prose and verse, which are clear, agreeable, sweet, charming, beautiful, excelling by the proper use of words and adorned, whose beautiful frame owns the most excellent marks and signs,<sup>1</sup> such as (*auspicious*) length, dimension and height, voice, gait, colour, vigour and strength; who himself has acquired the name of Mahākshatrapa; who has been wreathed with many garlands at the *svayamvaras* of kings' daughters,— he, the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, in order to<sup>2</sup> . . . . . cows and Brāhmins for a thousand of years, and to increase his religious merit and fame,— without oppressing the inhabitants of the towns and country<sup>3</sup> by taxes, forced labour and acts of affection<sup>4</sup>— by (*the expenditure of*) a vast amount of money from his own treasury and in not too long a time made the dam three times as strong in breadth and length . . . . . [on] all [banks]<sup>5</sup> . . . . .  
 . . . (and so) had (*this lake*) made (*even*) more beautiful to look at<sup>6</sup>

(L 16) When in this matter the Mahākshatrapa's counsellors and executive officers, who though fully endowed with the qualifications of ministers, were averse to a task (*regarded as*) futile<sup>7</sup> on account of the enormous extent of the breach, opposed the commencement (*of the work*),<sup>8</sup> (*and*) when the people in their despair of having the dam rebuilt were loudly lamenting,<sup>9</sup> (*the work*) was carried out by the minister Suvisākha, the son of Kulapa, a Pahlava, who for the benefit of the inhabitants of the towns and country had been appointed by the king in this government to rule the whole of Ānarta and Surāshtra, (*a minister*) who by his proper dealings and views in things temporal and spiritual increased the attachment (*of the people*), who was able, patient, not wavering, not arrogant, upright (*and*) not to be bribed, (*and*) who by his good<sup>10</sup> government increased the spiritual merit, fame and glory of his master

*vyakti*, which depends on an author's giving clear verbal expression to his thoughts instead of leaving them to be guessed. *Laghu*, 'agreeable' (*śānta*), and *chitra*, 'charming,' seem too vague expressions to connect them confidently with any particular qualities of the text-books, *alamkṛita*, 'adorned,' requires no explanation.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Rām* V 33, 11, *vyāñjanāni hi te jāni lakṣaṇāni cha*, and, for various auspicious marks and signs, *ibid* I 1, 9 ff, II 48, 29 ff, V 35, 8 ff, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, shortly, 'in order to benefit.' The original text may have contained something equivalent to *gō brāhmaṇa-hitarthiḍya dāsaṣya cha hitaya cha* in *Rām* I 26, 5. The expression *gō-brāhmaṇa*, 'cows and Brahmins,' is very common, see e.g. *ibid* III. 23, 23, 24, 21, VI 107, 49, 117, 20, etc., *Gupta Inscr* p 89, l. 9, *gō brāhmaṇa-parōgābhyaḥ sarva-prajābhyaḥ*, and above, Vol. VI p 20, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The words *paura-jānapadāṃ janam* of the text clearly are the second or fourth Pada of an ordinary Śloka, the same phrase we actually have e.g. in *Rām* II. 111, 19 and 27, *paura-jānapadō janam* in II 2, 51, *paura-jānapadō janam* in VII 43, 5, etc. *Paurajanapada-jana* occurs again in line 18 of the text.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji suggested that *pranaya-kṛijā* may be 'a kind of tax like the modern *pritiḍān*' I have not found the word elsewhere, used as a technical term, and can only suggest that it may denote offerings or contributions which nominally are voluntary, but which people feel constrained to make to please somebody or for other reasons.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, perhaps, 'planted trees on all banks'

<sup>6</sup> As above (see p 46, note 5) there is here also a play on the words; the lake Sudarāna was made *sudarānatara*

<sup>7</sup> On the analogy of compounds like *apratishēdhaḥ=anarthakaḥ pratishēdhaḥ*, *avachanam=anarthakam vacanam*, which we find in grammatical works, I explain *anustāha* by *anarthaka usāha*, 'a futile (or impossible) task.' In connection with this explanation we may note that the two words *pratyākhyāta* and *ārambha* of the text are just such as a grammarian would be familiar with.

<sup>8</sup> Since I have translated somewhat freely, I would state that *pratyākhyāt-ārambha*, which has been objected to as grammatically wrong, in my opinion is correct. The word is the subject of *anustāhitam* in line 20, 'that of which the commencement was opposed was carried out.'

With *purahitubandha-nairāsyāt* compare *kārya-nairāsyāt* in *Rām* V 35, 57, with *hādhāhūtāsu prajāsu*, *Gupta Inscr.* p 60, l. 17, *viśādāya[mānāḥ khalu sarvato ja]nāḥ katham-katham kāryam=iti pravādinah*. *Hādhāhūta*, 'exclaiming ha hā,' like *hādhākṛita*, is well known from the *Mahābhārata* etc.

<sup>10</sup> For the way in which *su* in *svadhitishṭhātā* is prefixed to a present participle we may compare *Rām* II 33, 4, *svakāyātā*, VI 40, 12, *svakṛitāḥ*, VI 110, 9, *svapraritāḥ*, V 62, 21, *svaprigrihya*, VII 30, 36, *sva rābhāṣya*, etc.

No 7—CHIKMAGALUR INSCRIPTION OF RACHAMALLA III, OF THE PERIOD  
A D 989—1005.

By J. F. FLEET, I O S (Retd), PH D, C I E

Chikmagalūr, or more precisely Chikka-Magalūr, is the head-quarters town of the Kadūr district, and of the Chikmagalūr tāluka of that district, in Mysore. In the Indian Atlas sheet No 43, N E (1892), it is shewn as 'Chikmagalur,' in lat 13° 19', long. 75° 50'. In the present record, as in some others, it is mentioned as Kiriya-Mugulī, "the smaller or junior Mugulī." The Piriya-Mugulī, or "larger or senior Mugulī," of the record, is the modern Hirēmagalūr or Hirē-Magalūr, shewn in the Atlas sheet as simply 'Magalur,' about one mile east-by-south from Chikmagalūr, in an inscription of A D. 959 (? 958) at Uppahallī (*Ep Carn* Vol VI, Cm 42, regarding the date, see note 1 on page 56 below), Piriya-Mugulī seems to be referred to as simply Mugulī. Local imagination, as reported by Mr Rice in his *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol II, pp 379, 395, 396, would account for the names by alleging that one village was the dowry of the eldest daughter (*hirē-magalū, pirīya-magaḷ*), and the other was the dowry of a younger daughter (*chikka-magaḷu, kīriya-magaḷ*), of the epic king Rukmāṅgada, whose capital is locally supposed to have been Sakarāpatna or Sakkarēpatna, a village about thirteen miles towards the north-east of Chikmagalūr. But it is quite plain that that idea is based upon nothing but the modern corrupted form of the essential name of the two places, namely *magalūr* for *mugulūyūr*. And, as has practically been already suggested by Mr Rice (*loc cit* p 379), the original name is no doubt to be attributed to a local abundance of the *mugulī*-tree, *Acacia suma*.

The inscription, which is on a stone standing on the north of the *kalyāni*,—apparently a square pond with steps on all sides,—in the fort at Chikmagalūr, has been published by Mr Rice in his *Ep Carn* Vol VI (1901), Kadūr district, Cm 3, transliterated texts p 95, translations p 35, Kanarese texts p 154. I now edit it, partly from the Kanarese text, and partly from a photograph which Mr. Rice kindly sent me in December, 1899. The photograph is not as distinct as an ink-impression or an estampage would be. But it shews quite clearly all the historically important part of the record, lines 1 to 7. And it suffices, with the help of the Kanarese text, to make the decipherment of the remainder satisfactory, except in respect of a very few doubtful syllables which I have placed in square brackets with queries attached to them.

According to the entry above Mr Rice's Kanarese text, the size of the stone is 2' 6" broad by 5' 0" high.—The photograph shews, above the writing, an elephant, which must be about 1' 3" high, standing to the right (proper left) its trunk hangs straight down, almost to the ground, with the tip turned up inwards, and it seems to have a snoungle, like the elephant above the Peggūr inscription of A D 978, *Ind Ant* Vol VI p. 101, No I, and Plate opposite *Coorg Insers* p 7.—The area covered by the writing must be about 3' 3" high. It is somewhat irregular in shape, and, if we understand that 2' 6" is its extreme breadth, then in line 1 it is about 1' 9" broad, and the breadth gradually increases to the full measure of 2' 6" in line 11 or 12, and maintains that measure as far as the end. The writing seems sufficiently well preserved for a good ink-impression or estampage to make the whole of it quite legible without any doubt.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and evidently well executed. And they are of a type which is fairly referable to any time about A D 1000. Of the usual test-letters, the *kh* is absent, the *n*, which occurs four times, in lines 9, 10, 12, and 16, and the *j*, *b*, and *l*, are all of the fully developed later type. The initial short *i* occurs four times, in *innūru* for *innūru*, line 9, in *int-*, line 12, in *i* (for *i*) *koḍangeyam*, line 12, and in *indavārada*, line 16; and in each case it is of the fully developed later type. the importance of this palaeographic

detail, in guiding us to the real period and attribution of the record, will be made clear further on. The record further presents an initial *ô* in line 10, and final forms of *t* in line 4 of *r* in line 12 (twice), and of *l* in line 7. It does not seem to make any perceptible difference between the dental *d* and the lingual *d* — The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. And the vocabulary presents three words which call for comment. In line 9 we have a word which according to Mr. Rice's published texts is *nîr-panya*, and which, in Mr. Rice's translation, has been rendered by 'wet land'. That rendering is based, I suppose, on an idea that *nîr* may occur as another form of *nîr*, *nîru*, 'water'. But there is no justification for that in the late Dr. Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary. And from the photograph I read *l*, not *r*, and find the word *nîl*, 'length'. From the context, and the usual method of expression in the records, I should have been disposed to take the whole word *nîlpanya* as denoting some particular measure of land, of the same class with *mattar*, *nîwartana*, etc. But Dr. Kittel's Dictionary gives *panya*, *panneya*, in the sense of 'a farm, a landed estate,' connected with *pane*, 4, 'ground that is worked, tillage, a quarry,' and Mr. Ullal Narasinga Rao's Kīsamwār Glossary, Mangalore, 1891, p. 95, gives *panya* in the sense of 'lands formerly held by the Rajas and now leased out on the condition of their being surrendered when government makes a demand, crown-lands.' I therefore take *nîlpanya* as some particular kind of *panya*-lands, consisting of very long narrow strips such as may be often seen in various parts of the Kanarese country. And I consider that probably the word *mattar* should be supplied. In line 12, assuming that we have the lingual *d* and not the dental *d* we have *koḍangeyam*, as the accusative of a word *koḍage*. This word has not been translated by Mr. Rice. I take it as the older form of the *koḍage*, *kodige*, 'a gift, a grant,' of Dr. Kittel's Dictionary, and of the later *kodagi*, which is given in the Kīsamwār Glossary as meaning 'a grant of land' (p. 144), and (a) 'lands having an invariably fixed rent, not liable to any change on account of the seasons, etc., and saleable,' and (b) 'lands granted for service in connection with the restoration or construction of tanks, or of their maintenance in good order' (p. 91). It seems sufficient to translate it here by 'allotment'. In line 12, again, we have a word *balasīdor* which Mr. Rice, apparently taking it from *balasu*, 1, 'to go in a circle or round, to circumambulate, to surround,' etc., has translated by "those (? who own the land) surrounding". I notice that the Kīsamwār Glossary, p. 15, gives *balasu* in the sense of 'husbandry, cultivation,' and, even apart from that, I see no difficulty about taking *balasu* as a variant of *belasu*, 'to cause to grow, to raise (a crop),' etc.: and I therefore translate the word by 'those who have cultivated,' finding in that meaning an equally good means of defining exactly the grant that was made. As a matter of fact, the photograph shews before the *b* a mark which might justify our actually reading *b[s]lasīdor*. That, however, does not seem to be really necessary — In respect of orthography, the only points calling for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal *n* in [gaundā]nge, line 8-9, *narasingayyanuṇ*, line 10, *koḍangeyam*, line 12, and *mangala*, line 16, as contrasted with the use of the *anusvāra* in *komguni*, line 1, *rāchamallamge*, line 4, *paṭṭaṃgaṭṭiḍ*, line 4-5, and *rājyam-geyyuttam*, line 7-8, and (2) the use of *s* for *ś* in *suddha*, line 6.

The inscription refers itself to the time of a prince Nitimārga-Rāchamalla, plainly of the family of the Western Gangas of Talakād, in whom we have a third Rāchamalla, not previously recognised. And it is dated, without a reference to any era, in the sixth year of his rule, on a day specified by certain details to which we shall advert further on. It is a non-sectarian record, registering a grant of land by private persons to a private person.

The following places are mentioned in the record, in addition to Kīrya-Mugulī and Pīrya-Mugulī. —

**Palmaḍi** This is mentioned again in an inscription of A D 959 (? 958) at Uppahallī, Ep. Carn. Vol. VI, Cm. 42. I cannot find its representative in the maps.

**Benneyûr.** This is probably the Bennûr at which there is an inscription of A D. 1538, *ibid*, Cm 127 I cannot find it in the maps

**Maṭṭavûra** This is probably a village which is not shewn in the Atlas sheet, but is entered as 'Mattavara,' somewhere close on the south of Chikmagalûr but without an indication of its actual site, in the map of the Kadûr district in *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol II. p. 367

**Urpavalli.** This must be the Uppahalli at which there are inscriptions of A D 959 (p 958) and later dates, *Ep Carn* Vol VI, Cm 38 to 43 I cannot find it in maps Regarding the proper attribution of one of these records, Cm 42, and the question of its actual date in A D 959 or 958, see page 56 below, and note 1 According to the published reading, another of them, Cm 38, is dated (see the Kanarese text, p 171) in the Paridhâvin *samvatsara* coupled with *Vikragâlam* 1070, which (see the transliterated text, p 103, the translation, p 38, and *Introd.* p 15) is supposed to mean *Vikrama-kâlam* 1070, giving the Vikrama year 1070 (current), which was the Paridhâvin *samvatsara*, = A D 1012-13 But anything of that kind would of course stamp the record as a spurious one

**Indavûra** This must be the 'Indavara' of the Atlas sheet, two miles west-by-north from Chikmagalûr, and, I suppose, the 'Indâvâra' at which there are inscriptions, *Ep Carn* Vol VI, Cm 30 to 36 Its name is given as Indâvâra above the Kanarese text of Cm 30, but the record itself gives it as Indavara according to the transliterated text, and as Indapara according to the Kanarese text, line 10. The inscription Cm 36, of A D 1292, gives it according to the transliterated text as Indâûra, but according to the Kanarese text as Indavûra, in line 9, and according to both the texts as Indavura in line 10 The Uppahalli inscription Cm 38, which purports or is supposed to be dated in A D 1012-13, appears to give the name as Indayûra

\* \* \* \* \*

The record is certainly a Western Ganga record This is established partly by the locality to which it belongs, partly by the emblem of the elephant at the top of the stone, and partly by the personal name Râchamalla, and the epithet Nîtimârگا, of the reigning prince, and by his titles, Kongunivarman, lord of Kuvalâla, and lord of Nandagun For the rest, the interest of it centres in the question of the period in which we are to place it.

Mr Rice originally, in 1884 (*Ind Ant* Vol XIII. p 188 b), brought this Chikmagalûr inscription to notice as being "dated in the 6th year after Mâdhava Mahârâjâdhirâja had enfeoffed Râcha-Malla," which explanation of it would have the effect of placing it, according to the fictitious Western Ganga pedigree and chronology, before at any rate A D 466, and perhaps before A D 248 (see my Table in Vol III above, p 161) Subsequently, however, in 1886 (*Ooorg Insers* p 5), having apparently recognised meanwhile that it does not really mention a Mahârâjâdhirâja Mâdhava, he referred it to a Nîtimârگا-Râchamalla who, according to his views, was ruling from A D 902 to 909 And in his last treatment of it, in 1901 (*Ep Carn* Vol VI *Introd.* p 8), endorsing that view with only the alteration that the record should be placed in or about A.D. 899, he has grouped it along with the following other records —

(1) An inscription at Gañjigere in the Kadûr district, *Ep Carn* Vol VI, Cm. 133. This record is dated, without any mention of the Śaka year, in the first (year of the) rule of a Nîtimârگا whose personal name is not mentioned in it

(2) An inscription at Hirê-Bâsûr in the Kadûr district, *Ep Carn* Vol VI, Kd 141 This record refers itself to the time of a Nîtimârگا whose personal name is not mentioned in it It contained a date in the month Chaitra of a Śaka year which Mr Rice has assumed to be the year 822 (current), with the result of A D 899 (*loc cit* *Introd* p 8, and translations, p 26) But all that remains extant of the passage containing the date is . . . . . nûra :[r]ppatt-

*eradaneya varisuda Chaitra-māsa* . . , "[of] the month Chaitra of the year . hundred and twenty-two," and there is nothing whatever to fix us to the year 822

(3) An inscription at Hirēmagalūr in the Kadūr district, *Ep Carn* Vol. VI, Cm 8. This is a record of a Nīti[mārga], whose personal name is not mentioned in it, but who, we are supposed to learn from it (see the translation, p 36), had the *biruda* Jayadutta[ramga] It does not present any date at all

(4) An inscription at Añchavādi in the Mysore district, *Ep Carn* Vol. IV, Ch 134. This record is dated, without any mention of the Śaka year, in the first year of the crowning of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it

(5) An inscription at Gattavādi in the Mysore district, *Ep Carn* Vol. III, Nj 97 This record, however, is dated in the fifth year of the crowning, not of a Nītimārga, but of a Satyavākya And it does not include any mention either of a Nītimārga, or of a Rāchamalla, or of the Śaka year.

(6) Another inscription at Gattavādi, on the back of the same stone, *Ep Carn* Vol III, Nj 98, which is dated, without any mention of the Śaka year, in the fifth year of the crowning of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it

(7) An inscription at Kūlhgere in the Mysore district, *Ep Carn* Vol III, Ml 30 This record refers itself to the time of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it And it is dated in the Śaka year 831 (expired), = A D 909-910.

(8) The inscription at Doddahundi in the Mysore district, *Ep Carn* Vol III, TN 91, edited by me in Vol VI above, p 43 This record commemorates the death of a Nītimārga whose personal name is not mentioned in it, and speaks of his eldest son Satyavākya, whose personal name, also, is not mentioned It does not present any date at all

And Mr Rice has thus arrived at " ? 899 A D " as the date of this Chikmagalūr record, see *Ep Carn* Vol. VI. Classified List, p 1, and translations, p 35

Mr. Rice's arrangement, however, will not stand the test of examination In the first place, from his incongruous grouping we have to dismiss the first Gattavādi inscription (5) As remarked above, it is a record, not of a Nītimārga at all, but of a Satyavākya And it does not help in any way in connection with the Chikmagalūr inscription.

In the second place, we must dismiss the Doddahundi inscription (8) This record is shewn by a palæographic detail to be appreciably earlier than A D 899. And, as has been explained by me in Vol VI above, p 43, it is to be placed roughly about A D. 840, and the Nītimārga of it is Ranavikrama, son of Śripurusha-Muttarasa.

And we must further dismiss the other inscription at Gattavādi (6) This can only be a record of Nītimārga-Eṇeyappa, to whom I have already referred it (Vol VI above, p 70), falling probably in A.D. 912-13.

We need not give any attention to the Gañjgere inscription (1) and the Añchavādi inscription (4) These records do not throw any light on the date of the Chikmagalūr record And there is nothing at present to identify the prince or princes mentioned as Nītimārga in them, or to enable us to refer them to any particular period; as in the case of many other records, nothing can be done with them until we have facsimiles or ink-impressions of them, unless perhaps an index, when we have one, of all the miscellaneous proper names mentioned in the records of the Western Ganga series, may furnish any clues.

The Kūlhgere inscription (7) does certainly give a date for a Nītimārga in A D 909-910 But it does not contain anything tending to identify that Nītimārga with the Nītimārga

Rāchamalla of the Chikmagalūr record And, as has been shewn by me in Vol VI above, p 69, it is a record of Nītimārga-Eṛeyappa

And as regards the Hirē-Bāsū inscription (2), in the first place, the extant remnant of its date may be understood to mean Śaka-Samvat 922 (expired), in A D. 1000, quite as well as Ś -S 822 (expired), in A D 900<sup>1</sup> And in the second place, its date cannot be A D. 899 or 900, because there was then ruling, not a Nītimārga, but Satyavākya-Bātuga I see my remarks in Vol VI above, p 68 f, and my Table, *ibid* p 59. It is highly probable that the Hirē-Bāsū inscription really is another record of the Nītimārga-Rāchamalla of the Chikmagalūr record, but, if so, then its date is certainly Ś -S 922 expired, in A D 1000

There remains the Hirēmagalūr inscription (3), the published text of which gives a Nīti- [mārga], with the *viruda* of Jayadutta[raṃga]. It is quite possible that this is another record of the Nītimārga-Rāchamalla of the Chikmagalūr inscription But that point depends a good deal upon whether the *viruda* which has been read in it as Jayadutta[raṃga] should rather be read Jayadanka[kāra], or whether a *viruda* in an inscription at Elkūra in the Mysore district (*Ep. Carn* Vol IV, Ch 10, and see note 4 on page 56 below), which has been presented to us as Jayadankakāra, should rather be read Jayaduttaramga. And, in any case, this Hirēmagalūr undated record does not help us to arrive at a date for the Chikmagalūr record.

In coming now to my own determination of the real period of this Chikmagalūr inscription, I may premise that this is not the first occasion on which I have had the matter under consideration In August, 1899, Mr. Rice sent me the texts of the dates of this inscription, and of the spurious Jāvali copper-plate record (*Ep. Carn.* Vol VI, Mg 36) which purports to register a grant made by Śrīpuruṣa-(Muttarasa) in his twenty-fifth regnal year, on a specified occasion in the month Vaiśākha, Śaka-Samvat 672 expired. I had not then received the photograph of the Chikmagalūr inscription All that I could say at that time, was, that the inscription might be a record of the Raṣcha-Ganga who ruled between Bātuga II. and Mārasimha II., that is to say, between A D 949-50 and 963-64 as matters then stood, but, as we know now (see Vol VI. above, pp 59, 71), between A D 953 and 963-64. Disregarding the *nakshatra*, and calculating for the full-moon, I found that the only possible result, for that period, is Monday, 5th November, A D 960, on which day the full-moon *tithi*, of the second Kārttika if we take Kārttika itself as the intercalary month, or of the only Kārttika if we take Bhādrapada as the intercalary month, began at about 4 hrs 41 min. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). This result was not altogether satisfactory, inasmuch as there was no apparent reason why the *tithi* should have been used with the day upon which it began But I communicated the result, such as it was, to Mr. Rice, in September, 1899, and sent him at the same time the result for the Jāvali date, the details of which are quite correct for Monday, 20th April, A.D 750 And this leads me into a short digression, for which I must be excused. Mr. Rice has not mentioned the suggestion that I then made about the Chikmagalūr record, which, however, is not a matter of any importance But he has quoted my result for the Jāvali date, in *Ep. Carn* Vol VI Introd p 7, and note 1 It is not, however, to be thought,—though it might easily be so imagined from the way in which the matter is there put,—that the opinion is mine, that the date of Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa is now fixed by this result of my own calculations (see *loc cit.* p 29, line 23 f), or that “this confirmation of an exact date is important” (*loc cit* p 7, line 5 f) There are the facts, that, amidst all the mass of information about Mysore which we have now available in Vols III. to VII and XI of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, and in his books entitled *Mysore Inscriptions*, *Goorg Inscriptions*, and *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgola*, the earliest instance that is forthcoming, of the use of the Śaka era in Western Ganga records the authenticity of which is or seems to be

<sup>1</sup> It could equally well mean Śaka Samvat 722 (expired), in A D 800, but for a point, stated by me on page 55 below, about the period of the adoption of the Śaka era in the Western Ganga records

unquestionable, is in the Huskūr inscription, from the Mysore district, of Satyavākya-Rājamalla, grandson of Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa, which is dated in the Śaka year 792 (expired), = A.D. 870-71 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol III, Nj 75), and that the era was not used by any means freely in that series of records even after that time, which facts indicate pretty plainly that the Śaka era was not adopted at all by the Western Gangas until long after the alleged date of the Jāvah plates, and probably was not even known at that alleged date in the southern parts of Mysore, and are sufficient in themselves, even apart from other considerations, to cause any thoughtful person to hesitate before accepting a Śaka date of more than a century earlier, even though it does work out correctly. Further, we who are accustomed to handle Hindū dates, know quite well that the fact that a date has been recorded accurately does not prove the authenticity of a record, any more than an incorrect date proves that the record in which it is put forward is spurious, and it will be obvious, to anyone who reflects, that a Hindū, wishing to set up any particular date with accuracy, could, even in ancient times, by going to a proper person, get it correctly computed for him just as surely, though not so quickly, as we can now test it. And the case about the Jāvah date simply is that the accuracy of its details *would be* important, if the record were a genuine one, which it certainly is not. Beyond that, Mr Rice took the opportunity to make certain observations in a foot-note (*loc cit* p 7, note 2) and in a postscript (*loc cit* p 29 f), about which I cannot well avoid saying something, though it does not seem necessary that I should say much. As regards his foot-note, its tone speaks for itself, and I have only to add that the modifications and corrections which I could not make in Vol V above, pp 151 to 180, but which I made in Vol VI above, p 58 and p 67 ff, were in respect of details in which I had been misled through relying on Mr Rice himself, and notably in connection with the spurious Suradhēnupura plates (see Vol VI p 58). As regards his postscript, the same remark as to tone applies, and also, anyone who may care to take the trouble can see, by means of the extracts and references given by me in Vol VI above, p 74 ff, and p 80 ff, that Mr Rice did attempt to make out a case, against my views on the subject of the invention of Purāṇic genealogies, by means of garbled extracts from my writings. It is a matter for regret, because of the complications to which it leads, that Mr Rice, in spite of the exceptional opportunities available to him, is still bent on trying, and by methods which may be ingenious but are certainly not commendable from any other point of view, to bolster up the fictitious early history of Mysore which he has put together from a credulous acceptance of spurious records and imaginative legends and from a resulting failure to deal properly with even some of the genuine records, instead of joining in the much more profitable and really interesting task of working out the true early history and accounting for the existence of the spurious records. But unfortunately that is the case, and it furnishes the explanation of the differences between Mr Rice and me. I would add, though it is hardly necessary, that, if anything should ever come to light to justify such a course, I should not hesitate for a moment about abandoning my present views in respect of the Western Gangas, and cancelling anything in my writings about them which would then be wrong. But nothing of that kind has happened yet. It is true that,—assuming the reliability of a record which I have no means of judging by either a facsimile or an ink-impression or a photograph,—an inscription at Āsandī in the Kadūr district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol VI, Kd 145) does shew that Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa really had a son named Vijayāditya. That fact, however, is scarcely sufficient to establish a whole series of other things which are impossible in themselves.

We return to the subject of the Chikmagalur record. Such was my opinion in 1899, that it might be placed between A.D. 949-50 and 963-64, and perhaps in A.D. 960. But now more light can be thrown upon the matter.

In the first place, we must notice an inscription at Uppahallī in the Kadūr district (*Ep. Carn.* Vol VI, Cm 42), which refers itself to the time of a Satyavākya whose personal name is

not mentioned in it, and is dated in A D 959, or possibly 958.<sup>1</sup> Mr Rice (*ibid* Introd p. 8 f.) has attributed this record either to the well known Ereyappa, or else to his immediate predecessor, which of the two he intends, is not clear, but the doubt is unimportant, because the record does not really belong to either of them. And, by the way, in connection with the mention of Ayyapadēya along with Ereyappa in the Bāgū inscription (see Vol VI above, p 47), Mr Rice has in the same place referred to the same period, and has proposed to date in A.D 929, an inscription at Kuppehālu in the Kadūr district (*Ep Carn* Vol VI, Kd 6) which registers a grant made by the order of a certain Ayyaparasaya. But there is here a very peculiar confusion. The declensional and conjugational forms in the Kuppehālu inscription mark that record, quite unmistakably, as at least several centuries later than A.D 929.<sup>2</sup> And Ereyappa, who was moreover a Nītimārga, not a Satyavākya, died before at any rate A.D 940 (see Vol VI. above, p 70), and so the Uppahālī inscription Cm 42, dated in A D. 959 (? 958), cannot be attributed to him, and much less to his predecessor. That record can be properly ascribed only to Rachcha-Ganga, who ruled between A D 953 and 963-64. And it marks him as a Satyavākya, and shews that the Chikmagalūr record, of a Nītimārga, is not one of his records.

In the second place, the photograph of the Chikmagalūr record, which reached me in January, 1900, shews that the record presents, and no less than four times, the later type, and that type only, of the initial short :. And this feature, in a Mysore record, is practically absolute proof that we must not place it before A D 982.<sup>3</sup>

On the other side, it must be placed before A D. 1022 at the latest, if we put any reliance upon records published in *Ep Carn* Vol. V, Hassan district, which indicate that in A D 1022-23 (Mj 43), A D 1026 (Ag. 76), and A D. 1027 (Mj 44), that part of Mysore, to which this record belongs, was in the hands either of Nripakāma-Poysala, or of a Rājendra-Chōla who may be either the Chōla king or a Kongālva prince.

Further, an inscription at Elkūru in the Mysore district (*Ep Carn* Vol IV, Ch. 10),—overlooked by me in 1899,—shews (see my Table in Vol. VI above, p 59, and remarks on p 57), that Satyavākya-Rāchamalla II., with a final date in A D 984-85 (see Vol V above, p 173, note 6), was not the last Western Ganga prince, after him there came at any rate a Nītimārga, proper name not disclosed, with apparently the *virudas* Jayadankakāra and Komaravedenga,<sup>4</sup> for whom the Elkūru inscription gives the date A D. 999-1000.

<sup>1</sup> The actual details of the date given in this record are not satisfactory. Either the original presents an inaccurate date. Or there is some substantial mistake in the published reading.

Both the transliterated text, p 104, and the Kanarese text, p 172, give us Āshādha bahula pūrchami Brihaspativāra, and the Siddhārthīn *samvatsara*. And in the 883 *eradaneya* of the Kanarese text we have, no doubt, a misprint for 882 as given in the transliterated text.

According to the so called southern luni solar system, Siddhārthīn was Śaka Samvat 882 current, = A D 959 60. And in that year the given *tithi* ended at about 3 hrs 3 min after mean sunrise on Tuesday, 28th June, A D 959, and did not touch a Thursday at all.

According, however, to the so called northern luni solar system, Siddhārthīn was S-S 881 current, = A D 958 59. And in this year the given *tithi* began at exactly 22 hrs 28 min after mean sunrise on Wednesday, 7th July, A.D 958, and ended at exactly 20 minutes after mean sunrise on the Friday, and it was thus an *adhika-tithi* covering the whole of the Thursday. This, therefore, may possibly be the real date of the record, namely, Thursday, 8th July, A D 958.

The times given above are, as usual, for Ujjain. But they are practically just the same for Chikmagalūr. In view of the time of the year, July, when the sun was rising just about 5-30 A M, a determination of the *tithi*, according to actual sunrise would not make any difference in the week-days.

<sup>2</sup> Even the other date suggested elsewhere, " ? 1169 A D,"—see the translations, p. 2,—is far too early.

<sup>3</sup> On this point, see my remarks on the initial short : attached to my paper on an inscription at Dēvagūrī, in the Dharwār district, which will appear in a subsequent number of this Journal.

<sup>4</sup> The Kanarese text (p. 4) of the Elkūru inscription presents *jayadamkatdra-kōviravedamgam*. The transliterated text (p 2) presents *jayad ankakdra komara vedengam*. Such discrepancies as these are not very assuring. And, if we take this record in connection with the Hirēmagalūr inscription, mentioned as (3) on pages 53, 54 above, it remains quite possible that the first *viruda* here ought to be read *jayadūttaranga*.



It seems reasonable, in these circumstances, to identify the Nitimarga-Rāchamalla of this Chikmagalūr inscription with the Nitimarga, personal name not disclosed, for whom the Elkūru inscription supplies the date of A D 999-1000, precisely in the period to which we are independently brought for the Chikmagalūr record. And, if we assume that the rule of this Nitimarga only began in A D 1000, then the Chikmagalūr record, dated in the month Kārttika of the sixth regnal year, cannot be placed later than A D 1005. While, on the other side, with A.D. 984-985 as the final date of Satyavākya-Rāchamalla II, it cannot be placed before A D. 989.

Thus, the extreme limits for this Chikmagalūr inscription are A.D. 989 and 1005. And it gives us a new Western Ganga name, that of Rāchamalla III, with the appellation Nitimarga, whose sixth regnal year was current at some time during that interval.

A precise result cannot be arrived at just now, simply because the details of the date of the record are erroneous in one respect or another. They couple the Mūla *nakshatra* with the full-moon *tithi* of the month Kārttika, whereas, though the moon is often according to the unequal-space systems of the *nakshatras*, but rarely if ever according to the equal-space or ordinary system, in Mūla in the course of the new-moon *tithi* of Kārttika, she cannot ever be anywhere near Mūla on the full-moon *tithi* of that month. And, until we obtain some further guide, we cannot decide whether we should discard the *nakshatra* and accept the full-moon, or whether we should regard the mention of the full-moon as a mistake and should take the new-moon and the Mūla *nakshatra*.

The following results, however, which tend to reduce the above-mentioned period to A D. 991 to 1004, may be stated, to be utilised and examined more closely hereafter when we obtain some further guide, in the shape either of a Śaka date distinctly coupled with the name of Rāchamalla III, or of another regnal date which will be free from ambiguity —

(1) On the supposition that we must discard the *nakshatra* and calculate for the full-moon. With the tables in Sewell and Dikshut's *Indian Calendar*, I have the following results —

- (a) During the above-mentioned period, the full-moon was first connected with a Monday in A D 991, in which year the *tithi* ended at about 2 hrs 20 min after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Monday, 26th October. This result would place the commencement of the first year of Nitimarga-Rāchamalla III on some day from Kārttika kṛishna 1 in A D 985 to the full-moon day of Kārttika in A D 986, leaving a short but sufficient period, about eight to twenty months, for some Western Ganga prince, whose name would not be Rāchamalla, standing between Rāchamalla II and Rāchamalla III.
- (b) Other years in which the full-moon *tithi* ended on a Monday were A D 994, 997, 1001, and 1004. In A D 1003, it may have begun very shortly before the actual sunrise at the end of a Monday, but in that case, of course, it could not be connected with the Monday for any practical purposes.

(2) On the supposition that we should regard *punname* as a mistake for *amāvāse*, and should calculate for the new-moon and the Mūla *nakshatra*. Here, the results are as follows —

- (c) In this case, again, during the above-mentioned period, the new moon was first connected with a Monday in A D 991, in which year the *tithi* ended at about 4 hrs 58 min on Monday, 9th November. The moon entered the Mūla *nakshatra* according to the Brahmasiddhānta system at about 17 hrs 7 min., and according to the Garga system at about 22 hrs 6 min., on the Monday, but according to the ordinary system she did not come to that *nakshatra* until about 10 hrs 18 min on the Tuesday. This result, in A D 991, would place the commencement of the first

year of Nitimarga-Rāchamalla III. on some day from Mārgaśīrsha śukla 1 in A.D. 995 to the new-moon day of Kārttika in A.D. 986, leaving just about the same short but sufficient period indicated under 1, a, above, for some Western Ganga prince, whose name would not be Rāchamalla, standing between Rāchamalla II and Rāchamalla III

(d) Other years in which the new-moon *tithi*, ending or beginning, and with or without the Mūla *nakṣatra*, was connected with a Monday, were, A.D. 994, 998, and 1001

In view of these facts, this Ohikmagalūr record ought to be placed in A.D. 991, 994, 997, 998, 1001, or 1004, unless the details of the date given in it have been altogether inaccurately recorded

#### TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

1	Om <sup>2</sup> Svasta Nitimārgga-Konguṇi <sup>3</sup>
2	varmma-dharmamahārājādhīrā-
3	ja Kuvaḷāla-puravar-śvara [Nanda]-
4	giri-nātha śrīmat Rāchamallaṅge [pa]-
5	ttam-gattid-āṇeya varshada Kārttika-mā[sa]-
6	da suddha puṇṇameyu[m] Sōmavāramu[m] <sup>4</sup> Mūla-nakṣatra-
7	mum-śge Pemmanadigaḷ prithuvi-rāḷyam-go-
8	yy[u]ttam-ire Kīriya-Muguḷiya Pemmādig[au ?]-
9	[nda]nge <sup>5</sup> kotṭa nīḷpaṇya iṇṇū(nnū)ḷu Pemmādiyu[m] Nīlabe-
10	yu[m] Narasingayyanum Kēsavayyanu[m] [Pa ?]nne ḍjaru[m]
11	[Ma ?]dhukammōjaruḥ Bennegēsiyum Eṇṇeyamman[um]
12	int-ivar-iḷḍu kottor i(i) <sup>6</sup> kodangeyam balasidor
13	nāḷgāmunda-Biyalanum Pīriya-Muguḷiya [Ko]ma-
14	rayyanu[m] Palmādiya Mendammanu[m] Beṇṇeyūra Dēva-
15	[gaṇa ?]nu[m] Maḷ[tt]avūrada Pemmādigāmundaṇu[m] Urppavaḷḷiya
16	Chamayyanum Indavūrada Vi[ti ?]yyanu[m] maṅgaḷa Om

#### TRANSLATION.

Om<sup>1</sup> Hail<sup>1</sup> When it was the full-moon *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika of the sixth year of the crowning of the Dharmamahārājādhīrāja Nitimarga-Konguṇivarman, the lord of Kuvaḷāla the best of towns, the lord of the mountain Nandagiri, the illustrious Rāchamalla, and when it was Monday and the Mūla *nakṣatra* —

(Line 7)—While the Pemmanadi was ruling the earth, to Pemmādig[au]nda (?)<sup>7</sup> of Kīriya-Muguḷi there were given two hundred—[supply probably *mattars*]<sup>7</sup>—of nīḷpaṇya-land

<sup>1</sup> Partly from the photograph, and partly from the previously published Kanarese text, see page 50 above

<sup>2</sup> Represented by a plain symbol, so also at the end of line 16

<sup>3</sup> The previously published Kanarese and transliterated texts both give *konguṇi*, with the guttural *ṇ*. But the photograph shows unmistakably *konguṇi*

<sup>4</sup> The second *akṣara* of this word, the *ma*, was at first omitted by the writer, and was then inserted by him below the line, under the small space between the *śo* and the *va*. It is rather faint in the photograph

<sup>5</sup> The previously published texts both give *gondange*, and the translation presents the name as Pemmādi Gauda. The period seems rather early for the form *gaṇḍa* (see Vol VII above, p 183), and we have the form *gāmunda* in lines 13 and 15. I suspect that an estampage would show that the real reading here is *ga[mu]ndange*, with a damaged *mu* at the end of line 8.

<sup>6</sup> Mr Rice's transliterated text gives here the long *i*, for which of course, in such a construction as that which we have here, the short *i* is a mistake. His Kanarese text gives quite properly the short *i*, which is shown by the photograph to be most distinctly the real reading

<sup>7</sup> See note 5 above.

Pemmādi, and Nilabe, and Narasingayya, and Kēsavayya, and Pannē-ōja (?), and Madhukammoja (?), and Bennegēsi, and Eṛeyamma, — these persons, being (*convensed*),<sup>1</sup> gave (*them*)

(Lane 12)—Those who have cultivated this allotment (*are*) the Nālgāmunda Biyala, and Komarayya (?) of Piriya-Muguli, and Mendamma of Palmādi, and Dēvagana (?) of Benneyūr, and Pemmādigāmunda of Maltavūra, and Chamayya of Urpavalli, and Vityya (?) of Indavūra (*May there be*) felicity 'Om'

## No 8 — THE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CAVES AT NASIK

By E. SENART, PARIS

For a description of the caves at Nāsik, as well as for those at Kārlē,<sup>2</sup> it will be enough to refer to Burgess and Fergusson's *Rock-cut Temples* and to the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV p 37 ff. As for the inscriptions which these caves contain, the first publication of them goes back to Vol. VII. p 37 ff. of the *Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, and the first interpretation to Bhandarkar's *Notices*, published in the *Transactions of the London Congress*, 1874, p. 306 ff. To Bhagwanlal Indrap we are indebted for the reproductions on which are based Bühler's translations, printed in the *Archæological Survey of Western India (AS)*, and for the commentary written by Bhagwanlal himself and embodied in the volume devoted to Nāsik in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI p 544 ff. (G.). These two translations, being based on thoroughly reliable documents, are the real tests of our present knowledge on the subject, and I shall constantly refer to them in this article. As in the case of Kārlē, the epigraphs of Nāsik have been distributed by AS into two different series, viz. "Kshatrapa and Andhra inscriptions" (Ksh.) and "Nāsik inscriptions of private individuals" (Pr.). The numbering adopted here is that which was used by Bhagwanlal in the *Gazetteer*.

No 1, Plate III. (Ksh. 16).

On the back wall of the veranda of Cave No 2.

### TEXT.

Sidha (1) raño Vāsithiputasa (2) Siri-Pulumayisa samvachhare (3) chhathe 6 gimhapakhe (4) pachame 5 divase (5) . . . .

### REMARKS.

(1) AS *sīdham* — (2) G and AS *Vāsathi*<sup>o</sup>, but on the estampages the beginning of the i-curl is sufficiently discernible — (3) G and AS *sava*<sup>o</sup> — (4) AS *gīma*<sup>o</sup>, doubtless a simple typographical mistake — (5) AS *divase* 1 . po . hi . ti . ā. I can make nothing of the indistinct traces of letters which follow *divase*.

### TRANSLATION.

"Success! On the . . . day of the fifth — 5th — fortnight of summer in the sixth — 6th — year of king Siri-Pulumayi, son of Vāsithi . . . ."

<sup>1</sup> The *sīds* of line 12 of this record is equivalent to the *odan=sīds*, 'being together, being in the company of each other, being convened,' of various other records, see a remark in Vol. VI. above, p 68, note 6

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. VII p 47 f.

No. 2, Plate i. (Ksh. 18).

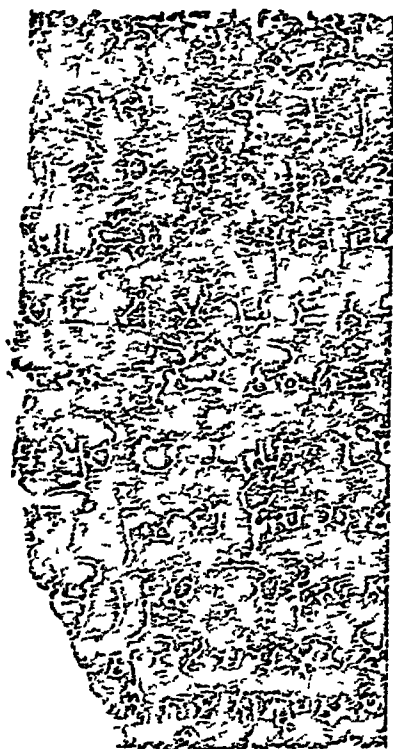
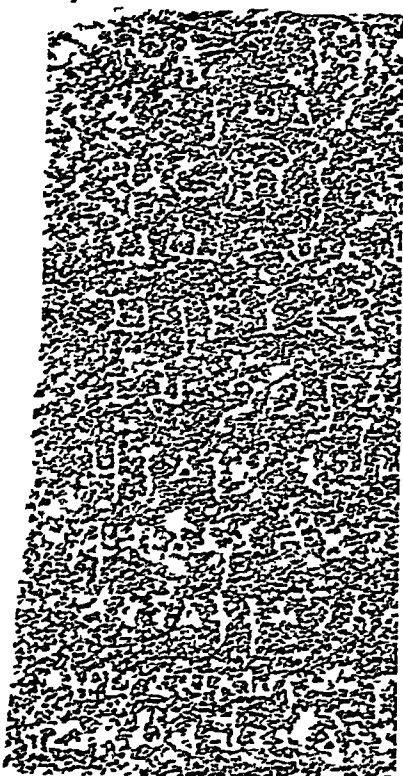
On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No 3, above the entrance.

## TEXT.

- 1 Siddham (1) raño Vāsīthiputasa (2) Siri-Pulumāyisa saviccharo (3) okunaviso 10  
gimhāna (4) pakhe bitīye 2 divaso teraso 13 ājaraño Gotamiputasa Himavata-  
Meru-
- 2 Madara-pavatasamasārassa Asaka-Asaka(5)-Mujaka-Suratha-Kukur-Āparamita(6)-  
Anupa-Vidabha-Ākarāvatī-rājasa Vijha-Chhavata-Pārichāta(7)-Sahya-Kaṇhagiri-  
Macha-Siriṭana-Malaya-Mahida-
- 3 Setagiri-Chakora-pavataputisa savarājalo(8)madala(9)patigabhitāsanasa  
divasakarakara(10)vibodhitakamalavimalasadisavadanasa tisamudatoyapitavāhanasa  
patipupachadamadalasasirika-
- 4 piyadasanasa varavāraṇavikamachāruvikamasa bhujagapatibhogapīnavāta(11)-  
vipuladighasuda bhujasa (12) abhayodakadānakīlanābhayakarasa avipanamāta-  
susūsākasa (13) suvibhatativagadesakālāsa
- 5 porajanavisesasamasukhadukhasa khatiyadapamānamadanasa (14) Saka-Yavana-  
Palhava-nisūdanasa dhamopajitakaraviniyogakarasa kīlāparādhhe pi satujano  
apānahisūrchisa diṇāvarakutubavivādha-
- 6 nasa Khakharātavasa(15)niravasesakarasa Sātavāhanakulayaputitthapana(16)karasa  
savamadala(17)bhivādītacha . nasa vinivatitachātuvanasakarnasa anekasamarāvaji-  
tasatusaghasa aparājitavijayapatākasantujanadupadhasaniya(18)-
- 7 puravarasa kulapūrisaparaparāguta vipularājasadasa āgamāna (19) nilayasa sapurāsānam  
asayasa Siriy adbhūthānasa upachārāna (20) pabhavasa ekakusasa ekadhanu-  
dharasa ekasūrasa (21) ekabamhanasa Rāma-
- 8 Kesav-Ājuna-Bhīmasena-tulaparakamasa (22) chhanaghanusava(23)samājakkārakasa  
Nābhāga(24)-Nahusa-Janamejaya Sakara-Yayāti-Rām Ābarisa-samatejasa aparimitam  
akhayam achitam abhuta (25) Pavana-Garaja(26)-Siddha-Yakha-Rakhasa-  
Vijādhara-Bhūta-Gadhava-Chārāṇa-
- 9 Chada-Divākara-Nakhata-Gaba vichīpasamarasirasi jitaripusaghasa nāga(27)varakhadhī  
gaganatalam abhivigādhasa kulavipulasirakarasa Siri-Sātakanisa matuya  
mahādeviya (28) Gotamiya Balasiriya sachavachanadanakhamā(29)hīsa(30)-  
niratīya tapadamaniya-
- 10 mopavāsataparāya rajarisivādhusadam (31) akhulam anuvadhīyamānāya kāmīta  
deyadhama . . . . . (32) sikharasadiso Tiranhupavatasikhare  
vim . (33)varanivisesamahidhika lepa eta cha lena mahādevi mahurājamātā  
mahārājap . tāmahi (34) dadāti nikāyasa Bhadāvanīyānam (35) bhukhusaghasa  
(36)
- 11 etasa cha lenasa chitananimita (37) mahādeviya ayakāya sevakāmo (38) piyakāmo  
cha nat . . . . . (39)pathesaro (40) pitupatiyo dhamasetusa dadāti  
gāma (41) Tiranhupavatasa aparadakhinapase Pisājipadakam (42)  
savajātabhoganirathi.

## REMARKS.

(1) G. *siddha ra*°. — (2) G. and AS °*sīthipu*° — (3) G. *savachhara*, AS *samvachhara*; it seems clear, and it must be remembered that *savimchhala* = *samvatsara* is found in the *Sahasrām* edict. As to the change of *a* into *i* in Prākṛit, comp. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, paragraphs 101-3. — (4) G. and AS *gimhāna*. — (5) G. *Asika-Susaka*°. — (C) G. °*parāta*°, *ta* is followed not only by such a blank as is frequent in this inscription, but by some traces which look like the rest of a letter. As, however, it cannot be a *k*, it is not easy to



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imagine what it could have been, and it is most probable, as has been admitted by the former editors, that these traces are nothing but accidental deteriorations of the stone — (7) AS °*Paruāta*° — (8) The character *lo* is all but clear — (9) AS °*mamdala*° — (10) The *ka* of the second *kara*, which falls into the flaw, is very indistinct — (11) G and AS °*pīnavaṭa*° — (12) The *ra* restored by G and AS cannot be doubted, though injured by the flaw — (13) G °*sususa*° — (14) The top of the *na* of *dana* seems to bear a horizontal stroke, and I am inclined to think that *madanisa* was intended — (15) AS °*vamsa*° — (16) AS °*patithāpa*°, this at least more probable, besides being more correct — (17) AS °*maṁdalā*°. — (18) AS °*padhasasaniya*° (a mere printer's mistake) — (19) G °*mānam* — (20) G °*chūrānam* — (21) AS omits *ekasūrasa* in the transcript — (22) AS °*parāka*° — (23) G °*chhanayanusa*° — (24) AS °*Nabhāga*°. — (25) G °*bhutam* — (26) G °*Geruda*° — (27) G °*naga*°, AS °*naga*° — (28) AS °*deviya* — (29) *ā* of °*khamā*° seems to me at least doubtful — (30) G °*himsā*° — (31) AS. °*vadhūsadam* — (32) AS restores [°*Kelāsa*]pa[°*vata*]° I feel no doubt at all about this restoration which is confirmed by the still visible *e*-stroke, but it must be understood that it is entirely conjectural — (33) G and AS restore °*vimā[na]*°, which is certainly right — (34) G °*patāma*°, AS °*p[ṛ]tāma*°, the beginning of the *i*-curl of *pitā* is still visible — (35) AS °*niyā*°, G and AS °*yāna bhī*° — (36) G °*samghasa* — (37) AS °*chitana*° — (38) G °*sevākāmo* — (39) AS °*na[tā . . . Dakṣiṇī]*° Except the *t* which has left some traces, the passage in brackets is nothing but a conjecture, although a more than probable one — (40) AS °*pathisaro* — (41) AS °*gumam* — (42) AS °*Pisāchi*°, the final *anusvāra* is at least doubtful

#### TRANSLATION

“Success” In the nineteenth — 19th — year of king Sirī-Pulumāyī Vāsithiputa, in the second — 2nd — fortnight of summer, on the thirteenth — 13th — day, the great queen Gotamī Balasirī, delighting in truth, charity, patience and respect for life, bent on penance, self-control, restraint and abstinence, fully working out the type of a royal *Rishi*'s wife, the mother of the king of kings, Sirī-Sātakanī Gotamiputa, who was in strength equal to mount Himavat, mount Meru, mount Mandara, king of Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, Suratha, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa, Vidabha, Ākarāvanti, lord of the mountains Vindhya, Chhavata, Pārchāta, Sahya, Kanhagiri, Macha, Siritana, Malaya, Mahendra, Setagiri, Chakora, obeyed by the circle of all kings on earth, whose face was beautiful and pure like the lotus opened by the rays of the sun, whose chargers had drunk the water of three oceans, whose face was lovely and radiant like the orb of the full moon, whose gait was beautiful like the gait of a choice elephant, whose arms were as muscular and rounded, broad and long as the folds of the lord of serpents, whose fearless hand was wet by the water poured out to impart fearlessness, of unchecked obedience towards his mother, who properly devised time and place for the pursuit of the triple object (of human activity), who sympathised fully with the weal and woe of the citizens, who crushed down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas, who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas; who never levied nor employed taxes but in conformity to justice, alien to hurting life even towards an offending enemy, the furtherer of the homesteads of the low as well as of the twice-born, who rooted out the Khakharāta race, who restored the glory of the Sātavāhana family, whose feet were saluted by all provinces, who stopped the contamination of the four *varnas*, who conquered multitudes of enemies in many battles, whose victorious banner was unvanquished; whose capital was unassailable to his foes, who had inherited from a long line of ancestors the privilege of kingly music, the abode of traditional lore, the refuge of the virtuous, the asylum of Fortune, the fountain of good manners, the unique controller, the unique archer, the unique hero, the unique Brāhmana, in prowess equal to Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna and Bhīmasena, liberal on festive days in unceasing festivities and assemblies, not inferior in lustre to Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma and Ambarisha, who, vanquishing his enemies in a way as constant as inexhaustible, unthinkable and marvellous,

in battles fought by the Wind, Garuda, the Siddhas, the Yakshas, the Rākshasas, the Vidyādharas, the Bhūtas, the Gandharyas, the Chāraṇas, the Moon, the Sun, the Asterisms and the Planets, (appeared to be himself) plunging into the sky from the shoulder of his choice elephant, (and) who (thus) raised his family to high fortune, — caused, as a pious gift, on the top of the Tiraṇhu mountain similar to the top of the Kailāsa, (this) cave to be made quite equal to the divine mansions (there). And that cave the great queen, mother of a *Mahārāja* and grandmother of a *Mahārāja*, gives to the *Saṅgha* of monks in the person of the fraternity of the Bhadrāvanīyas; and for the sake of the embellishment of that cave, with a view to honour and please the great queen his grandmother, her grandson . . . . lord of [Dakṣiṇā]patha, making over the merit of the gift to his father, grants to this meritorious donation (i.e. the cave) the village Pisāṇipadaka on the south-west side of mount Tiraṇhu. Renunciation to the enjoyments of every kind."

For all the proper names which are enumerated in line 2, I must refer the reader to the short geographical index given at the end of the *Nāsik* chapter in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol XVI<sup>1</sup> The names *Surāśṭra*, *Anūpa*, *Ākarāvanti*, *Kukura* and *Aparānta* appear again in the *Rudradāman* inscription at *Girnār*<sup>2</sup> The observations to which they have given rise, will be found especially in *Aroh Surv. West. India, Antiq. of Kāthiawār and Kachchh*, p. 128 ff, and *Ind. Ant* Vol VII. p 257 ff This reference establishes the reading *Ākarāvanti*, and even in Sanskrit orthography the form *Kukura* Of the other names, *Asaka* may be = *Ashaka*, or also *Asvaka*, but I am not prepared to admit for *Asika* the connection with the *Arsacidæ* which was proposed by Bhagwanlal They are simply the *Rishikas* who are well known from the Epic, and for whom I may refer to the *Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol II p. 58 f The verse from the *Mahābhārata* (V 81) which is noted there (*Kāmbōjā Rishika yē cha Pāśchimānūpakāścha yē*) very conveniently brings them into contact with the *Anūpa* country Seeing them here immediately associated with the *Aśvakas*, one is reminded of the legends which were current of their marvellous horses The *Mulakas* remain shrouded in obscurity Bhagwanlal adduced the dynasty of the *Muṇḍakas*, known from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, and the way in which they are there mentioned together with the *Śakas* and *Tukhāras* is such as to commend the hint But I am doubtful about the change of *ḷ* into *ṇ*.<sup>3</sup> As to the names of mountains, I do not think there can be any hesitation in reading *Pāricchāta*. It must therefore be admitted that the form *Pāriyātra* need not necessarily be proscribed as was done by Buhler, who otherwise agreed with Bhagwanlal in the identification of that range. As to *Macha* (apparently = *Mañcha*), we have nothing to rely on but the conjecture of Bhagwanlal, too bold I fear to be really convincing Cases like *guhata* = *grahastha* (K 5) do not permit us to be quite as positive as Buhler regarding the impossibility of *Siritana* being = *Śristana* I am less inclined to consider *seṭa* = *svāta* in *Setagiri*. On the other hand, the name can hardly be connected, as Bhagwanlal wanted, with *Sādagera*, *Sādakara*, which in the *Kudā* inscriptions (1, 9) has no *e* in the first syllable, and which, as a family or tribal appellation, rather reminds of the name of *Sāta* (or *Sāda*) *karpī*.

The compound *savarāja*<sup>o</sup> is slightly irregular, but in the somewhat loose style of *Prākṛit* we often meet with forms like *savalokarājamaḍala* or *savalokamaḍalarāja*. The transposition of *abhayodakadānakilina* (= *abhayadānodakakilina*), proposed by Bhagwanlal and Bhandarkar (*Or Congr* 1874, p 313), would give a decidedly better construction and bring out more clearly the antithesis between *bhayadāna* and *nrbhaya*, but it has no bearing on the general meaning The attribute *dharmopajita*<sup>o</sup> is meant to imply that the king not only levied taxes in strict accordance with the law, but used them exclusively for just purposes

<sup>1</sup> Compare also Mr V Smith's note in the *Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges* Vol LVI. p 674 f

<sup>2</sup> See p 47 above.

<sup>3</sup> Mr V Smith (*loc cit*) refers doubtfully to the *Mūlikas* and *Maulikas* of the *Epīkātasmṛitī*, XIV 8 and 23



To all appearance Bhagwanlal is right in supposing that after *patāka* the proximity of the initial *sa* in *satu* has caused the dropping of the genitive termination *sa*, which is required if the compound *aparājita-vijayapatāka* is taken as an independent epithet of the king. Otherwise it would have to be taken as qualifying *puravara*, which would be a far-fetched sort of interpretation and against the phraseology of our inscriptions.

Bühler translated *kulapurisa*° by 'who bore many royal titles descended to him from a (long) line of ancestors.' It seems to me certain that *purusha* implies 'descent by males.' Besides, one cannot help comparing the second part of the expression *vipulārājasāda* with a compound frequently used in more modern inscriptions: *samadhigatapañchamahāśābda*, the only difference is that *samadhigata* is here replaced by the more emphatic *paramparāgata*. *Vipula* is used instead of the synonymous *mahā* only in order to prevent the misunderstanding which the vicinity of *rāja* could have produced; for the adjective must refer to *śābda* or *rājāśābda*, not to *rāja*, the title *mahārāja* by itself being too modest. If the comparison be correct, and I hardly think it can be doubted, we have to interpret the phrase here in the same sense as the more modern formula. Dr Fleet (*Gupta Inscr.* p 296, note 9, corroborated by *Ep Ind* Vol IV p 296, note 3) has conclusively discarded the translation which considered it as summing up certain royal titles. This qualification is generally applied to feudatories in order to enhance their importance, but Dr. Fleet has already pointed out cases where it is applied to paramount sovereigns, as one of whom Śātakarni certainly wanted to be considered.

The transcription *ékāikuśasya*, proposed by Bhagwanlal, is I think decidedly to be preferred to Bhandarkar's correction *ekakusalasa*. Perhaps the epithet contains an allusion to the title "Gajapati," which by tradition is conferred on the principal regent of Western India (compare Lassen's *Ind Alt* Vol. II p. 27 f.), and which our Gautamīputra may have claimed.

In spite of the form *achitam* instead of *achi[m]tiyam*, Bühler is certainly right in his explanation of those adverbs, but I think that they refer not only to *jita*°, but to the following epithet, which is closely connected with them. Of *nagavarakhadhā* nothing satisfactory can be made, the reading *nāga*° gives a better sense. On his battle elephant the king appears as if he would rise to heaven. This is not only a hyperbolical way of describing the height of the animal, but implies more. The king is *jitaripusamgha* — he is seen in the glory of his triumph, besides, as he is seconded in his fights by the divine powers, Pavana and others, he appears in some manner in the sky and among the gods. The two epithets *Pavana*° *jita*° and *nāga*° *°vigādha* complement each other conformably to the law which Benfey (*Gesch der Sprachwiss* p. 35) has rightly pointed out, and in virtue of which the more general term comes at the end, preceded by the determining word, — a rule which, to state it *en passant*, ought never to be lost sight of in the interpretation of inscriptions and may in more than one instance help to bring out the right shade of meaning in complicated constructions. One more point remains to be settled. *Samarasīrasī* has been translated 'in the foremost ranks in a battle,' and in fact this is the way in which, following some Hindu commentaries, it has been customary to interpret *sīras* when compounded with some word meaning 'fight.' But not one of the instances which are known to me necessarily requires this signification, and several would much rather, exclude it (e.g. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 48, 138), on the other hand the idiom is used, as far as I know, only in the locative case, either simply *°sīrasī* or, by way of a periphrase, *°sīrasō madhyē* (*Mahābhārata*, IV 1131, VI 4041), which comes exactly to the same. I have elsewhere (*Mahāvastu*, I 624), in connection with another idiom, noted the inclination of the Prakṛits to form periphrastic cases, and have drawn attention to the Pālī use, in this case, of *prīṭhē* (*prīṭhā*) and *matthake* (*mastakē*). Such analogies strongly support a similar interpretation of *sīrasī*. It would indeed be puzzling if instances were limited to the expression *raṇasīrasī* and its equivalents. But such is in no way the case, and to *sarāsīrasī*, i.e. 'in, or on, the pond,' which the *St. Pet. Dict* cites from the *Nāradapañchar.* I 3, 56, other cases will, I believe,

now be added after attention has been invited to this point. Of course the unsatisfactory explanation of *ranatīrah* = *sēnāgra*, having once been suggested, may have contributed to enlarge the use of the word. Anyhow I consider that here *samarasīrasī* means no more than *sumarē* or *samareśhu*.

*Kelāsapavatusikhara* being perfectly certain, *vimāna* ought not to be interpreted as an unspecified 'palace,' but as one of the heavenly mansions of the gods residing on Kailāsa. The Prākṛit *Tiranhu* must, notwithstanding its irregular form, be = Sanskrit *Triraśmi*. The meaning of *raśanā* is partially identical with *raśmi*, this circumstance may have favoured the transition, especially the substitution of *n* for *m*. Besides, local names are subject to dialectic accidents, of which it is often difficult to state the origin and fix the measure. Of Bhaddāvaniya the etymologically correct form is that which we shall find in the next epigraph, viz. Bhaddāvaniya '(-ka)'. Regarding that sect, a subdivision of the Sthaviras, comp. Rhys Davids in *J. R. As. Soc.*, N S, 1891, p. 411 ff, and 1892, pp. 5-7. As to the relation between the three genitives at the end of line 10 of the text, I may refer to my remarks on K. 13 above.

*Ohitanimmita* is translated 'to allow (this cave) to be taken care of' by Bühler, who reads *chitana* and takes it to mean *chintana*, and 'for painting (the cave)' by Bhagwanlal, who reads *chitana* and derives the word from *chitravatī*. This etymology, which is recommended by the *n*, seems to me to be the only acceptable one, although Bhagwanlal probably limits the meaning too closely. *Ohitray* may as well be taken in the general sense of 'ornamentation, embellishment'. Bühler seems to have been influenced by the comparison of *lenasa paṭisa-tharane* which, in the next inscription, sums up the object of the present donation. To be sure, the two expressions cannot contradict each other, but nothing requires *a priori* that they should be exactly synonymous. *Ohintana* has the very definite and abstract meaning of 'thought,' it is not easy to introduce it here without some violence. We shall see on the other hand that the explanation 'for the repairs of the cave,' proposed [for *paṭisamtharane* in N. 3, is far from being certain.

The restoration *na[tā . . . . Dakṣiṇā]paṭisaro* is as probable as the translation of *pitupatiyo* proposed by Bühler is inadmissible. *Dharmasētu*, in religious phraseology, especially that of inscriptions till a rather recent period (above, Vol. III. p. 313, Vol. IV. p. 207, etc.), denotes figuratively a foundation as 'a bridge, a dam of merit,' which enables its author to get over the ocean of *samsāra*. The way in which the word is used in II. 12-13 of the next inscription could lead us to fancy that it is here transformed into a proper name, attached to that cave which has been dug out by the king's grandmother. Such a name, however, would be very vague and little significant. I admit that *dharmasētu* must be taken in its ordinary meaning, as an apposition to *lena* either expressed or understood, to mean 'the pious foundation' of the queen. I cannot account for the curious idea of Bhagwanlal, who sees in it the personal name of some 'manager of the cave'. As to *pitupatiyo*, he transcribes it by *patripitrikah*. He evidently thought of the analogy of *pitripitāmaha*, but the two are in no way identical. It might be admitted that they are equivalent, and that *pitripitri* = 'father and (father's) father'. The insuperable difficulty lies in the reading. The stone does not bear *pitupitiyo* or *pitupetiyo*, but *pitupatiyo*. The *-vowel* after the second *p* is decidedly excluded by the tail of the *r* in the preceding line, and no trace of an *e*-vowel can be discovered. It is *pitupatiyo* and nothing else that has to be explained. *Paṭi* in the Buddhist Pāli, i.e. *prāpti*, is a technical term denoting the application to another of the merit acquired by good works, by a gift, by a foundation (Obolds, *sv*). It is probably through the intermediate meaning 'a part, participation,' that the word has come to be used in that way. Thus *pitupatiyo* or *ṭṭiko* means 'who is applying to his father the merit of his donations'. The king speaks of his father only because his father alone is dead, and he begins by alluding to his mother, proclaiming his donation to be inspired by his veneration towards her and his wish to share in her views. It is therefore just as if he had said, with an idiom more familiar to the language of inscriptions, *pitaram uddiṭṭya*. From this case I am inclined to conclude, without

being able actually to verify the conjecture, that such an application of merit can be made only in favour of deceased persons. However that may be, it will now be seen by what very natural transition of thought the giver is led to use without any other preparation the name *dhammasetu* as given to the cave; he is inspired at this very moment by the line of religious thoughts which have suggested it and which explain it

Bühler seems to entertain no doubt as to the identity of the village named here with that mentioned at the beginning of the following inscription. It is certain that the date of the donation mentioned there is exactly the same as in the present epigraph, and that this donation is made in favour of the same sect of Bhaddāyānīyas. It is above all evident from the place it occupies, and from the fact that the following text has been compressed in order that it might be inscribed here, that that place has been chosen intentionally. It must, however, be stated that the village called here Pisāṇipadaka, i.e. I suppose Pisāchīpadraka, gets in the following epigraph the name of Sudisana, and that the description is not identical in both texts, Pisāṇipadaka being located at the S W of Tīranhupavata, and Sudisana at the south of the Govadhanāhāra. The two may after all be the same, but the difference in the name and description deserves to be noted, especially because a perfect agreement would naturally be expected. Further N 3 brings in the *Śramaṇas* from Dhanakata, who are not mentioned in connection with the donation which No 2 records. It is therefore impossible to affirm that the beginning of N. 3 refers to the present donation; nor is it absolutely impossible that the king should have consented on the same day to a double donation, although it would, in that case, be difficult to understand why he should not have combined the mention of both. It may, however, be remarked that the gift of the village is here recorded in a somewhat unusual style and summed up in an abridged form (*savajātabhoga-nirāṣi*), which looks like a simple mention, so hasty that it was left without a grammatical construction and the detailed indications which generally authenticate the gifts. Perhaps we have here the trace of some peculiar and, to us, undetermined circumstances which, if known, would explain why a new deed was substituted three years later, as commemorated in the following document.

### No. 3, Plate II. (Ksh. 19).

Engraved in continuation of No 2, from which it is separated only by a *Svastika* followed by another symbol.

### TEXT.

- 11 Siddha (1) Navanarasvāmī Vāsīṭhiputo Sūri(2)-Pulumavi ānapayati Govadhane  
āmacha (3)
- 12 Sivakhadila ya amhehi (4) sava 19 gi pa 2 diva 13 Dhanakatasamanehi (5)  
ya etha pavate (6) Tira(7). . . . . na dhavasetusa (8)  
lenasa patisatharane (9) . akhaya . . . (10) hetu etha Govadhanāhāre  
dakhinamage gāmo Sudisana (11) bhikkhu devilenavāsehi nīkāyena  
Bhaddāyānīyehi (12) patigaya (13) dato (14) etasa dānagāmasa Sudasanāna  
parivātake etha Govadhanahare (15) puvamage (16)
- 13 gāma (17) Samalipada dadāma (18) etata mahāsīrakena (19) odena (20)  
dhamasetusa lenasa patisatharane (21) akhayanivhetu (22) gāma Samalipada (23)  
bhi uhi devilepa . . . . . yena (24) Bhaddāyanayehi (25) patigayha (26)  
oyapapehi (27) etasa cha gāmasa Samalipadasa (28) bhikkhupalaparihāra (29)
- 14 vitarāma apālāsa anomasa (30) alonakhādaka arathasavinavika savajātaparihāraka  
cha etehi na parihārehi (31) parihārehi (32) eta (33) cha gāma Samalipada (34)  
panihāre cha (35) etha (36) nibadhāpehi (37) Sud na (38) gāmasa cha  
Sudasanāna vinibadhakārehi apatā (39) mahāsenāpatinā (40) Medhunena . . .  
nā (41) ohhato batikā . v . . . kehi (42) hatha . to (43) datā  
patikā (44) sava 22 gi pakhe (45) . diva 7 . takapinā (46) katā

Govadhanavāthayāna (47) phāsa . yo (48) Vinhupālona (49) svāmi-  
vannananta (50) nama (51) bhagatasapatipatapasa (52) Jinavarasa Budhasa.

## REMARKS.

(1) AS. *nddham* — (2) G. *Srī-Pu°* — (3) G. and AS. *amacha*, *d* seems clear, though faint. — (4) G. *°lana sumepa sa°*, AS. *°la ya amhepa sa°*. The reading *amhehi* is required by the context. We might at the utmost read *amhepi* if *amhehi* were not morally certain. — (5) G. *Dhanahka°*. It will be seen that I incline to read *Denāka°* — (6) G. restores *pa[va]ta*. I think I can read the three characters — (7) G. and AS. restore *Tira[nhumhi . . . . .]* — (8) G. . . . *na etasatasa le°*, AS. *dhavāsetisa le°*. I have no doubt that the text really had *dhama°* — (9) AS. notes no lacuna between *°ne* and *a°*, and G. only points out an undetermined one. I admit not only that there remains room for one character, but that the back of the estampage seems to retain some traces of it, which might be mistaken for *na*. As, however, in the repetition which will follow, and the phraseology of which is the exact counterpart of this first formula, the reading *°tharane* is certain and perfectly complete, it seems hardly possible that the text should have been different here. — (10) G. and AS. restore *°[nivi]°* — (11) G. notes between *°mo* and *su°* a lacuna which nothing compels us to admit, and reads *Sudisana*, AS. *Sadasanā*. — (12) AS. *°nyena*, only a lapsus. — (13) G. *patikhaya*, AS. *paṭikhaya*. Here and in l. 13 the letter looks like *ga* — (14) AS. *datā* — (15) AS. *°dhanāhāra*. — (16) G. *°vasime* — (17) G. and AS. *gāmo*. — (18) G. and AS. *dadima*. — (19) G. *mahā°*, G. and AS. *°kana* — (20) G. *odāna*. The back of the estampage seems to warrant *de*. — (21) G. *°samtha°* — (22) AS. *°heta* — (23) G. *°padam*. — (24) G. *bhikkuhi devilenavā[sehi nūā]yena*, AS. *ta [ . . . bhī]kkuhi lena[vāsehi nūā]y[e]na*. — (25) G. *°yanuyehi*, AS. *°yanayahi*. — (26) G. *°gahya*, AS. *°tikhaya*. — (27) G. *uyapa . . . . . e°*, AS. *uyapaya e°*. The transcription *u* for the first character and *ya* for the last would, *a priori* and for purely palaeographical reasons, be inadmissible. Besides, in the strokes which Buhler interprets as *paya*, I read with some confidence *pehi*. But the reading *oyupāpehi* is warranted by the Kondamudi plates and by Kārlā No 19 (above, Vol. VI p. 71, note 1) — (28) AS. *Sama°*. — (29) G. *°hāram* — (30) G. *anama°*. — (31) AS. *°rihare°*. — (32) AS. *°harīhi*. — (33) G. *datam cha* — (34) G. *°padam*, AS. *°malapadu* — (35) G. *°hārānaṁ*, AS. *°hāre na*. Although *cha* is not clear, the parallel passage leaves no doubt as to the reading. — (36) AS. *eṭha*. — (37) AS. *°badha la . . . mi gā°*. G. *°bamdhāpanam . . . . . gā°* — (38) *su* and *na* appear to me certain, *d[a]* most probable. These elements lead almost irresistibly to the reading *Sudasan[e]* for the whole. It must be owned, however, that the third character does not give the impression of an *s* either on the front or on the back, but as it does not resemble any other known character, it must be admitted that its aspect has been altered by some damage of the stone — (39) G. *ānato*, AS. *°mbakāre°*. The *dha* is not visible on the Plate, but at least very plausible on the back of the estampage, which at any rate warrants the presence of two letters between *ba* and *re*. I have no doubt that the direct examination of the stone has inspired Bhagwanlal correctly — (40) AS. *°senapa°*. — (41) G. *°na [Sātakanī]nā*. The visible traces make it a puzzle for me how Bhagwanlal could propose such a restoration. — (42) G. *°to Bimkaṭavāsakuhi*, AS. *°to paṭiḍ vāsakehi*. The reading *bi* (G.) can hardly be seriously upheld, *pa* of AS. is not much more likely. As to the *sa* on which both agree, it seems less probable on the back than it looks on the front. — (43) G. *hathachhatā*, AS. *hathichhatā*. I feel little doubt that the top-curl belongs to the *d* of the preceding line, and that the *i* ought to be struck off. — (44) AS. *°tā hna sa°* — (45) G. and AS. *pa . . .* — (46) G. *7 Sātakanīnā*, AS. *7 . Sā . kanena*. — (47) AS. *°athavana* — (48) G. *phāsukāyam*, AS. *phesakaye*. The top of the first letter seems to bear a horizontal stroke on both sides, which would give *pho*, but the two strokes do not exactly face one another, and the one on the right is more clearly and deeply cut. Pro-

bably the stroke on the left is accidental, and we ought to read *phá* — (49) *as* [?] *na*°, which is a printer's mistake for *Vinhu*°, G *Venhu*°. — (50) G *sámua sandrata*, AS. *sámua anánata* — (51) G. *namo*, which is perhaps right — (52) G *bhaga[ia]ta.a*°, AS *bhagatasa*°, G °*patipatipasa*

## TRANSLATION.

" Success ! The lord of Navanara, Siri-Pulumávi Vāsithiputa, command- Sivakasaana, the officer at Govadhana : The village of Sudasana here in the Govadhana district on the Southern road, which by us, in the 19th year, on the 13th day of the 2nd fortnight of summer, . . . . by the *Samanas* of Dhanamkata who [dwell] here on the . . . . , has been given to be owned by the *Bhikshus* of that fraternity, the *Bhadāyanyas* dwelling in the Queen's Cave, to produce a perpetual rent for the care of the cave . . . excavated, — in exchange for this gift, — the village of Sudasana, — we give the . . . Sāmalipada, here in the Govadhana district on the Eastern road, and this village of Sāmalipada, . . . . by the *Mahā-Āryaka*, you must deliver to be owned by the . . . school of the *Bhadāyanyas* dwelling in the Queen's Cave, to produce a perpetual . . . care of the cave meritoriously excavated, and to this village of Sāmalipada . . . immunity belonging to monk's land, (making it) not to be entered (by royal or . . . touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the . . . (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities With all these immunities you . . . and this donation of the village of Sāmalipada and the immunities take care to . . . here at Sudasana And by the (officers) entrusted with the abrogation or . . . donation of the Sudasana village it has been ordered. Written by the *Mahāsēnāpā* . . . . , kept (?) by the . . . of deeds (?) The deed was delivered . . . year 22, the 7th day of the . . fortnight of summer; executed by . . . (?) a view for the well-being of the inhabitants of Govadhana, Vinnupāla proclaims the . . . Lord Obeisance to the Being exalted in perfection and majesty, the excellent Śin . . . Buddha "

This inscription offers in its last part some difficulties which result from uncertainties, and even more from lacunæ In order not to lengthen this commentary unnecessarily, shall not dwell on differences of opinion in a few passages where former interpreters have gone astray

From the comparison of *Bendkaṣāṣṭam* in the next inscription, which offers many . . . to the present one, I infer that Dr Bhandarkar was right in understanding *Navanara* . . . = lord of Navanara, I suppose for Navanagara Nothing in the other inscriptions . . . look in it for some hypothetical *birula*

The sentence beginning with *ya amhehi* rests on two propositions which . . . balanced and throw light upon one another The general construction is clearly . . . by the symmetry which obtains between the relative proposition *ya amhehi*:

*Bhadāyanyehi patigaya dato* on the one hand, and the principal one *eta cha . . . patigayha oyapāpehi*. They correspond link to link The general similarity makes the more . . . conspicuous the discrepancy which exists in respect of a single detail instead of *Dhanat . . . y[e] etha patata Tira . . . . na*, line 13 has *mahāārate na odana* This disagreement is made worse by the lacuna and by the partial uncertainty of the reading of . . . The obscurity of these two expressions is to my mind the only real difficulty in this part of the text One useful result at least, although only a negative one, is gained from their comparison, namely, that the singular construction attempted by Bühler, who supposed . . . to be governed by *pat khaya* (as he read), must first of all be discarded . . . did, *Dhanakatasamanehi* and *bhikshuh*, which are separated from . . . is too inadmissible to require a lengthy refutation . . .

an instrumental, in one case *°samanehi* (followed by the relative proposition *ya* . . . which determines it more particularly, and the essentials of which have disappeared in the lacuna), on the other, *aīrakena*, secondly another word which we read *odena* is the second case, and the last syllable of which, *na*, alone has been preserved in the first. Unfortunately both *mahaaīraka* and *odena* are of doubtful meaning. One point is proved by the very difference between the two phrases they must have referred respectively to each of the villages in question and must have contained some determination, whatever may have been its exact bearing, concerning not the nature or the application of the gift, but its object, which alone differs in the two, being in the first sentence the Sudisana village, and the village of Sāmālipada in the second Bühler took *odena* to be an instrumental qualifying *aīrakena*. Besides the fact that this view has led him to a most unlikely translation, the circumstance of [*ode*]na being in line 12 associated with *samanehi* seems to bear evidence to his error. To all appearance it is the instrumental, *samanehi* or *aīrakena*, which must be understood as dependant on *odena* or *odāna*, whichever may be the true reading. As to this word — either a substantive or, more probably, a participle — it cannot well be anything but a nominative or accusative, agreeing with the preceding pronoun, *ya* or *eta*. The last inscription, which informs us of the original gift for which this one is substituted, makes no allusion to the monks of Dhanakata, as to the *Mahaaīraka*, the part the monks are playing in the first sentence seems to point to the name being that of a religious poisonage. Even admitting that the title *araka* given to Yaśasui-Sātakani by an inscription (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 96) be really = *āryaka*, that would in no way prevent this epithet, which is commonly used with reference to Buddhist monks, being applied to some religious functionary. I am the more inclined to think so, because I find the similar title *Chāḷa-ārya* conferred on the *Ārya Buddhacakṣita*, who is styled *Aīhat* (Burgess' *Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati*, Plate lxx. No 39, p 104). What in any case appears to me above all doubt is that, contrary to the conjecture of Bühler, the title cannot be Pulamāyī's. I refer to the observations on the title *Mahāsvāmika*, which follow the next inscription.

As to the letters which, besides *ode*, are comprised in the lacuna, no parallel passage helps us to fill them up with confidence. The writing is not regular enough to enable us to ascertain even the number of characters which have disappeared. Probably from seven to nine are missing. The two first, *nhumhi*, and the two last, *ode*, being known, it may at least be imagined that *vasanti* or *pativasanti* would fill up the gap conveniently, and that the monks 'who dwell on mount 'Triraśmi' were meant here. On Dhanakata or Dhamakata we have no other information than what has been collected by Dr. Bhandarkar (p 349). Of course I cannot venture to hold my own against those who worked from the stone itself, I must own, however, that, considering the general similarity of *b* and *dh*, it seems very tempting to suppose that our *Dhanakata* is not different from the *Denākata* in the following epigraph. Of the two, the reading *Denākata* seems to me to be the better secured one. I should incline to introduce it here. In No 10, 1 2, we shall find a river *Karaband*. Several *Denās* are known. *Denākata* is therefore quite satisfactory. As to the hypothetical *Dhanakata*, it could in no case be identified (as postulated by Bhandarkar) with the proper name (equivalent to Dharmakṛt or not) which we find again at Amarāvati, as it has there the form *Dhamnākata* (Burgess' *Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati*, No. 53, p 90).

I think I can explain with certainty one word at least which has led astray my predecessors. The comparison of the two passages establishes the form *patigayha*, i.e. *pratigrihya*, and the preceding instrumental, as it cannot be construed with *dato*, can only be governed by this word, which is therefore the future passive participle — here *pratigrihyah*, and below *pratigrihyam*. It will be observed that the word is intimately connected with the expression *parigraha* which I have explained in K 19, and that it is in the same way applied to a property assigned to a special *et*. The close etymological relationship of the two terms

justifies their parallelism naturally enough. I have therefore no doubt that *pratigrihya* must mean here 'to be received as property by . . .' As I have stated above (in K 13), the construction *m'āyena Bhaddāyanyehi* seems to imply that even where the reading *nikāyasa Bhaddāyanyānam* would rather suggest an interdependence of the two genitives, it must be admitted that the two terms are, as is necessarily the case here, co-ordinated, and that the second follows the first as a kind of apposition.

*Paṭi.amtharana* is, as far as I know, an ἀταξ λεγόμενον. Its general meaning is evident. Bhagwanlal has aptly compared the Pāli meaning of *paṭisanthāra*, but I fear he has from these exact premises elicited a conclusion which is inadmissible. *Paṭisanthāra* is by Childers translated 'friendly greeting, welcome, etc.' But the word, I think, points not so much to the feelings, as to the material care which is involved by the duty of hospitality. The etymological meaning must have started from the carpet which is spread out to accommodate the guests, and is in perfect agreement with the instances adduced. If a term has been thus fixed in a certain sense, somewhat diverted from the literal bearing, it would evidently be imprudent to vindicate for secondary, simply analogous derivations an identical figurative meaning. Nothing authorises us to attribute to *paṭisamtharana* the precise sense of 'hospitality,' which would not suit either the construction of the sentence or the term *chātana* in the preceding inscription. Nor do I see on what ground could be maintained the too precise translation of 'repas,' given by Bühler. It seems to me that the general meaning of 'care' is more conformable to what analogy requires.

The reading *eta cha* for the apparent *etata*, judiciously advocated by Bühler, is above all doubt. As to *oyapāpehi*, I have, in commenting on K 19, only been able to state in an additional note that this transcription seems now to be secured by the Kondamudi plates where Prof Hultzsch has made it out. His etymology from *atayata* is extremely ingenious. But I do not think, and to this effect our epigraphs seem to me to supply decisive arguments, that we ought to insist on the etymological shade of meaning. I would prefer 'to distribute, to bestow,' i.e. in fact to realise the gift.

This passage and the sequel agree with K 19 and N 4. It is enough here to refer to these two records. But in spite of the general symmetry, there are some divergencies for which we are left without the aid and control of direct analogies. First, if, after *nība[m]dhāpehi*, we really must, in spite of some difficulties, read *Sudasana* (and the characters *Sud . na* at least appear extremely probable), the *cha* which follows after *gāmasa* compels us to take *gāmasa* with the sequel, and implies that *Sudasana* belongs to what precedes. Hence I am led to postulate the reading *Sudasane*, 'in the village of Sudasana,' but *Sudasane* for *Sudasanesu*, or rather for *gūme Sudasanesu*, does not satisfy me entirely.

The sequel corresponds exactly with our No 4, in so far as five different acts connected with the donation are enumerated in both places. In the next epigraph they are expressed by the words *ānata*, *chhata*, *uparakhita*, *datā paṭihā* and *kaṭā*, of which the first, second, fourth and fifth are common to the present text as well. It is *a priori* probable that the third also is, if not identical in form, at least equivalent in bearing. The reading *hathachhato* gives no meaning which can be made to agree with *uparakhita*. Besides, *chhato* stands condemned by the fact that this word already figures in the same series. Although the transcription *chh*, especially if we judge from the back of the estampage, cannot be said to be impossible, the too angular tracing and the unusual place which would have to be assigned to the vertical stroke surmounting the double curl joins with the general aspect of the front to make it at least doubtful. The reading *hatha* (or *hathe*) *guto*, besides reminding of *Rohanigutto* which I have adduced in K 19, would perhaps satisfy the desideratum of close agreement, but I must own that the actual traces of the estampage do not seem to favour it, and I put it here only as a provisional guess, to stand until a more acute reader or some evident analogy removes every uncertainty.

The two different terms have been explained in K 19. The same is not the case with the two terms which are special to our text, and which the imperfect preservation of the inscription renders more or less obscure. As for the first, as stated before, I join with some confidence in Bhagwanlal's reading *vimbadhāhārehi*. He understood the word as 'document writer.' It is certainly a very good example of the use of *nibandhāpehi*, that *nibandha*, as in N 5, has to be taken here in some analogous sense. But how did Bhagwanlal dispose of the initial *vi*, which implies a meaning of suppression, or negation? We have seen besides (in K 11) that *nibandha* more properly means 'investment.' The object of the deed is to unmake the gift of the Śaṅkaraśāstrī by substituting the gift of another. I therefore explain *vimbadhākāra* as, 'with reference to investment,' and take it as an epithet applied to the officers entitled to regulate the withdrawal of the former donation, whichever may have been the proper qualification of these *Dātukas*.

As to the *Śaṅkaraśāstrī*, the proper name alone seems obliterated or doubtful, but the *kaṣṭha* may have contained something else than his name. Other inscriptions do not attribute to the *Śāstrī* the manual work of drafting, but perpetuate his name as that of a high officer entrusted with this charge at the end of the grant, see e.g. Dr Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* Nos. 55 and 56. In a still higher degree the title of *Mahāśānāpati*, which comes near to that of *Mahārāja* (ibid. p. 15, note), seems to place the person who is honoured with it above any such mean task. This is why I suspect that the obliterated letters, if exactly known, would let his part appear in a different light.

There remains the third qualification, of which the greater part is erased, and which begins with *baṭhā*. Although this reading seems more likely than *patihā*, the two forms would be equivalent, and all I venture to say is that the first part of the title seems to refer to some function of an archivist, analogous to what is elsewhere expressed by *akṣhapāṭalika* and *śikṣādhī*.<sup>1</sup> This meaning would suit the general bearing which, I think, points to the mention of such an office. At the utmost I would note that the reading *vāsakehi*, which G and AS have given at the end of the word, reminds of *sāmyakehi* (= *svāmikehi*) which, in N 4, closes the title of the *Mahāśāstrī* entrusted with an identical task. I must add that the visible traces do not favour the restoration of the reading *sāmikehi*.

It is most improbable that we should have to read *Sātakaninā*, and it would indeed be extremely puzzling if this royal name were borne by a simple engraver.

With *kaṣṭhā* the inscription proper comes to an end, as is indicated by the blank which is left after it. The difficulties in the following sentence are chiefly due to the uncertainty of several readings. It does not, however, seem to me impossible to do away with them. One point is certain, namely that the second part forms an adoration to the Buddha. The first ought to introduce and explain it. To this natural desideratum neither the translation of Bhagwanlal nor that of Bühler do justice. That of Bühler has the drawback of resting on the reading *svānuśāhana* which is at variance with the original, it presupposes the name *Vinhupālana*, which has to be explained as a mistake for *Vinhupālita*, lastly it has recourse, in explaining the supposed *phesakaye*, to comparisons and interpretations singularly open to controversy. The readings of Bhagwanlal are more plausible, but his translation 'the description of the king' has been given by Vishnupada for imparting pleasure to the inhabitants of Gōvardhana, is certainly odd, as no 'description of the king' is given here. In fact the translation requires only a few slight alterations to become quite satisfactory. *Phāsu*, from which the abstract *phāsuṭā* is derived, means, in Buddhist style, not exactly 'satisfaction,' but 'health,' and thence 'well-being.' The interpretation of *svām.* involves a more essential modification. If we refer this title to the king, we are confronted with several difficulties. Could it not be a

<sup>1</sup> [See my remarks on these two terms, above, Vol. VII, p. 107, note 4.—E. H.]



denomination of the Buddha himself? It would be a somewhat unusual application of the word, but perhaps it could, to some extent, be explained by the necessity of avoiding here the names of Bhagavat, Buddha and Jina which follow later on. I take *vannand* in the sense which is now commonly reserved to *varna*, 'eulogy, glorification'. If taken thus, the sentence introduces the invocation quite naturally. Vinhupāla, whatever may have been his position and the reason for his intervention (nothing enlightens us about the matter, is the name perhaps only an equivalent of Vinhupālita in the following epigraph?), proclaimed this praise of the Lord, 'we adored the Buddha, 'in order to procure the well-being of the inhabitants of Gôvardhana.'

The beginning of the invocation itself seems puzzling. Bühler read *patipatapasa*, but this does not help us. He translates (perhaps by some inadvertency?) as if he had read *patipatasa* = *prāptiprāptasya*, but even thus the compound would be an error for *prāptiprāptiśh*. It seems little credible that *prāpti*, which, as seen in N 2, has acquired a different technical sense, should have been used here in a way which is at least unusual even in religious literature. Bühler and Bhagwanlal seem to have fallen into a common error by considering it beyond all discussion that *bhagata* must be a fault for *bhagavatasa*. We ought to be careful not to charge the engraver too rashly. All difficulties vanish if we admit first, that the words must be separated otherwise, and secondly that the *bh* bore the vowel *u* which has disappeared, the stone being here much defaced. Thus we get '*bhugatasapa+patapasa* = *abhyudgatasamprāptipratāpasya*, an excellent epithet to *Budhasa*, as will be seen from my rendering. *Sampatti* is well known in Pāli (see Childers) not only in the sense of 'prosperity,' but with the special and more technical meaning of 'religious attainment'. Nothing in this sentence betrays a later origin. It may be supposed that Vinhupāla, being concerned in some way with the execution of the inscription, was led by his zeal to crown it by that pious manifestation.

#### No. 4, Plate 11 (Ksh 13)

On the east wall of the veranda in Cave No 3, under the ceiling

#### TEXT.

- 1 Sidham senāyo Vējayamtiyo (1, vijayakhadha.ajī Govadhanasa  
Benākatakasvāmi (2) Gotamiputo Siri-Sadakani (3)
- 2 ānapayati Govadhane amacha Vinhupālita (4) gīme Aparakakhadiye ya (5)  
khetam Ajakālakīyam Uśabhadatena (6) bhūtam nivatana (7)-
- 3 satini be 200 cta amhakheta nivatanasatini (8) be 200 imesa pavajitāna  
Tekirasina (9) vitarāma etasa chasa khetasa parihāra
- 4 vitarāma apavesa (10) anomasa (11) alonakhādaka arathasavinayika  
savaajātāpārīhārīka (12) cha etahi na parihārehi parihai hi (13)
- 5 ete (14) chasa khetaparīhār (15) cha etha nibadhāpehi (16) aviyena (17)  
ānatam amachena Sivagutena chhato Mahāsāmyehi uparakhito (18)
- 6 datā patikā savachhare 18 (19) vāsapakhe (20) 2 divase 1 Tāpasena (21)  
katā

#### REMARKS.

(1) AS °jayati° — (2) G and AS °jakā svū° — (3) G °dakāni. — (4) G and AS °litam — (5) G. °diyam yam khe°, AS °diya ya khe°. — (6) G Uśabhadātēna — (7) AS. nivatane — (8) AS °satāmnī — (9) G °sina, AS °sinā — (10) G apāve°, AS °vesam — (11) AS °masam — (12) G °tapari° — (13) G °riharahi, AS °riharīhi — (14) AS eta — (15) G. and AS. °hāre. — (16) G and AS nibadhō lāhi. The only point which in my reading seems subject to some material uncertainty is the vocal *e* of the syllable *pe* — (17) G *surīyena*, AS *aviyena*. — (18)

G. °*khitā*. — (19) AS. 14 ; but Bühler has corrected this reading to 18 in *Die Ind. Inschriften und die Kunstpoesie*, p. 58. — (20) G. *vasāpakhe*, AS *vasapa[ke]*. — (21) G °*pasana*.

#### TRANSLATION.

"Success ! From the camp of victory of the Vejayanti army, Siri-Sadakaṇi Gotamiputa, lord of Benākataka of Govadhana, commands Vinhupālita, the officer at Govadhana. The Ajakālākīya field in the village of Western Kakhadī, previously enjoyed by Usabhadatta, — two hundred — 200 — *nivartanas*, — that our field — two hundred — 200 — *nivartanas* — we confer on those Tekirasi ascetics, and to that field we grant immunity, (making it) not to be entered (by royal officers), not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, and (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities ; with those immunities invest it, and this field and these immunities take care to have registered here. Verbally ordered, written down by the officer Sivaguta ; kept by the *Mahāsāmīyas* The deed was delivered in the 18th year, on the 1st day of the 2nd fortnight of the rainy season ; executed by Tāpasa."

*Vejayantiye* ought to be taken as a local name and as alluding to the town of Vejayantī (K. 1) *Vejayanti* is not identical with *vijayanti*, the feminine of the participle *vijayat*, 'victorious.' The mention of the 'Vejayanti army' may have been promoted by the wish of recalling to mind the usual formula *vijayaskandhāvāra* in a way at once pleasant to the king and honourable for his troops, whose successes it commemorated.

I cannot discover the *ā* which AS and G attach to the second *k* of *Benākāṭaka*. This is not to be wondered at, because it seems impossible to interpret *Benākāṭakasvāmī* otherwise than as a compound of the same form as *Navanarasvāmī* in N. 3 When *svāmī* is prefixed as a title, it is placed before the king's name (*sāmī* Sirī-Pujumāyī, K. 14, N. 25, *sāmī* Sirīyāñña-Sātakaṇi, N. 24), and not, as would be the case here, if Bühler and Bhagwanlal were right, before his metronymic. As to the genitive *Govadhanasa*, it could certainly be explained as governed implicitly by *Benākāṭaka* and pointing out the district where the place is situated. It seems however much more probable that it must be construed with *skandhāvārāt*. The sequence of words would then appear somewhat less regular, but the presence of another genitive, *senāye Vejayantiye*, may have caused *Govadhanasa* to be placed after *khamdhāvārā*. As we know nothing about Benākataka (see the preceding inscription), its situation need not be considered here. But it is unlikely that the king, while dating his gift from his head-quarters, should not have stated the name, and, as the gift mentioned here was made by him verbally and personally, it is all but certain that he was himself present at Govadhana.

Bühler and Bhagwanlal understand *ajakālākīyam* = Sanskrit *adyakālīkam*, an adjective qualifying *khetam*, and which, determining the following *Usabhadatena bhūtam*, would mean 'till to-day' This meaning would be excellent, it would have the advantage of dating positively the Southern conquest of Gautamiputra, which probably brought about the dispossession of the Kshaharāta Rishabhadatta in favour of the invader. But from the grammatical point of view — without taking into account the singularity of the form *adyakālākīya* = *adyakālīka*, — it would really be an odd way of speaking It is, besides, necessary that the object of the gift should be precisely stated, the more so because, if Rishabhadatta had laid hand on a possession in these parts, it is hardly to be believed that it would not have extended over more than one field. I, therefore, am inclined to think that *Ajakālākīya* is the name of a place, whatever may be its exact etymology which I have no means to state for certain.

I have no doubt that *Tekirasina* is the equivalent of *Tiranhukānam* and refers to the monks on mount Tirasmi. As to the phonetic change, I see nothing more convincing than the conjecture of Bühler, who corrects the word to *Torasikānam* = *Tirrasmikānam* But it is really a desperate expedient — so desperate that I may be allowed to ask a question

If really, as is supposed, the name *Triraśmi*, attached to the hill at Nāsik, had been inspired by its triple top, would it be too bold to imagine that, under the influence of those Yavanas whose traces are rather common in these parts, a Greek equivalent *Τριρεπας* could, by some accident, have obtained currency by the side of the native name?

For what follows compare K. 19 — No more than former commentators have I any means of determining the exact bearing of the title *Mahāsvāmika*. I would only note that it reminds strongly of *Mahāvishārasvāmin*, a term known from other texts, and which Dr. Fleet (*Gupta Inscr.* p 272, note) considers to denote a dignity superior to that which is expressed by the simple *Vishārasvāmin*. It would then point to a college of religious dignitaries. I feel tempted to compare with these the titles *Mahā-āryaka* and *Ohūla-āryaka*, which have been examined before.

No. 5, Plate II. (Ksh. 14.)

Engraved in continuation of No. 4, from which it is separated only by a *Suastika*.

TEXT.

- 6 Siddha (1) Govadhana amachasa Sāmakasa (2) deyo (3) rājānito (4)  
 7 raño Gotamiputasa Sātakanisa (5) mahādeviya (6) cha jivasutāya rāja-  
 mātuya vachanena Govadhane (7) . . cho (8) Sāmako arogavatavo tato  
 eva cha (9)  
 8 vatavo etha (10) amhehi pavate Tiranhumhi amhadhamadāne lene  
 pativasatānam (11) pavajitāna bhikhūna gāme Kakhadisu puva khetam  
 data ta cha khetā  
 9 . . kasate (12) so cha gāmo na vasati evam (13) satī ya (14)  
 dāni etha (15) nagarasīme rājakam khetā (16) amhasatakam (17) tato  
 etesa (18) pavajitāna bhikhūnam Teranukānam dadama  
 10 khetasa nivatāpasatam 100 tasa cha khetasa parihāra (19) vitarāma  
 apāvesa anomasa alonakhādaka arāṭhasavinayika savajātāparihārīka cha (20)  
 11 etehi na parihārehi parihareṭha (21) eta chasa khetāparihāre (22) cha  
 etha (23) nibadhāpetha (24) ariyena (25) ānata paṇḥārakhīya Lotāya  
 chhato (26) lekho (27) savachhare 24  
 12 vāsāna (28) pakhe 4 divase pachame (29) 5 Sujvinā (30) katā  
 nibadho (31) nibadho savachhare (32) 24 gimbhāna pakhe 2 divase 10.

REMARKS.

(1) AS *siddham* — (2) G and AS *Sama*°. — (3) The initial *de* is probable, but not entirely certain. — (4) G. *rājānito*, AS *rājani*°. The syllable *rā* is very indistinct in the estampages — (5) G *Sata*°. — (6) AS °*deviya* — (7) G. °*vadhana* — (8) G restores very aptly [ama]cho — (9) G and AS do not mention this *cha*, which I believe to discover in the estampage — (10) AS *eṭha* — (11) G. and AS °*satāna*. — (12) G *vakasate*, AS. *va kamsate*. The first letter in the line is very indistinct in the estampage. The traces agree more with the reading *na* which the sense requires, than with *va*. — (13) AS. *eva*. — (14) G and AS *yaṃ* — (15) AS *eṭha*. — (16) G and AS *khetam*. — (17) AS *ama*° — (18) G. *etasa* — (19) G °*hāram*. — (20) AS omits *cha* — (21) G °*harattha*, AS. °*hereṭha* — (22) G. °*parihāra* and AS. °*hāra* — (23) AS *etha* — (24) AS. °*dā laṭha*. — (25) G. *suviye*°. — (26) G. *lājanīyamata*, AS *Lotdya mata*. — (27) G and AS *lekhe* — (28) AS. [va]sā° — (29) G *pachha*°. — (30) G. *pu[va]-jvinā*, AS *Pujvinā* — (31) G. °*badhā* — (32) AS. *saṃvāchhare*.

TRANSLATION.

“Success! Order of the king, to be made over to Sāmaka, the officer at Govadhana. In the name of the king Sātakanī Gotamiputa and of the king's queen mother whose son is living.

Sāmaka, the officer at Govadhana, shall be addressed with the usual civility and then shall be told thus. "We have here on mount Tirap̄hu formerly given to the mendicant ascetics dwelling in the cave which is a pious gift of ours, a field in the village of Kakhadī, but this field is not tilled, nor is the village inhabited. Matters being so, that royal village of ours, which is now here on the limit of the town, from that field we give to the mendicant ascetics of Tirap̄hu one hundred — 100 — *nivartanas* of land, and to that field we grant immunity, (making it) not to be entered (by royal officers), not to be touched (by any of them), not to be dug for salt, not to be interfered with by the district police, and (in short) to enjoy all kinds of immunities; invest it with those immunities, and take care that the donation of the field and the immunities are duly registered." Verbally ordered, the deed written down by Loṭā, the door-keeper, (the charter) executed by Sujlvin in the year 24, in the 4th fortnight of the rainy season, on the fifth—5th—day. The donation had been made in the year 21, in the 2nd fortnight of summer, on the 10th day."

*Rājānto* is perplexing. Bühler's explanation does not convince me. The use of so deformed a word as *nīmta* = *niryāta* is quite improbable, and some parallel instances would be required to render the idiom admissible. Besides, I doubt very much that the gift could have been attributed in that way to Śyāmaka, even with the limitation which would be implied by *rājānto*, meaning as proposed 'which proceeds from the king'. The reading itself I do not consider as secured, at least to judge from the estampages. The genitive *Sāmakaśa* would be used in the sense of a dative governed by *dāya*: 'which ought to be bestowed on Sāmaka,' and the last syllables of the line would contain the substantive expressing what ought to be bestowed. Now I propose to read *rājānati*, and before it, *dāyā* instead of *dāyo*, the final vowel of which is far from clear. In this way we obtain a docket of the whole grant 'a command of the king, to be conveyed to Śyāmaka.' The vocalisation is here so uncertain that my conjectures cannot be called risky. The somewhat exceptional beginning would at least have the advantage of harmonising perfectly with some other equally exceptional peculiarities of the inscription. First, as is shown by the following sentence, we have here not a command directly delivered to Sāmaka, but conveyed to him by some intermediary: *rañō . . . mahādevīya cha vachanena*. This circumstance is worth remembering all the more because the sequel (l 11) states that the command was a verbal one issued by the king, in fact the plurals *pariharetha* and *nibadhāpotha* are accounted for by the circumstance that the command was not intimated directly to Sāmaka (in which case precedents would let us expect the singular), but to the intermediaries, whoever they may have been, that were delegated by the king. Further, in the ordinary form of deeds the engraver is mentioned at the end. In this inscription, however, the date of the execution of the grant is followed by another date, on which the donation had been pronounced — a date naturally anterior to the despatch of formalities. This date was probably added by Sāmaka because he wanted to state the interval which, owing to delays in transmission, intervened between the resolution of the two royal persons and the execution of their will.

It is but natural to suppose that the field situated at Kakhadī, which had been bestowed before upon the monks, is the same as that mentioned in the preceding inscription. Our epigraph is, by the very place it occupies, brought into close connection with the preceding one. It must, however, be noted that the king's mother does not play any part in the preceding gift, which is contrary to the wording of the present one, and that Aparā-Kakhadī as the name of the village looks like an intentional differentiation from the simple Kakhadī which we have here. At least the anterior deed did not state that the grant should concern exclusively, as it is said this time, the monks of the cave bestowed by the queen — the *Dharmasētū*. We must, however, remember the real nature of these epigraphs. They are not official documents, but, in some way, accidental commemorations of gifts, of which the records properly so called were kept among the charters of the monastery. So they may well abridge and sum them up,





in this way it is easy to understand why they do not note many details which could not fail to appear in the official deeds themselves

Though it is generally inadvisable to have recourse to the correction of supposed errors of the engraver, it is difficult not to agree with Bühler when he corrects *pañhārarakhiya*. For other details see K 19 and N. 3

#### No. 6, Plate III. (N. 8)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No 6.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Sīdham Viragahapatisa nyegamamsa (1) leṇam (2)
- 2 deyadhama kuṭumbiniya (3) chasa Namdasiriya (4) ovarako duhutu-
- 3 ya chasa Purisadatāva ovarako eva leṇam chatugabham
- 4 niyuta (5) bhikkhusamghasa chātudisasa niyāchutam

#### REMARKS.

(1) AS *gamasa*, the *anusūtra*, although faulty, seems perfectly clear. — (2) G and AS *lena* — (3) G *binīya*. — (4) AS. *dasarāya* The reading *siri* seems sure. — (5) G. *niyuta*

#### TRANSLATION

“Success! This cave, a pious gift of the householder Vira, a merchant, a cell of his wife Nandasiri, and a cell of his daughter Purisadatā, the cave thus completed to four cells has been bequeathed to the universal Sangha”

I do not think *gahapati* ought to be taken as a part of the proper name, any more than in *Namdagahapatimā* at Śāilarwadī (CTI. p 38, text 1 5) At Junnar (CTI and AS No 4) we meet again with a donor *Virasenakasa gahapati-pamughasa dhammanigamasa*. In spite of the close resemblance of the epithets, the writing of the two documents does not seem — unless, what is very possible, the difference be more local than chronological, — to entitle us to identify both. Anyhow it follows from the comparison that *gahapati*, just as *negama*, is a title Besides, it may perhaps be concluded from it that Vira is only an abridgment of the real name which has to be completed by a second member like *sena* *Negama* need not be explained, but it may be remarked *en passant* that its use here favours the opinion I have formerly stated, and which I must maintain against the doubts that have been raised by a learned opponent (Fick, *Soziale Gliederung zu Buddha's Zeit*, p 164), viz that *grihapati* is, in the Buddhist language, specially restricted to people of various castes, who are included in the large class of *Vaiśyas*

The writing *nye* = *ne* is the more noteworthy because we find afterwards *niyāchuta* = *niyātita* It looks as if this engraver had felt some peculiar inclination towards the palatalizing of dentals.

*Niyuta* was translated by Bühler in various ways : ‘allotted, given,’ and often, as now, ‘dedicated’ The inscription No. 1 at Mahād reads . . . . *lena chetvyaghara ovarakā cha atha ti kamam niyutām* . . . . and seems to settle the exact bearing of the word, viz ‘executed, completed,’ implying the notion of a plan, of an appropriation to some use or some object, which is conveyed by the verb *niyuj* *Niyuta* is therefore not ordinarily construed with a dative, it is generally followed by another participle, as here by *niyātita*, pointing to the donation which takes place after the work has been completed It is needless to observe that when *niyuta* is accompanied by a dative (or a genitive fulfilling the functions thereof), as at Junnar No 15 (where we have to read *niyutaka*), this fact is no way irreconcilable with the translation I am advocating : ‘made for the Sangha (reading) at Kapichitā.’

## No. 7, Plate III.

On the back wall of Cave No. 7, left of the doorway

## TEXT.

- 1 Bhayamta-Savasānam amtevā-
- 2 sūniya pavayitāya Tāpasī-
- 3 niya cha deyadhama [lena]
- 4 chātudisasa bhikhusaghasa datam.

## REMARKS.

This epigraph is missing in AS I give the reading of Bhagwanlal rather than a transcription of my own The estampages appear to be even less legible than the photographs The letters are not deeply cut, so that the back of the estampages shows almost nothing. The direct examination of the stone may have enabled Bhagwanlal to see more than I can discover on the facsimiles. I can only abandon to him the honour and responsibility of the reading Our facsimile is besides probably too short. For in the first line, where the visible traces indeed seem to confirm his transcription, the final *vā* which he has read is certainly wanting, and the following lines also, if compared with his readings, seem to be incomplete on the right. In the second line I am unable to make out *pavayitāya*, and even less *Tāpasī*°. The rest looks more probable. I must, however, except the last word. Besides the fact that no trace of *data* appears, it is not that participle, but *nyātita*, which is ordinarily used in that way. In 1 3 the *cha* must be wrong, to all appearance we have to do with a single gift

## TRANSLATION.

"This cave, a pious gift of Tāpasīni, a female ascetic, a disciple of the reverend Savasa, granted to the universal *Sangha* of ascetics"

It is hardly credible that the name of the donor should be omitted, as the epigraph takes the trouble to commemorate the name of her religious teacher So she must have been called Tāpasīni, admitting the reading to be correct We have already met (in N 4) with Tāpasa as a man's name. As to that of the teacher, always supposing the reading to be correct, I do not see, among several possibilities, any Sanskrit transcription which can be safely admitted The reading *Sovasa* is not impossible, it reminds of *Sovasaka* which in K 20 seems to be an ethnic name, probably = Sanvarsha. Bhājī (AS No 4) supplies another instance of the *pluralis majestatis* - *therānaṃ bhaamta-Dhamagīrmaṇ*.

## No. 8, Plate VIII (N. 7.)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 8, right of the doorway

## TEXT.

Dāsakasa Mugūdāsasa (1) saparivārasa leṇa (2) deyadhama (3).

## REMARKS.

(1) AS *Mugūdā*° The *ū* is not quite distinct The double stroke, however, accounts best for the crack, and besides the *ū* is sure in the following number. — (2) G. *lenam*. Even the *n*, much more the *m*, is extremely indistinct — (3) G. °*dhamma*.





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(1) AS. *Mug*  
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## TRANSLATION.

"This cave, a pious gift of Mugūdāsa, a fisherman, together with his next."

It is, I think, too precise to translate *saparivāra* by 'with his family'. If such were his intention, the engraver would rather have used either special names of kinship or some generic word, as *jāti*, which occurs elsewhere. *Parivāra* may, together with the family or even excluding it, apply to companions of the donor, fellow-workers or caste-partners.

Whatever may be the exact meaning of *dāsaka*, which I do not hesitate to identify with *dāsaka*, as suggested by Bühler, our Mugūdāsa cannot well be different from the one who is mentioned in the next inscription, also with his surroundings (*saparivāra*). It is strange that the gift of the cave should thus be commemorated twice in two epigraphs, each of which is located on one side of the same door. Generally our formulas distinguish the *lena* from the cells (*ovāraka*, *gabha*) which are excavated in them. Although *lena* is here used in both cases, I am inclined to think that the word in our No. 9 points no more to the veranda, but to the cell which the same donor Mugūdāsa must have added to his cave. This interpretation seems the more tempting as the second donation has for its object to supply with clothes the *parajita*, i.e. the monk residing in the cell. However this may be, Mugūdāsa has a namesake at Kudā (AS No 23), a *mālākāra* or florist, whom nothing at least in the writing forbids to consider his contemporary.

## No. 9, Plate III (N 6.)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No 8, left of the doorway

## TEXT.

- 1 Chetika-upāsakīyasa Mugūdāsasa (1) *saparivārasa lenam* (2) *deyadhama* (3) *etasa lenasa* (4) *Bodhiguta-*
- 2 *upāsakasa putena Dhamanamdinā datam* (5) *khetam* (6) *apariliya Kanhabhīniya*  
eto cha khetāto chivarikam (7) *pavāitasa*.

## REMARKS.

(1) AS *Mūgū*°. — (2) G. and AS. *lena* — (3) Perhaps °*dhamo*, but the vowel-mark would then, contrary to use, be attached to the top of the *m* — (4) AS *lenasa* — (5) G. and AS *data* — (6) G. and AS. *khetā*. — (7) G. and AS *chivarika*.

## TRANSLATION.

"This cave, a pious gift of Mugūdāsa, of the lay community of Chetikas, together with his next. To this cave has been given by Dhamanandin, son of the lay worshipper Bodhiguta, a field in Western Kanhabhīni, and from this field (accrues) the providing of clothes for the ascetic (living here) "

Compare the preceding inscription. The only difficulty peculiar to this epigraph is connected with the words *apariliya Kanhabhīniya*. I have followed the translation of Bühler and Bhagwanlal, but without feeling so certain about its correctness as they appear to do. It presupposes an adjective *aparila*, equivalent to *apara*, which is unusual, and which in any case does not conform to the precedent *Apara-Kakhaḍḍiya* in No 4 above. The analogy of that passage would rather induce us to look in the word following *khetam* for the particular name of the field. Anyhow the long vowel of *li*, which is quite distinct, remains somewhat puzzling, it would make me think of some passive participle of the future *a-pariliya*, if the use of *li* with the prefix *pari* were testified to by literature or gave some clear and satisfactory meaning.

## No. 10, Plate iv. (Ksh. 5.)

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 10, under the ceiling

## TEXT.

Compare Dr Hœrnle in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII. pp. 27 ff. and Dr Bhandarkar, *ibid.* pp 139 ff ]

- 1 Siddham rājñah Kshaharātasya kshatrapasya Nahapānasya jāmātrā (1)  
Dinikaputrena Ushavadātena trigośatasahasradena nadyā Bārṇāsāyām  
suvarṇadānatirthakareṇa devatābhyah brāhmaṇebhyaścha shodaśagrāmadena  
anuvārsham (2) biāhmaṇasātasāhasribhojāpayitrā
- 2 Prabhāse puṇyatīthe brāhmaṇebhyaḥ ashtabhāryāpradena Bharukachhe Daśapure  
Govardhane Śorpārage cha chatuśālāvasadhapratisrayapradena ārāmatadāga (3)-  
udapānakarena Ibā-Pārādā-Damana-Tāpi-Karabenā-Dāhanukā-nālvāpunyatarakarena  
etāsām cha nadinām ubhatotīram sabhā-
- 3 prapākaena Pimditakāvade (4) Govardhane Suvarṇamukhe Śorpārage cha  
Rāmatīrthe Charakaparshabhyah grāme (5) Nānamgole dvātrīśatanāligeramūla-  
sahasrapradena (6) Govardhane Triraśmishu parvateshu dharmātmanā idam  
lenam (7) kārītam imā cha podhiyo (8) [||\*] Bhatārakā amūtiyā (9) cha gato  
smim (10) vaśhāratum (11) Mālayehi (12) rudham Utamabhādrām (13)  
mochayitum
- 4 te cha Mālayā pranādeneva apayātī Utamabhadrakānam (14) cha kshatryānam  
sarve paṇigrahā kṛitā tato smim (15) gato Poksharāni tatra cha mayā  
abhiseko kṛito triṇi (16) cha gosahasrāni datāni grāmo (17) cha [||\*] Data  
chānena (18) kshetram (19) biāhmanasa Vārāhiputrasa Aśvibhūtisa hathe  
kintā mulena (20) kāhāpanasahasrehi chatuḥ 4000 ya sapitusataka  
nagarasīmāya utarāparāya disāya (21) eto mama lene vasa-
- 5 tānam (22) chātudīsasa (23) bhikhusaghasa mukhāhāro bhāṇisati.

## REMARKS.

(1) The reading *trā* is very distinct, the right side of the *t* however bears a slight trace of the vowel *u*, as if the form *jāmātu* had been present, along with the form *jāmātrā*, in the mind of the writer. — (2) AS. °*varṣa* — (3) AS °*tadāga*°. — (4) G °*Pimḍi*°. — (5) AS *grāma*. — (6) AS °*sahasradena* — (7) G and AS *lena*. — (8) AS. *podhiyo*. — (9) The syllable *am* (for the *anusvāra* is quite visible) has been added between *kā* and *ñā*, probably in order to point out that the initial *a* has been absorbed into the *ā* of *kā*. The *ā* of *ñā* is doubtful, the vowel-mark is not ordinarily, as would here be the case, placed at the top of the vertical line — (10) AS *smi* The *anusvāra* is doubtful. If it exists, it is of course a mistake — (11) The *u* is subscribed in two ways, — the one very similar to *r*, as here and in *putrasa* in the next line, the other in the shape of a small horizontal stroke, as in *mochayitum*, *ṣitu* — (12) Between *ye* and *hi* there is a blank, which seems to have been filled up by two or three characters that would have been effaced — (13) AS. °*bhādrām* The *ā* does not appear to be quite certain. — (14) AS. °*kānām*. — (15) AS. *kṛitā tato smi* The *anusvāra*, though faulty, seems to exist on the stone — (16) AS. *triṇi gosa*° — (17) AS *gāmo* — (18) G *cha nena*. — (19) AS *kshetra*. — (20) G. and AS. *mūlo*° — (21) G. *disā*°. — (22) G. and AS. °*tāna*. — (23) G. °*tudīsa*°

## TRANSLATION

"Success! Ushavadāta, Dinika's son, son-in-law of King Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa, — who has given three-hundred-thousand cows, who has made gifts of money and tirthas on the river Bārṇāsā, who has given sixteen villages to the gods and Biāhmanas, who





causes one-hundred-thousand Brāhmaṇas to be fed the (whole) year round, who has given eight wives to Brāhmaṇas at the religious *tīrtha* of Prabhāsa, who at Bharukachha, Daśapura, Govardhana and Śorparāga has given the shelter of quadrangular rest-houses, who has made wells, tanks and gardens, who has out of charity established free ferries by boats on the Ibā, Pārādā, Damana, Tāpi, Karabēnā and Dāhanukā, and erected on both banks of these rivers shelters for meeting and such for gratuitous distribution of water, who has given thirty-two-thousand stems of cocoanut trees at the village Nānamgola to the congregation of Charakas at Pimditakāvada, Govardhana, Suvarnamukha and the Rāmatīrtha in Śorparāga,—inspired by (true) religion, in the Trirāśmi hills at Govardhana, has caused this cave to be made and these cisterns. And by order of the lord I went to release the chief of the Uttamabhadras, who had been besieged for the rainy season by the Mālayas, and those Mālayas fled at the mere roar (of my approaching) as it were, and were all made prisoners of the Uttamabhadra warriors. Thence I went to the Pokshara tanks, and there I bathed and gave three-thousand cows and a village. A field has also been given by him, bought at the hands of the Brāhmaṇa Aśvabhūti, son of Vārāhi, for the price of four-thousand — 4,000 — *kāhāpanas*, which (field) belonged to his father, on the boundary of the town towards the north-western side. From it food will be procured for all monks, without distinction, dwelling in my cave.”

The beginning of the inscription till *ashtabhāryāpradana* is, except one or two insignificant discrepancies, but the reproduction in Sanskrit orthography of the beginning of No 13 at Kārlā. It will suffice to refer to this fact.

Daśapura is the only one among the four towns mentioned here which remains unidentified. I see no means of choosing between the Daśapura in Rajputana (Bühler), that in Malwa (Bhagwanlal), or others which might be added, as Mandasôr, etc. In No 26 we see that some Śakas dwelt in that place, this is at least a hint that it ought to be searched for towards the north.

As for the river names, Bühler's and Bhagwanlal's views agree together. Dr. Bhandarkar proposed to restore *°panya°* and to separate *°vā-apanyatara°*. Such a correction would be rash; but the general meaning would come to the same. *Punyatara* must be compared with *punyatīrtha* which we have met before. As it characterises the Prabhāsātīrtha as a religious place, *punya* qualifies the ferries by boats established on those rivers as religious, charitable or meritorious ones, i.e. as gratuitous. The phraseology which so constantly associates *sabbā* and *prapā* (compare *Mahābhārata*, *Anusāsana-kaparian*, vv 1635, 1671 and 6685, *Sāntiparvan*, v 1492, etc) proves, contrary to Dr. Hoernle's ingenious, but too artificial conjecture, that the two words have to be taken as a *dvandva*.

Pimditakāvada and Suvarnamukha are, as far as I know, unidentified. In Nānamgola it is at least tempting to see with Bhagwanlal Nārgol near Sanjan. The communities of Charakas to whom the gift has been made seem to be identical with the Charakas who are named in a stereotyped formula of Buddhist (e.g. *Mahāvastu*, III. 412-*anyatīrthikacharakaparivrājakā*) and Jaina texts, namely a certain special category of Brāhmanical ascetics. To take *charaka* for 'Brāhmanical students' would leave the gift too undetermined, and if the Charaka-śākhā of the Yajurveda were meant, the expression would have been made more definite.

The real stumbling-block here is the compound *dvātrīṣata°*. All interpreters understand by it a gift of 'a thousand (coins) representing the value of thirty-two cocoanut trees.' Bhagwanlal alone has translated 'who has bestowed as a gift thirty-two-thousand cocoanut trees.' This text cannot be considered independently from another, perfectly parallel one in N 12, where we read. *gāme Ohikkhalapadre datāni nāligerāna mulasahasrāni aṭha 8000*. The same difference exists there between Bühler's and Bhagwanlal's translations. First of all it must be owned that the gift of a capital amounting to the value of thirty-two cocoanut trees, to be distributed among at least four religious fraternities, would be, especially from so mighty and liberal a donor, extremely

improbable. Secondly, what could be the use of specifying so accurately, as is done in the two cases, the village in which those trees would have been alienated, if the donors were only concerned with the proceeds of the sale? The fact itself, that the king's son in law should have sold a few coconut trees in order to provide himself with funds for his private charities, is the more unlikely as gifts in kind are the more usual ones; or, if money is intended, it is not a 'valued investment' (see N 12), a foundation of a perpetual rent. We also believe that the donor does not buy a field in order to secure food for the monks, but not the reverse. If so, still, however, we must admit, in spite of the general parallelism of the two phrases, that the number of trees would have been noted in our case, while in N 12 the sum of money alone would be noted, as representing the coconut trees (*maligandā*), the number of which could be ascertained. In N 12 if only we read *māla* for *malā*, we may well construe the word in apposition to *śāhā*. Such an expedient is here out of the question, and that is a very strong reason for taking in N 12 *mulasahasani* as a compound. This must be the spontaneous impression of every unprejudiced reader, even here, where the compound is a claim, its resolution into a first *śāhā* and *malā* and being in apposition to *śāhā* (which would be excluded by the compound *śāhā* in N 12) is, although possible, certainly too remote to appear probable. Lastly, in N 12, if a gift of 8,000 *kāśhāpāni* were really intended, it is not easy to see why it should have been consigned to the third place, without any details regarding the nature of the foundation, while the inferior gift of 3,000 *kāśhāpāni*, previously mentioned, is treated differently. From all these facts I conclude that Bhāgavatahastakantilya's gift of 32,000 trees here to do with a gift of 32,000 coconut trees, and in N 12 with one of 8,000 trees at the village of Nānāngola, and the second at the village of Chikhalapādra. It is only this which leaves the use of *māla*, which seems to imply 'root of coconut trees' instead of simply 'coconut trees.' Such an idiom is surely not more puzzling than if, in French, we received trees by '*piéds*' and say 32,000 '*piéds de cocotiers*'.

The locatives *Govardhana Trirāsimi* *parvata* *śū* have been generally connected in connection with *kīrtanam* and *dharma* *Itana*, which was considered as a religious, charitable, and would have been introduced here into the list of the locatives without any special signification. The general plan of the construction of the inscription is such an interpretation. The words beginning with *Govardhana* and ending with *śū* are exactly symmetrical with the analogous groups which precede them. The epigraph takes up the bulk of our epigraph and ends uniformly with a laudatory epithet, preceded by a determinative as it requires. It seems difficult to admit that the analogy created by such a concatenation of instances should be disturbed in this only case, and that the strict correspondence which is warranted by the whole structure should here be fallacious. However, it would be the only case where to the mention of the mountain in which the cave was excavated would be added the name of the neighbouring town of Govardhana, which is perfectly superfluous in this place,—the only one too where, in order to commemorate, on the one hand, the name of the hill in which it has been dug, the plural would be used. These two particularities rather suggest the idea of some fact which is more general, less strictly localized, and concerning not the cave itself, but the region as a whole. I must add that all the donations previously mentioned are bestowed without any exception on Brahmins or Brāhman institutions, while the gift which our epigraph records, and which this part of the sentence introduces, is, on the contrary, made in favour of Buddhist monks. I have previously, in connection with the term *dharma* *Yatana* in K. 10, expressed the idea that *dharma* has to be taken in the sense of 'Buddhist religion,' and the same is, I believe, the case here as well. This is why I understand the passage to mean 'imbued at Govardhana in the Trirāsimi hills with (true) religion.' I dare not decide if this phrase implies an express conversion to Buddhism, or only puts a first gift in favour of Buddhism in contrast with the previous grants which were inspired by Brāhmanical feelings. I do not think the wording allows us to settle this shade of meaning. On the strength of this



explanation I propose in N. 18 to take *dhaṁmātmanā* in a similar way. I believe the reading *°tmanā*, not *°tmano*, is certain, and the manner in which the construction is interrupted after the preceding genitives confirms the impression that *dhaṁmātmanā* is intentionally put forward, in order to dwell on the fact of a change having taken place in the religious belief or inclination of the donor Indrāgudatta

I consider *carṣhāratum* intimately connected with *rudham*. Besides the fact that the accusative commonly denotes duration, I beg to insist once more upon that rule of Sanskrit construction which requires the determinant to precede the determined, and to which it is so important to pay attention in the, so to say, amorphous style of inscriptions. I have unfortunately nothing to add to the explanations, though little conclusive, which have been given by others respecting some other topics in this first postscript. Of the Uttamabhadras we know nothing, and as to the Mālayas, though it seems natural to look for them in the inhabitants of the Malaya or southern hills, it must be owned that if, as seems possible, they were on the way or at least in the direction towards Pokhara, i.e. Ajmer, the equation Mālaya = Malava, proposed by Bhagwanlal, would be well worthy of consideration. Of course 'mountaineers' of the same region may also be meant.

In the second additional paragraph, the principal difficulty lies in *ya sapitusaṭaka*. Bhagwanlal divides *ya sapitusaṭaka*, 'belonging to whose (Aśvibhūti's) father'. Bühler transcribes *ya sa(sic)pitusa(m)taka* and translates 'which belongs to my (Aśvibhūti's) father,' and he is of course obliged to connect the epithet *sapitusaṭaka* with *nagarasīmāya*. It is evident to my mind that Bühler was mistaken, and that the adjective, which, if applied to *nagarasīmāya*, would be meaningless, must be referred to the field. As to the grammatical analysis, the matter is different. The relative *ya* is construed less naturally with *Aśvibhūtisa* which is far off, than with *lshetraṁ*, the idea of which pervades the whole sentence. I, therefore, divide *ya sapitusaṭaka* = *svapit*, *sva* being applied to Aśvibhūti's father. It is just because the field does not belong to this Brāhman himself, and because he plays in this transaction the part of a representative only of his father, that the epigraph uses the expression *Aśvibhūtisa haṭhe* instead of the ablative case 'at the hand of Aśvibhūti,'—a shade of meaning which ought not to have passed unnoticed.

On account of the proximity of *mama lene vasatānaṁ* and *chātudāsasa saṁghasa*, this inscription is one of those where the exact meaning of *chātudāsa saṁgha* is most clearly brought out, as I have tried to show in K 13.

#### No. 11, Plate VII. (Ksh. 10.)

In the veranda of Cave No 10, over the doorway of the left cell.

#### TEXT.

1 Sidham (1) rāṁño (2) Kshaharātasa kshatrapasa Nahapanasa dīhi-  
2 tu Dinikaputrassa Ushavadātasa kudumbiniya Dakhamitrāya (3) deyadham-  
mam (4) ovarako.

#### REMARKS.

(1) G and AS. *sidham* — (2) G *rāño*, AS *raño* — (3) AS *°mitāya* — (4) G. *°dhammam*

This epigraph is repeated twice, with, as it seems, only slight graphical differences, compare N 13 below. Although AS refers to the facsimile on Plate Iu, the way in which the lines are cut proves that the transcription was made, not from the estampage which corresponds with our N. 13, but from that which we transcribe here, and which figures on the accompanying Plate

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! This cell, the gift of Dakhamitrā, wife of Ushavadāta, son of Dinika, and daughter of king Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrāpa"

No 12, Plate v. (Ksh. 9)

Immediately below the preceding inscription

## TEXT.

- 1 Sīdham vase 42 Vesākhamāse rāño (1) Kshaharātasa kshatrāpasa  
Nahapānasa jāmātāiā Dinikaputrena Ushavadātana samghasa chātudāsasa  
imam lenam (2) nyātītam data chānena (3) akshayanīvi kāhāpanasahasrā-  
2 m trinī 3000 samghasa chātudāsasa ye imasmim lene vasamtānam (4)  
bhavisatī chivarika kuśanamūle (5) cha ete cha kāhāpanā prayutā  
Govadhanavāthavāsu śreṇīsu (6) kolikanikāye (7) 2000 vṛdhī (8) padikaśata  
aparakolikanikā-  
3 ye (9) 1000 vadhi pāyūnapadikaśata (10) ete cha kāhāpanā apadidātavā  
vadhūbhojā eto chivarikasahasrāni (11) be 2000 ye padike sate eto mama  
lene vasavuthāna bhukhunam viśāya ekikasa chivarika bārasaka yā (12)  
sahasra prayutam pāyūnapadike (13) śate ato kuśapa-  
4 mūla (14) Kāpurāhāre cha gāme Chikhalapadre datāni nābgerāna mulasahasrāni  
atha 8000 eta cha sarva (15) srāvita (16) nīgamasabhāya nibadha (17) cha  
phalakavāre charitratotī bhūyo nena datam vase 41 Kātikaśudhe  
panarasa (18) puvāka vase 45  
5 panarasa nyutam (19) bhagavatām devānam brāhmanānam cha karshāpanasa-  
hasrāni (20) satam 70000 pamchatrīsaka (21) suvarṇa (22) kṛitā  
dina suvarṇasahasrapam (23) mūlyam (24)  
6 phalakavāre charitratotī

## REMARKS.

- (1) AS *raño* — (2) G and AS. *ima lena* — (3) G. *datā nena*; AS. *data chānena* —  
(4) G. and AS *vasātāna* — (5) G. *kuśanamūla* — (6) AS *śreṇīsu*. — (7) AS. *kolika*°. —  
(8) AS *vadhi* — (9) AS °*kolika*° — (10) G. and AS *pāyuna*° — (11) G °*srāni* — (12)  
G and AS. *ya* — (13) G and AS. *pāyuna*°. — (14) G. °*mūla* — (15) G. *sarvam* — (16)  
G *sāvita* — (17) G *nībadha*. — (18) G. °*rāse* — (19) G °*yuta*. — (20) G. °*srāni*. — (21) G.  
°*trīsaka* — (22) G *suvarṇam*. — (23) G °*srānam*, AS °*śranam*. — (24) G. *mūlyam*, AS.  
°*mūla*.

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the year 42, in the month Vesākha, Ushavadāta, son of Dinika, son-in-law of king Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrāpa, has bestowed this cave on the Samgha generally, he has also given a perpetual endowment, three thousand—3000—*kāhāpanas*, which, for the members of the Samgha of any sect and any origin dwelling in this cave, will serve as cloth money and money for outside life (*kuśana*), and those *kāhāpanas* have been invested in guilds dwelling at Govadhana,—2000 in a weavers' guild, interest one *pratika* (monthly) for the hundred, (and) 1000 in another weavers' guild, interest three quarters of a *padika* (monthly) for the hundred, and those *kāhāpanas* are not to be repaid, their interest only to be enjoyed Out of them, the two thousand—2000—at one *pratika* per cent. are the cloth money, out of them to every one of the twenty monks who keep the *vassa* in my cave, a cloth money of twelve (*kāhāpanas*). As to the thousand which has been invested at an interest of three quarters of a *pratika* per cent., out of them the money for *kuśana*. And at the village of Chikhalapadra in the





Kāpura district have been given eight thousand—8000—stems of cocoanut trees, and all this has been proclaimed (and) registered at the town's hall, at the record office, according to custom."

"Again the donation previously made by the same in the year 41, on the fifteenth of the bright half of Kārttika, has in the year 45, on the fifteenth . . . . . been settled on the venerable gods and Brāhmanas, viz seventy thousand—70000—*kārshāpanas*, each thirty-five making a *suvarna*, a capital (therefore) of two thousand *suvarnas* (This is registered) at the record office according to custom."

Here the difficulties begin with the word *kuṣana*. Bhagwanlal's vague attempts at explaining it cannot well be considered anything but a failure, and the comparison with the Vedic *kṛṣṇa* does not help us any more. Literary works do not seem to have supplied to this day any instance of the word. It is but to be wondered at that the use itself to which it refers is not only foreign, but contrary to the laws of discipline as they are laid down in the Scriptures. In fact I do not think any doubt can be entertained as to the custom to which the word *kuṣana* alludes. Several inscriptions at Kanheri (*Arch Surv Vol V*) commemorate various endowments with a double object *chivarika solasaka paliko cha māse utukāle* (No. 15), *chivarika bārasaka gūmhāsu paḍīho māse* (No 18), *chivarika solasaka padiko māse cha utukāle* (No 21); *chivarika . . . solasaka utukāle cha [paḍīho māse]* (No 28). This series corresponds with our own epigraph in the first member, it is extremely probable that both correspond in the second as well, and that consequently *kuṣana* means a monthly stipend, assigned to every monk during a certain period of the year, and probably to be applied for his food. Such a proceeding of course is, from the point of view of principle, most incorrect, the monks being expected to live on alms and being precluded from even touching any money. The general interpretation seems nevertheless certain. The case is different as regards the precise meaning and etymology of the word. I know of no really probable conjecture I could suggest. Although rather numerous, the passages at Kanheri do not even state distinctly during which period of the year the supply was conceded. Most of them are content to speak of the *ritukāla*. As, however, the distribution of the *kuṣanamūla* appears to have been strictly parallel with that of the *chivarika* or 'money for clothes' reserved for the *varsha* time (*vasavuthānam bhikkhūnam*), this 'season' *var'* ἔσθ' must be the *varsha*. If No 18 expressly mentions the hot season (*gūmhāsu*), this is due, I suppose, to the circumstance that at that time and in that place the annual retreat began already in Āshādhā, i. e. still in summer.

The words *vridhi padikasata* and *vadhi pāyūnapadikasata* look perfectly clear, and they have in fact been translated quite naturally - 'the interest amounts to one hundred' and 'to seventy-five *pratikas*'. The matter is, however, not quite so simple. Those expressions cannot be considered separately from others which do not admit of such an interpretation; I mean in this inscription *sahasrāni be ye padike sate* and *yā sahasraprayutam pāyūnapadike sate*, and at Kanheri, No 15, *kāhāpanāni satāni be saghasa yeva haṭhe palike sate*. It is clear from the first that a capital of 200 *kārshāpanas* cannot possibly bring in the same interest as a capital of 2000. On the other hand, the final *e* of *padike* and *sate* being secured by the threefold repetition, we must find an explanation for the double locative which the ordinary translations in no way account for. As to *vridhi padikasata*, the translation 'interest a hundred *padikas*' is excluded by the consequences it would involve. Bühler was led by reasons which on the whole are, if not cogent, at least very plausible, to consider *pratika* as an equivalent of *kārshāpana*. Of course he was obliged to acknowledge that those hundred *pratikas* were not sufficient to supply the expenses for the clothes of twenty monks, at twelve *kārshāpanas* each, because they would in that case require 240 *kārshāpanas* in all. He was obliged to assume that *bārasaka* (Sanskrit *dvādasaka*) refers to some coins different from the *kārshāpana*. But Kanheri No 16, where the fee of 'sixteen *kārshāpanas*' for cloth money is expressly mentioned, leaves no room for doubt, *kārshāpanas* are

certainly meant It follows therefore that the translation put forward for *vr̥dhi paḍīkaśata* cannot be upheld

The only safe way is to start from the locatives *paḍīka śate* In Kanheri No. 15, Bühler translated 'two hundred bearing (a monthly interest of) one *kārshāpana*.' Hence he seems to have taken *śate* as a dual Such an interpretation is out of the question, it is discountenanced not only by the grammatical inadmissibility, but also by the repetition of the formula in our own text, where the numbers in each case are quite different. Nevertheless, I think that Bühler was perfectly right as to the general meaning In fact, if we take, and we cannot well help doing so, *śate* as a locative, we are easily led by the two locatives to the translation 'at one *pratika* per cent' In India the rate of interest is generally stated monthly (compare *Manu*, viii. v. 141, etc) So it would imply a yearly income of 12 per cent. which, conformably to the ideas of the country, is far from excessive. We shall actually find in N. 17 a capital of 100 *kārshāpanas* bringing in annually the cost of a *chivarika* of 12 *kārshāpanas*. At this rate of interest the two-thousand *kārshāpanas* bear exactly the two-hundred-and-forty *kārshāpanas* required yearly to provide the twenty monks with robes at 12 pieces each. It is true that the 75 *pratikas* produced on the same terms by the other investment of 1000 *kārshāpanas* are not quite sufficient to secure to the twenty monks as *kusānamūla* one *kārshāpana* monthly during four months, which would amount to eighty pieces But this fact does not entail any real contradiction If the *kusānamūla* at Kanheri amounted to one *pratika* monthly, it does not follow that it must have been of exactly the same value at Nāsik, nor is it sure even that the *varsha*, which we know to have differed in length according to time and place should have here lasted four months, rather than three The only remaining difficulty is purely grammatical I dare not decide if we ought to correct *paḍīka-* (and *pāyūnapaḍīka-*) *śate*, or to admit some irregular formation such as the familiar or technical language is apt to produce. Anyhow the meaning remains clear 'interest at the rate of one (and three quarters of one) *pratika* monthly' The *ye* which follows the number 2000 of course refers to *chivarikasahasrūnibh*, it stands for the neuter *yāni*, exactly as in l 2 the *ye* following *chātudāsasa*. The sequel shows that we have to supply *prayutām* or *payutām* As to *āhāra* = district, compare Dr Fleet's *Gupta Inscr* p. 173, note

I have explained before (N 10) why I understand *mūla* not as 'value, capital,' but as meaning 'stem.' The phraseology used here and the way in which the words are separated seem to supply another decisive argument in favour of that interpretation In *phalakavāra* I prefer taking *vāra*, not, like Bühler, as = 'number, multitude,' but as denoting the enclosure, the premises where the official documents are kept on boards (*phalaka*). There are no instances from literature, by which the real meaning can be tested Anyhow archives seem to be understood This inscription suggests a double formality first the notification (*śrāvita*) of the gift, and secondly its registration (*nibadha*) As *niḡamasabhā* seems to mean 'the public hall, the town's hall,' it has been generally admitted that the first locative, *niḡamasabhāya*, refers to the place where the proclamation had to be made, the second, *phalakavāre*, to the embodiment into the archives But the sequel shows that *phalakavāre charitrato* forms a sentence complete in itself On the other hand, I have repeatedly insisted upon the necessity of taking into consideration the law which in Sanskrit puts the determinative term before the determined one. For this reason I have translated the sentence as above The last words, *phalakavāre*, etc, are only a compendious attestation of the fact that the whole endowment was recorded in the archives conformably to rule.

The same formula is repeated at the end of the final clause which follows, and which is fraught with such difficulties that Bühler did not attempt even a conjectural translation Bḡagwanlal has been bolder, I believe that, except in some grammatical details, he has on the whole been successful. We have before us a double date, 41 and 45, for the endowment.

Two different stages of the same proceeding must accordingly be recorded here the first characterised by *datta*, the second by *niyuhta*, viz first the donation, and afterwards its dedication to a special category of donees. Was Bhagwanlal justified in stating that the first word amounts to the same as *samlalpita* and means only the resolution to give? Or must we believe that at the second date, the donor was led by some undetermined reason to modify in favour of new donees the original object of his investment? I dare not decide this point, as both conjectures have their own difficulties. In any case we are concerned here with a donation—or the project of a donation—which goes back to a previous time (*purvākam*), and which led to a final dedication in the year 45. In this second part of the sentence *panarasa* is most perplexing. If it is the same ordinal *pañchadaśa* as in the preceding line, we are obliged to admit either that the engraver has omitted the name of the month and of the fortnight, or that he has erroneously repeated the foregoing *panarasa*. Though slightly facilitated by the fact that *panarasa* stands at the beginning of a new line, this conjecture is too easy to be confidently relied upon. Another expedient could also be attempted, viz considering *panarasa* = *punarasa*, *punar asya*, and taking the genitive to be used in the function of the instrumental, which does not seem hard in this style. The translation would then be ‘the donation previously made in the year 41 has been again settled by him in the year 45, etc.’ But the proximity of the first *panarasa* makes this hypothesis extremely doubtful.

The only remaining difficulty concerns the words *pamchatrimśaka*, etc. It is only formal. It is indeed perfectly clear that the text wants to state how the 70,000 *kārshāpanas* given are equal in value to 2,000 *suvarnas*, the *suvarna* being worth 35 *kārshāpanas*. But Bhagwanlal understands *kṛitā* = *kṛitvā*, which I consider hardly admissible. The vocalisation is here very uncertain. I prefer to take *kṛitā* as equal to *kṛita* or *kṛitam*, and *pamchatrimśakam suvarnam kṛitam* as a separate proposition, which comes very near to our own idiom ‘thirty-five (*kārshāpanas*) make one *suvarna*’.

#### No. 13, Plate viii (Ksh 10)

In the veranda in Cave No 10, over the doorway of the right cell

#### TEXT.

[Compare No 11]

- 1 Sidham rāño Kshaharātasa kshatrapasa Nahapāna-
- 2 sa dīhita (1) Dinikaputrasa Ushavadātasa
- 3 kudumbīniya (2) Dakhamitrāya deyadhammam (3) ovarako.

#### REMARK

(1) G *dīhita* — (2) G *kuṭum°* — (3) G *°dhammam*

#### TRANSLATION.

“Success! This cell, a gift of Dakhamitrā, wife of Ushavadāta, son of Dīnīka, daughter of king Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa.”

#### No 14a, Plate vi. (Ksh. 7.)

On the right wall of the court in Cave No 10

#### TEXT.

- 1 . . . . . tasa kshatrapasa Nahapānasa jāmā-
- 2 . . . . . śakasa Ushavadātasa netyakesu
- 3 . . . . . ? Chechumñe (1) Dāhanūkānagara (2) Kekāpure

4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	?	e	(3)	Anugāmimhi	Ujeniya	Sakhāya		
5	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				to	brāhmaṇā	bhujate (4)	satasūha-	
6	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				vatā (5)	brāhmaṇānam	gavām	satasa-	
7	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				bhagavatā (6)	devāna	brāhmaṇānam	cha datā	
8	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				Chetrasudhe	panarasa (7)	Kshaharā-		
9	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				gavām	?	tasahasādena (8)	Usha-	
10	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				(9)	nadiye	Baṇāsaya (10)	da-	
11	.	.	.	.	.	.	.				suṇana	titha (11)	che	ñayate (12)	tasa
12	.	.	.	.	.	.	.								(13)

## REMARKS

(1) AS [ . . . . . *Sorpdra*] *go Vechimāṇo*. The reading *ve* seems possible, but not, I think, the reading *go* — (2) G and AS. °*gare* — (3) G. and AS. [ . . . . . *Bharuḥa*] *chhe anu*°. I cannot make out the *chh* — (4) G. *bhujate* — (5) G [ . . . . . *bhagavatām*] *brā*°, AS [*rī* . . . . . ] *brā*°. The characters *vatām* seem to be still discernible on the estampage — (6) G and AS [*hasra* . . . . . *bhagava*] *tā* — (7) G °*rase* — (8) G. and AS *gavām śata*°. The *ś* is very doubtful, we could as well read *s*. Before *ga* I think I can make out an *n*, probably the ending of °*dena* — (9) G. °[*vadātena*] . . . . . *brāhma* . . . . . *na*° — (10) AS °*diya Baṇāsāya*, G °*nāsāya* — (11) AS °*vanāti*° — (12) G *cha ñayate*. This reading, especially *cha*, is quite possible — (13) G. . . . . *chat*. I can see nothing of these characters.

## TRANSLATION.

"[Success '] By permanent charities of Ushavadāta, the Śaka, [son of Dinika], son-in-law of king Nahapāna, the [Kshaharā]ta *Kshatrapa*, one hundred-thousand holy Brāhmanas dine [the whole year round] at . . . . . *Chechūñña*, at the town of *Dahanūkā*, at *Kekāpura*, . . . . . at *Anugāmi*, at *Ujeni*, at *Sākhā* [By the same, three]-hundred-thousand cows have been given to holy Brāhmanas, [and sixteen villages] have been given to the holy gods and Brahmanas [In the year . . . . .], in the bright half of *Chaitra*, on the fifteenth day . . . . . by *Usha*[*vadāta*] money and a *śrīṭha* have been bestowed in the *Baṇāsā* river . . . . ."

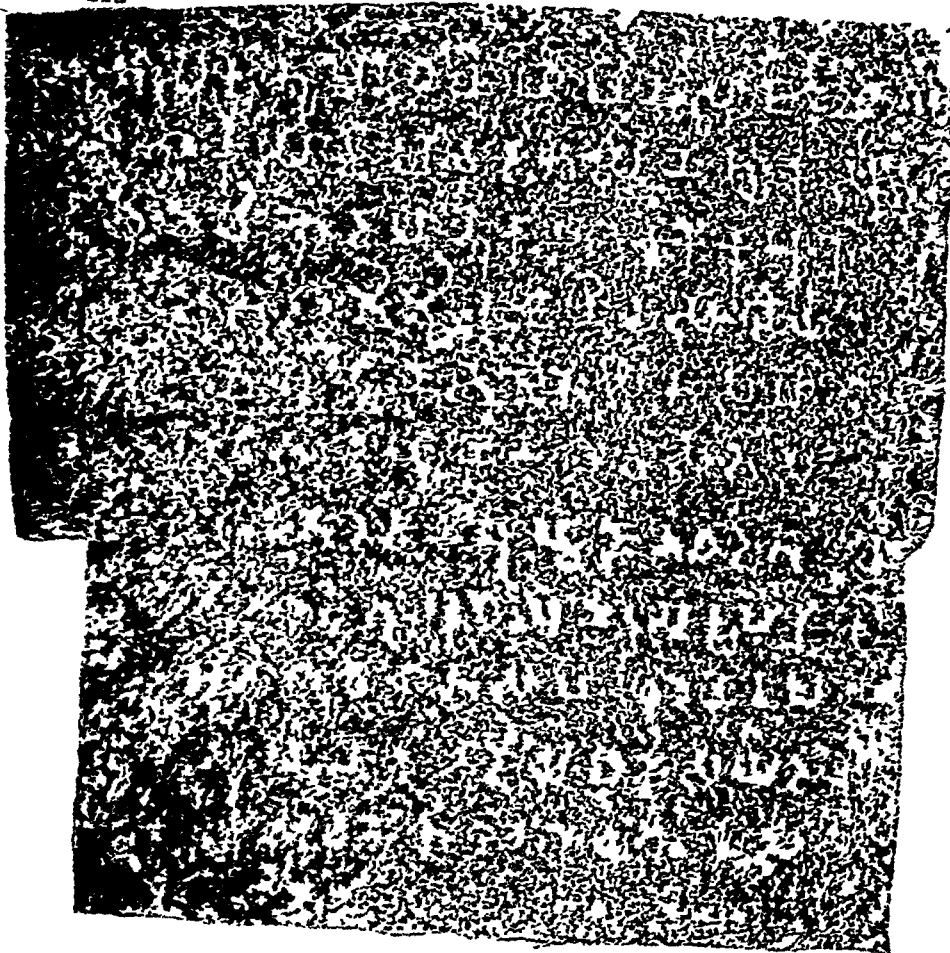
The lost characters in the beginning of several lines can be easily and safely filled in from K 13 and N 10. The first line, the restoration of which is certain, proves that every line has lost about eight letters

- 1 [Sīdham rañño Kshaharā]
- 2 [tu Dinikaputasa]
- 5 [anuvāsam bhagavam]
- 6 [śi . . . . . bhaga]
- 7 [hasāni tīni datāni]
- 8 [solasa gāmā vase . . . . .]

Unfortunately this restoration supplies nothing but known elements and is consequently of little interest. We can restore neither the date nor the local names in ll 3, 4, nor can we say definitely what is missing at the beginning of l 11. I am equally unable to state how and under what circumstances the word *Kshaharāta* was introduced in line 8, because other epigraphs mention that name only among the titles of Nahapāna. The 10th line began of course with the letters *vadātena*, completing *Usha* in the preceding one, and they were probably followed by some epithet. The word *śatasahasādena* of N. 10 would fit as to length, but this gift has already been mentioned in the foregoing lines, independently of the gift of one-hundred-thousand cows, the mention of which immediately precedes. It seems indeed certain that the donations enu-



14a



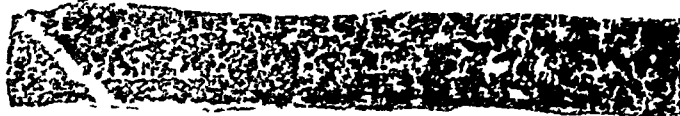
SCALE 12

14b



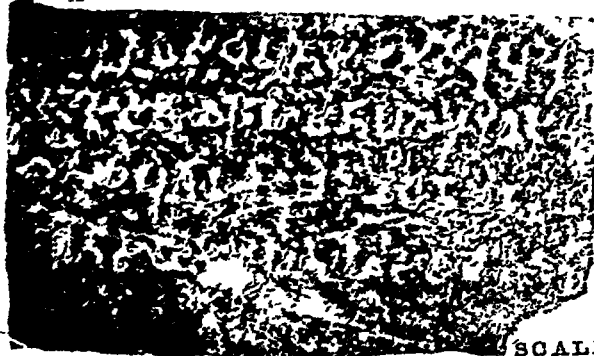
SCALE 12

24



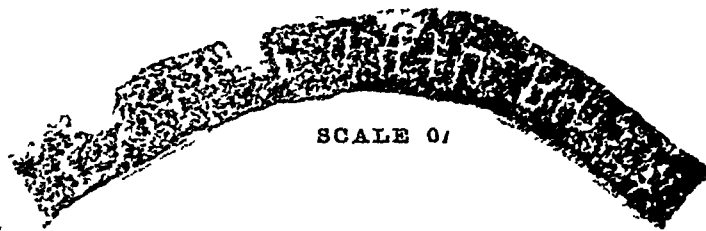
SCALE 12

25



SCALE 1

SCALE 0/



27

SCALE 1





merated in ll. 3 - 5, 6 - 7, 7 - 8 correspond to the first three commemorated in N. 10, while, on the other hand, ll. 10 - 11 allude to the gifts made on the Barnāsā river (l. 1 in N. 10). It may be remarked, *en passant*, that the three words *suvaṇa tītha cha* in l. 12 prove that the interpretation I have advocated for the compound in K. 13 is correct.

I do not believe that *netyaka*, Sanskrit *nastika*, must be understood, as taken by Bühler, in the sense of 'daily rites.' No daily rites performed by Ushavadāta, on the occasion of which the Brāhmins would have been fed, can be intended here, as those distributions are extended to a number of different localities. Regular continuous works and gifts are meant here in opposition to special and exceptional foundations. One doubt only remains: are we to translate 'among the regular liberalities,' or is the locative used for the instrumental 'by (in virtue of) regular liberalities?' The vague character of the syntax in this style (many analogous cases may be found in my commentary on the *Mahāvastu*) does not exclude the second interpretation, which in itself seems to be the more satisfactory of the two.

Bühler gave up the interpretation of the last words *cheṇayate tasa*, and Bhagwanlal's translation of *ñāyate* by 'is known' does not convey any real meaning. The vowel signs are rather uncertain in this part of the inscription. I feel little hesitation in reading *cha*. As to what follows, a double hypothesis offers itself to my mind: either to read *ñay[u]te (tañ) tasa . . . . or ñayāt[ɪ]ta sa . . . .*, in either case we have to admit an irregular transcription of *nyā* or *nyu* by *ñayā* or *ñayu*. It would be exactly the same graphical peculiarity as is found already at Girnar in the eighth of Piyadasi's edicts, which reads (l. 1) *ñayāsu = nyayāsu*. In N. 6 we have already met with an irregular palatalisation of *t* to *ch* in the same word, which is there written *nyāchita* instead of *nyāhita*. To tell the truth, it is towards the restoration of *ñayātita* rather than *ñayuta* that I should incline. Ushavadāta seems to use the word with some predilection (as in N. 12), and it fits in better with the first at least—*suvaṇāni*—of the two substantives on which it would bear. Anyhow, and in spite of the uncertainty resulting from the sudden interruption of the text, the general meaning seems clear.

#### No. 14b, Plate vi. (Ksh 8)

Immediately below the preceding inscription.

#### TEXT.

- 1 . . . . . gavatā brāhmanā
- 2 . . . . . ? nī paṁchāsam . 000 (1)
- 3 . . . . . māsāya tīrthe (2)
- 4 . . . . . deya na japa (3).

#### REMARKS.

(1) G. [*saḥa*]rāṇi paṁchāsa 50000; AS. *do saḥasa* 2000. AS. does not succeed any more than I in making out the traces that G. interprets as *śrā*, which is graphically very unlikely. AS. interprets as *do* the character which G. reads *ni*, and this reading seems at least probable. In the following letters the position of G. appears to me much stronger than that of AS. But the *m* joined to *sa* is at least as probable as that which seems to be appended to *pa*. As to the number, the 'thousand' is clearly visible, and also a bracket on the right which has caused the whole to be interpreted as 2000. But the *do saḥasa* cannot be upheld, and *paṁchāsa* is at least likely; on the other hand, it seems indeed as if the sign for 'thousand' were followed by some exponent, too much erased to be confidently made out, which probably expressed the number of thousands. If Bhagwanlal took it for 50, I must own that the visible traces do not seem to favour this reading. But it is commended by his reading of the foregoing word.—(2) AS. *māsīyaṁ tīrthe*. *Tīrthe* seems certain, especially on the back of the estampage.

— (3) G °yanajapa, AS °he [P] yāna ja . The differences in reading show how doubtful all these letters are, except perhaps the na.

It results from the information supplied by Bhagwanlal (G p. 576) that it cannot even be decided if these fragments are connected with the preceding epigraph or independent from it. In such a condition of things, I wish to express only one conjecture, viz, that in l 3 we ought to read *nāsāya*, and that consequently this postscript, which certainly commemorated both a gift of money to Brāhmins and the creation of a *tirtha*, may have contained some details about the donation 'on the Barnāsā river,' of which it was the principal object of the preceding inscription to state the exact date

No. 15, Plate vii (Ksh 12)

On the left wall of the court in Cave No 17.

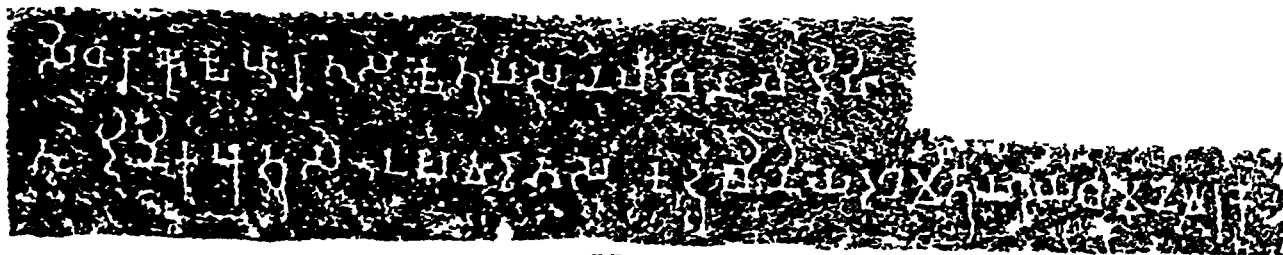
#### TEXT.

- 1 Sidham rājāh Mādhariputrasya (1) Śivadatt-Ābhiraputrasya
- 2 Abhirasy-Eśvarasenasya samvatsaro (2) navama . (3)
- 3 mhapakhe chothe 4 divasa trayodaśa 13 (4) . .
- 4 ya puvaya (5) Śak-Āgnivarmmanah duhitā (6) ganapaka . (7)
- 5 Rebhilasya bharyayā (8) gaṇapakasya (9) Viśvavarmasya .
- 6 tīā Śakanikayā (10) upāsikāya Viśhnudatāyā (11) sarvasatvahi-
- 7 tasukhārtham (12) Triraśmiparvatavihāravāstavyasya chātudīsa (13)
- 8 bhikṣhusaṃghasya (14) gilānabhesajārtham (15) akshayanivī prayuktā . . . .
- vāsta(16)-
- 9 vyasu āgatānāgatāsu (17) śreṇiṣhu (18) yatah kulamikaśreṇyā hasta karṣhāpaṇa-
- 10 sahasa 1000 odayamtrikaśreṇyā (19) sahasāni dya (20) . . .
- 11 nyāḥ (21) satāni pameha 500 tilapiṣhakaśien . . . (22)
- 12 ete cha karṣhāpaṇā chatālepa . . . . (23).

#### REMARKS.

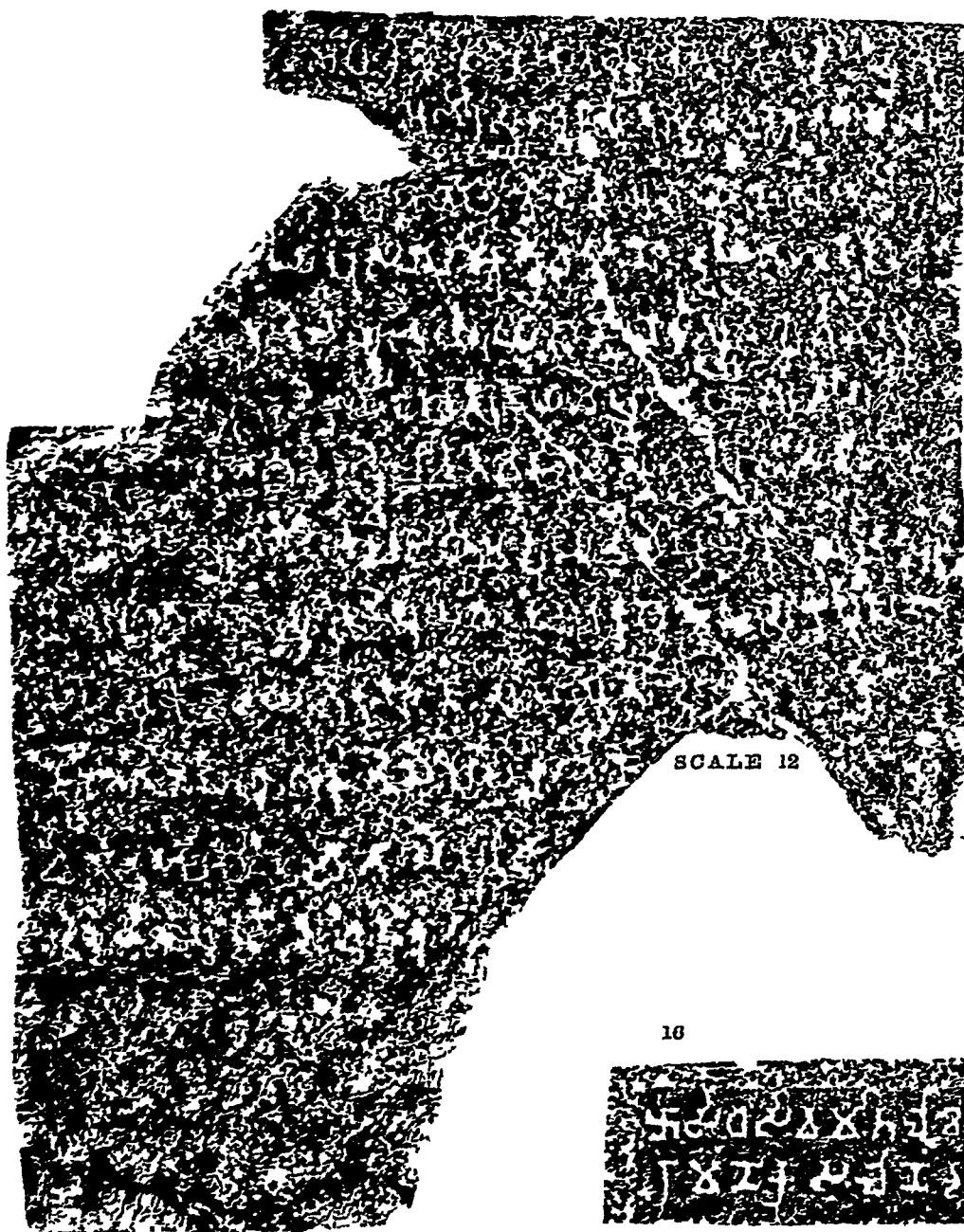
(1) AS. leaves a blank for the two first characters of *Mādharī*, which are certainly not quite clear, but on the estampage sufficient traces of both are still discernible, especially of *ḍha*. I may mention that, as appears from the comparison of the two facsimiles, this epigraph seems to have suffered very much since the time when it was examined by Bhagwanlal. In addition to the cases which I shall expressly mention, many readings would be risky if they could not be ascertained from the context — (2) AS. *sava*°, G. °*tsara* — (3) AS *navama* [9], G *nava-ma*[*gi*]°. In reality the last character is indistinct. AS has [*gi*] at the beginning of l 3.— (4) Of the *śa* and of the number I cannot make out anything.— (5) AS *yā puvāya* — (6) AS *duhitā* — (7) AS *ganāpa*° — (8) G. and AS *bhāryayā*.— (9) AS *ganāpa*° — (10) AS . . . *gāśākānīkā*°.— (11) G. °*dattayā*.— (12) G °*sattva*°, AS. °*sukhārtha* — (13) AS. *chātudīsa*-[*ya*] The end is much damaged — (14) AS. *bhikṣhusaṃghasya* — (15) AS *gilina*° — (16) AS °*ktā va . na . .* The reading *vāsta* is little more than a conjecture It seems indeed that traces of *va* and *na* are visible.— (17) G *dgatā[nā]gatāsu*, AS. *Sugatāgat āsu*.— (18) AS *śreṇiṣhu* — (19) G. *odayamtrikaśreṇyā* *sa*°, AS *devyatrikaśreṇyā*[*m*] *sa*°. I dare not decide absolutely if *da* or *ḍa* must be read Both letters are too similar to be distinguished with certainty in so defaced an inscription At least I can discover no reason for excluding the reading *da* (20) G. *dya* 2 . . . . [*śre*]° The figure is entirely illegible.— (21) AS °*nyā*[*m*] — (22) G *śreṇyā satā* . . . . , AS. °*śreṇyā*[*m*] *satā* . . . . It will be seen from the comparison of Plate vii. that in this line and the next one some characters that are still visible have not been included in the estampage I have before me — (23) AS [*chatā*]lopa. The two first letters, especially the first one, are certainly most doubtful

11



SCALE 1

15



SCALE 12

16

SCALE 1





G and AS add fragments of one more line *sya ma*(AS *mā*)*sa* . . . *sarva* (AS *sarva*[in]) *rakshātī* (AS *rakshatī*) *vidya* (AS *Vishn*[*udatā*]) . . . Of all this I can discern nothing on the estampages

## TRANSLATION.

"Success' In the ninth year of king Īśvarasena, the Ābhira, son of Śivadatta, the Ābhira, son of Mādhari, on the thirteenth—13th—day of the fourth—4th—fortnight of summer on the above, by the lay devotee Vishnudattā, the Śakāni, mother of the *Ganapaka* Viśvavarma, wife of the *Ganapaka* Rebhula, daughter of Agnivarman, the Śaka, for the well-being and happiness of all beings, in order to provide medicines for the sick of the *Saṅgha* of monks of whatever sect and origin dwelling in this monastery on mount Triraśmi, a perpetual endowment has been invested for all time to come with the guilds dwelling [at Govardhana], viz in the hands of the guild of Kularkas, one-thousand—1000—*kārshāpanas*, of the guild of Odayantrikas, two-thousand, of the guild of . . . . . five-hundred—500—, of the guild of oil-millers . . . . . and those *kārshāpanas* . . . . ."

Bühler asserts that "*ganāpaka* means 'protector or leader of a *gana*,' which consists of three *gultas* or battalions, and may be taken as an equivalent of colonel" According to Bhagwanlal "it appears to be a professional name or a surname . . . , *ganapaka* means the head of a group." Neither of them gives references for this word which I do not find in the lexicons, and the analysis of which, as proposed by them, seems in no way self-convincing. What is most certain is the statement of Bhagwanlal that its meaning in this passage is not clear. It is no use comparing such ecclesiastical titles as *ganāchārya*, for example in Junnar No 22. The only correct derivation of the word seems to be from *ganāpayati*, a normal equivalent of *ganayati*, so that *ganāpaka* would be an equivalent of *ganaka*, meaning 'accountant' or 'astrologer,' compare for instance the *ganakas* who are mentioned as important functionaries in the *Mahāvastu*, III 42, 9, 44, 5. It need hardly be added that this meaning is very hypothetical, because we have here a title, i.e. a consecrated form which does not well admit of variations.

The word *vihāra* occurs in l 7, and this inscription is found in the court of a real *vihāra* which contains not less than sixteen separate cells. The restoration *Govadhanavāstavyāsu* is hardly conjectural. As to the word which AS writes *Sugatāgatāsu*, the stone certainly leaves sufficient space for one letter between *tū* and *ga*, and it seems even that traces of it are visible on the accompanying Plate, I therefore consider the transcription *āgatānāgatāsu* as certain. Bhagwanlal appears to have made out the meaning correctly, and I do not see why the expression seems to have puzzled him. A perpetual rent is intended, which will have to be paid by the guilds mentioned indefinitely, such as they actually are in virtue of their past constitution, and such as they will be under the modifications which may be brought about in future. Unfortunately the names of these guilds are not so clear as we should wish. For *kularika* at least I see nothing better than Bühler's conjecture, taking it to be = *kulāla*, 'a potter'. The same is not the case with *odayantrika*, which I take to be a derivative = *audayantrika*, from *udayantra* (compare *jalayantra*, *vāriyantra*, *tōyayantra*, etc.), 'workers fabricating hydraulic engines, water-clocks or others.'

After *chatāle* (l. 12) the traces of the inscription are too scarce to allow of any solid hypothesis. The part of a 'protector,' which the text, as proposed by AS for l 13, would attribute to Vishnudattā, is in any case very unlikely.

## No. 16, Plate VII (N. 5).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 11, right of the doorway

## TEXT.

- 1 Sīdham Sīvamītalekhakaputasa
- 2 Rāmampakasa lenam deyadhammam (1).

## REMARK.

(1) G °dhamam.

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! This cave, a pious gift of Rāmanaka, son of the writer Sivamita."

No. 17, Plate VIII. (N 4).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No 12.

## TEXT.

- 1 Velidātaputasa (1) nekamasa Rāmanakasa
- 2 Chhākalepakiyasa lenam deyadhammañ chatudī(2)-
- 3 sasa bhikkhusamghasa niyātitaṃ data cha
- 4 nena akhayanivī kākāpanasata 100
- 5 samghasa hathe eto vasavuthasa pavatasa chivari-
- 6 kam dātavam bārasakam

## REMARKS.

(1) G. °data°, AS *Velidata*°.—(2) G. and AS. *chātudī*°

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! This cave, a pious gift of the merchant Rāmanaka, son of Velidāta, from Chhākalepa, bestowed on the universal *Samgha* of monks generally, and by the same have been given as a perpetual endowment one-hundred—100—*kākāpanas* in the hands of the *Samgha*. Out of this a cloth money of twelve *kākāpanas* is to be given to the ascetic who keeps the *vassa* (here)"

Chhākalepa or Chhāgalepa, a village or a town, a region or a clan, has not yet been identified, on *chivarika* and the sum of twelve *kārshāpanas*, either as interest for an investment of one-hundred *kārshāpanas*, or as the amount of the *chivarika*, compare above, No. 12.

No. 18, Plate V. (N. 3).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No 17

## TEXT.

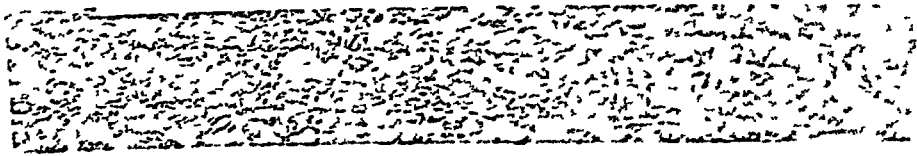
- 1 Śidham otarāhasa Dātāmītyakasa (1) Yonakasa Dhammadevaputasa
- īdrāgnidatasa (2) dhammātmanā (3)
- 2 imam (4) lenam pavate Tiramnumhī khānitam abhantaram cha lepasa
- chetiyagharo poḍhiyo (5) cha mātāpi-
- 3 taro udasa ima lona (6) kārītam sava-Budha-pujāya chātudīsasa
- bhikkhusamghasa (7) niyātitaṃ sa-
- 4 ha putena Dhammarakhitena

## REMARKS.

(1) G and AS *Dātāmi*°.—(2) G *Imdrāgni*°; AS. *Idā*°; but the Sanskrit *r* is perfectly clear—(3) The stroke which, rising perpendicularly, makes the *d* look somewhat like *i*, is thinner and certainly accidental—(4) G. and AS. *ima te*°.—(5) G. *poḍhiyo*; AS. *poḍhiyo*.—(6) AS. *lenam*.—(7) G. *bhikkhu*°.

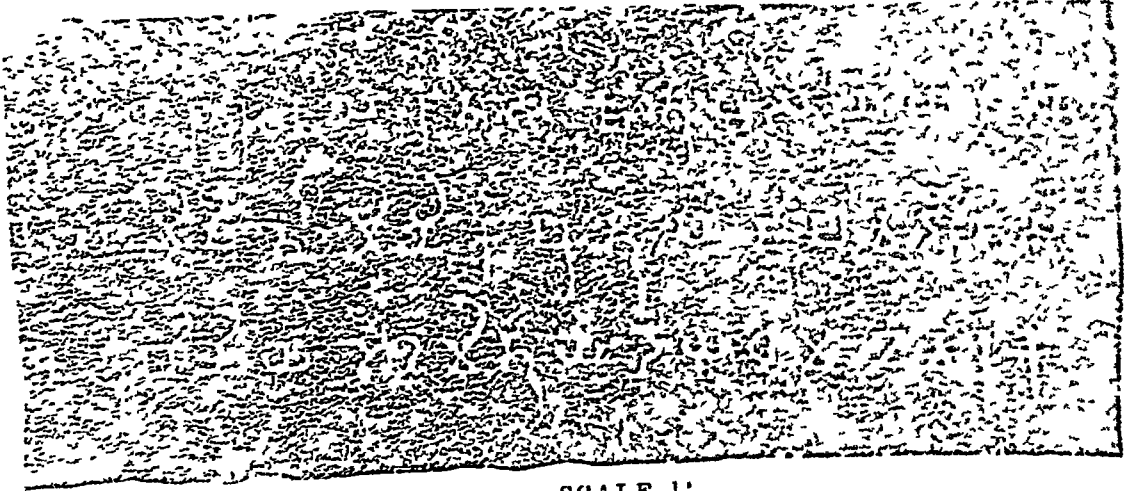


6



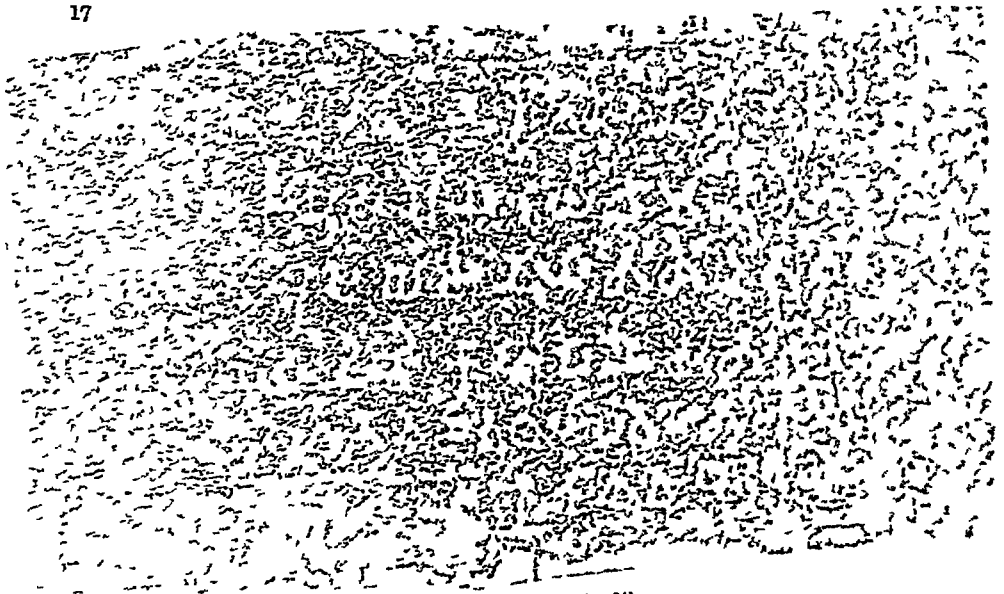
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15



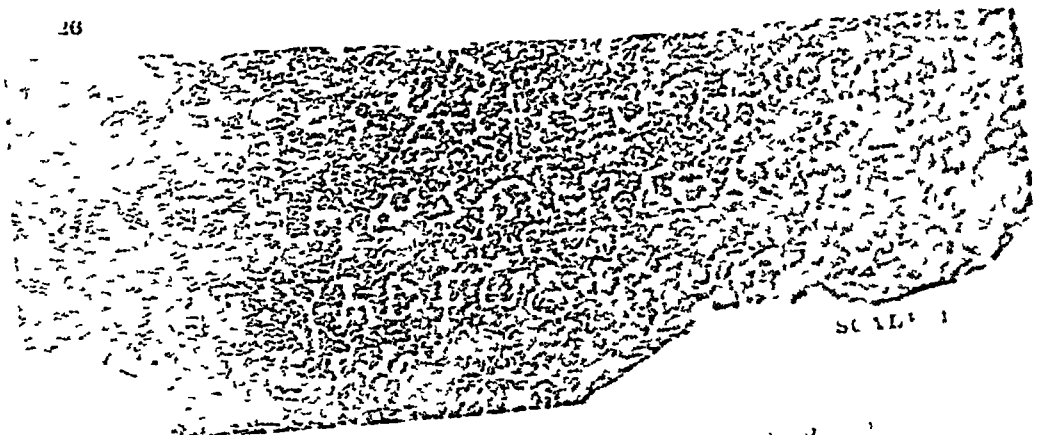
SCALE 1

17



SCALE 12

18



SCALE 1

Collo. by H.



## TRANSLATION.

Success! (The gift) of Indrāgnidatta, son of Dhammadeva, the Yavana, a northerner from Dattāmitri. By him, inspired by true religion, this cave has been caused to be excavated in mount Tiranhu, and inside the cave a *Chatyagriha* and cisterns. This cave made for the sake of his father and mother has been, in order to honour all Buddhas, bestowed on the universal *Samgha* of monks, together with his son Dhammarakhita."

It is very fortunate indeed that a *vārttika* on Pāṇini (IV 7, 104) has preserved the tradition of a word *uttarāha*, for which the etymology from *uttara* seems to indicate the meaning 'northern'. The derivation of the word would, otherwise, have been the more puzzling because, as far as I know, analogous formations are wanting.

Bühler (AS p 38) and before him Bhandarkar have already conjectured that Dattāmitri would be an Indian adaptation of the Arachosian Demetrias, a name mentioned by Isidore of Kharax. The reading *dhammātmanā* is sure. It may be an error of the engraver for °, and, but I cannot find this very admissible in an inscription so carefully written. On the other hand, it would be surprising if the participle *lāhantam* had to be construed with a genitive in the place of an instrumental. I prefer to take the first words as far as *Indrāgnidattasa* as a complete clause, meaning 'a gift' or 'a cave of Indrāgnidatta . . .'. A new sentence would begin with *dhammātmanā*, and, as has been intimated before (N 10), this construction would imply that the donor had undertaken the work and made that grant under the impression of his recent conversion to Buddhism.

*Chatyagriha* means an oratory at the end of which a *stūpa* is erected as the object or the centre of cult. Compare for instance the Kudā inscriptions 13 and 20.

## No. 19, Plate III. (Ksh. 4)

In Cave No. 18, on the fifth and sixth pillars of the right-hand row

## TEXT.

- 1 Rāyāmacha-Arahalayasa Chahsilanakasa (1) duhutuya Mahāhakusī-
- 2 r . ya Bhatapālīkāya (2) rāyāmachasa Agiyatanakasa bhamdakārīka-
- 3 yasa bhārīyāya (3) Kapananakamātuya chetyagharam pavate
- 4 Tiranhumā nithapāpita

## REMARKS.

(1) G. *cha Lāsila*°, but the comparison of the *li* of *pālīkāya* in the following line seems to prove that we have to read *li*, AS °*lāsālanā*°. — (2) G °*rirāyabha*°, AS. °*ri[yā]yaya Bha*°, adding a note "the first letter may also be read *ri*, the second which looks like *rā* is certainly mutilated". It seems indeed impossible to doubt that the first traces visible on the left express an *r*. The vowel is entirely uncertain, but what precedes necessitates the reading *ri* or *rī*. Between *r* and *ya* I can discern nothing, at the utmost would the back of the stampage point to the vowel *i* before the *y*, the consonant remaining undetermined. However this may be, the space between the initial *r* and the *ya* seems too large to be conveniently filled up only by Bhagwanlal's *ri* — (3) G. °*ya Satāryā*°.

## TRANSLATION.

"By Bhatapālīkā, [grand-daughter] of Mahāhakusī and daughter of the royal officer Arahalaya from Chahsilana, wife of the royal officer Agiyatanaka, of the treasure office, mother of Kapananaka, this *Chatyagriha* has been caused to be perfected on this mount Tiranhu."

To judge from many analogous cases, it does not seem that Chahsilanaka can be anything but an adjective pointing to the origin or residence of Arahalaya. I have no means of

identifying that village or clan Bhagwanlal and Bühler are certainly wrong in admitting, after the initial *ra* or *ri* of l 2, the loss of one character only. That *ri* (the foregoing *si* does not allow any other reading) was undoubtedly separated by two letters from the *ya* which formed the end of the word. This being admitted, and no real and significant traces of the letters being preserved, we are left to fill up the lacuna entirely by conjecture. The direction in which we have to look, however, is quite clear. It is sure that Bhaṭapālikā is the name of the donor. The reading of Bhagwanlal, who sought for it in the beginning of l. 3, cannot be accounted for. The qualifications which the donor receives are therefore distributed into two groups the second relates to her husband and her son, and the first must concern her descent. As the first link mentions her father's name, the second cannot well have pointed to anything but a brother or grandfather. There is no room for *ri*[bhaginī]ya, I am therefore inclined to think that, when uninjured, the stone bore *ri*[natī]ya, from *naptrī*. If this Mahābhakusiri is really the same as the Kumāra Hakasiri at Nānāghāt, two generations would not be too much to explain the difference in the forms of the letters which exists between our epigraph and the Nānāghāt inscription. Of course local peculiarities may have played their part too.

In whichever way *bhamḍākhārikayasa* be taken, either as a proper name as Bühler has done, or as the name of a function with Bhagwanlal, a regular form can only be obtained by reading °*kārikayasa*. Bhagwanlal escaped all difficulties by dividing the compound after *ya* and applying the epithet to the donor. But the word *bhūriyāya* which follows does not suit such an explanation. He is however certainly right in looking here for the name of some appointment, and I take *bhamḍākhāriya* as a derivative of *bhāṇḍāgāriha*, pointing to a charge in the king's treasury.

*Nishṭhāpeti* evidently conveys, as in Pāli, the idea of finishing, bringing to perfection. It suits the fact that the inscription N 20, which is engraved over the door and relates to its ornamentation, is cut in letters more archaic than this one. It is therefore certain that the cave had been begun and excavated to some extent before the present donor put the last hand to it.

No. 20, Plate vi. (Ksh. 2).

Under the arch over the doorway of Cave No. 18

#### TEXT

Nāsikakanam Dhambhikagāmasa dānam.

#### TRANSLATION.

"The gift of the village of Dhambhika of the Nāsik people"

Bhagwanlal understood "gift of the village of Dhambhika by the inhabitants of Nāsik," and wondered, quite naturally, how such a community could have made the gift. Nothing of the kind is meant. It is clear that the gift consists of the ornated arcade which rises above the door, and at the base of which the inscription is engraved. This can be seen even from the care with which the architectural line is adhered to. I cannot make out how Bühler understood the inscription. His rendering "the gift of Dhambhikagāma, of the inhabitants of Nāsika," seems somewhat ambiguous. I do not think however that any doubt can really be entertained. We have met with more than one instance of a genitive joined to the name of a donor, to indicate the community, district or clan to which he happened to belong. I suppose the case is the same here, and the Dhambhika village, which had contrived at the common expense (nothing is more frequent than the paying of such religious expenses from the resources of the community) to decorate the entrance to the cave, must have belonged to the general population or to the township of Nāsik.

## No. 21, Plate III. (Ksh 3).

Above the image of a *Yaksha* in Cave No 18

## TEXT.

. . . . . bena cha (1) . . . . . ni . . . . . yāva (2) Nadāsuriyāva (3)  
cha veikā (4) yakho cha kārītā (5).

## REMARKS.

(1) The traces preceding *be* make one think of a *ṭ*. Is it the rest of *kuṭumbena*? Above the traces of this hypothetical *ṭ*, the rest of *śiḍham*, which began the epigraph, are still discernible in the preceding line — (2) AS. °ni. e . . . . . yā°; G °yācha — (3) G Nadasi° — (4) G. veyikā — (5) G. kārīto.

## TRANSLATION.

“ . . . . . and by Nadāsuri the rail pattern and the *Yaksha* have been caused to be made ”

## No. 22, Plate VI. (Ksh. 1).

On the upper sill of the right window in Cave No. 19.

## TEXT.

- 1 Sādavāhanakule (1) Kanhe rājini Nāsikakena
- 2 Samanena mahāmāteṇa lena kārīta (2)

## REMARKS

- (1) AS. °kula. — (2) G. kārītām

## TRANSLATION.

“ Under king *Kṛishna* of the *Sātavāhana* family this cave has been caused to be made by the officer in charge of the *Śramanas* at *Nāsik* ”

I can hardly believe that the apparent readings °*kakena*, °*manena*, °*tena* can all be correct. *Samana* as a proper noun seems little likely, the more so as in our epigraphs the adjective expressing the origin or the town of the donor is generally placed after his name. I consider it easier to admit that, for instance, *samanena* ought really to be read *samanānam*, and that the functionary here meant—conformably to the precedent of *Aśoka*, of which *Bhagwanlal* reminds us in connection with this very text,—was entrusted with the inspection of the monks in the *Nāsik* district. Hence my proposed translation, which is of course hypothetical.

## No. 23, Plate V. (N. 9).

Over the doorway of the last cell in Cave No. 20.

## TEXT.

- 1 Deyadharmmo yam upāsi-
- 2 kāyā Mammāyā layanati

## TRANSLATION.

“ This gift, a cave, of the lay devotee *Mammā*. ”

## No. 24, Plate I. (Ksh. 22).

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No 20.

## TEXT

- 1 Sidham raño Gotamiputasa sâmi-Siriyāṇa-Sātakanisa samvachhare (1) sātame  
 7 hematāna pakhe tatiye 3  
 2 divase pathame (2) Kosikasa mahāsenāpatisa Bhavagopasa bharijāya  
 mahāsenāpatiniya (3) Vāsuya lena  
 3 Bopakiyatisujamāna apayavasitasamāne (4) bahukāni varisāni ukuto payavasāna (5)  
 nito (6) chātudi-  
 4 sasa cha bhikkhusaghasa āvāso dato ti.

## REMARKS.

(1) G. and AS. *savachha*°.— (2) G. *padhame*; AS. *paṭhame*. The central dot of *tha* seems certain on the back — (3) AS °*senāpatiniya*.— (4) G. and AS. °*mānasa pa*°, AS °*yavesta*°— (5) G. and AS. *payavasāne*— (6) G. *nīte*

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! On the first day of the third—3rd—fortnight of winter, in the seventh—7th—year of the king, the lord Śrīyāṇa-Sātakanī, son of Gotamī, the *Mahāsenāpatnī* Vāsu, wife of the *Mahāsenāpati* Bhavagopa, of the Kauśika family, has completed and given, as an abode to the universal *Samgha* of monks, this cave which had been excavated for many years, but, after having been created by the ascetic Bopaki, had remained uncompleted."

Bühler gave up the interpretation of the third line, and Bhagwanlal's tentative translation was only arrived at by unaccountable devices. I think it absolutely necessary to co-ordinate the different links °*sujamāne*, °*samāne*, *ukuto*, *nito*, the combination of neuters (e = *am*) and masculines (supposing the readings to be certain) being here in no way surprising. The different epithets express with precision and in the most satisfactory manner the succession of events which concern the cave. The initial date cannot refer to anything but the finishing and consecration of the cave, it follows that the whole epigraph must be construed as a single sentence, which ends with the present donation after having enumerated the successive circumstances which explain it. The reading *apaya* instead of *sapaya* is important for understanding the passage. It is well known how similar the initial *a* and the *s* are in this script. We have here one more instance in the fact that Bühler wavers so much between the transcriptions *tisya* and *tija*. The necessary antithesis between *payavasāna nito* and *apayavastā*° seems to place my correction above all doubt. The reading °*jamāne* also appears to be better supported by the traces visible on the stampage. It is after all of little importance, as the function and meaning of the word would in either case be just the same. The function is stated by what has been said above. As to the meaning, the matter seems more perplexing, but it is clear in a general way. The work must have been begun by the *yati* Vopaki (compare Vopadēva). But *sryati* means 'to create, to produce' only in a half philosophical acceptation, and, it must be owned, such a use of the word here does not look very likely. As for *ukuto*, I take it not = *utkrīta* which gives no good meaning, but = *utkrīta*, 'cut, hewn,' i.e. 'excavated'.

No. 25, Plate vi (Ksh. 15)

On the front wall of an unfinished cave beyond Cave No. 23

## TEXT.

- 1 Sidham raño Vāsithiputasa sâmi-Siri-Pulu-  
 2 māsa samvachhare 2 hematā pakhe 4 divase ? (1)  
 3 etiya puṇḍya kutumbikena Dhanamena iṇa  
 4 līritam saha m . . pituṇi saha . . . . (2).

## REMARKS.

(1) G 6, AS. *divasa* 8 — (2) After *saha* I think I can discern some traces of the syllables *bhagane*,

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! On the 6th (or 8th) day of the 4th fortnight of winter, in the year 2 of the king, the lord Sīri-Pulumāi, son of Vāsithi, on the above, the husbandman Dhanama has caused this to be made, together with his father and mother, with ."

*ṭṇa* = *īdam*, as advocated by Bhagwanlal on the testimony of grammarians, is, as far as I remember, a lonely instance in the language of the caves. But the restoration *lena* seems to be out of the question.

No. 26, Plate viii. (N. 1).

On the ruined back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 24.

## TEXT

- 1 Sīdham Śākasa Dāmachikasa (1) lekhaḥkasa Vudhikasa
- 2 Viśhnudataputasa (2) Daśapuravāthavasa lena po-
- 3 dhiyo cha do (3) 2 ato ekā podhi yā aparadha sa (4) me mātā
- 4 . taro udisa

## REMARKS

(1) G. *Dama*<sup>s</sup> — (2) G. *putrasa* — (3) G. *de* — (4) G. *apara esa*, AS. *apara[dhā]* *sa*. The *dh* at least seems rather distinct.

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! (The gift) of the Śāka Dāmachika Vudhika, a writer, son of Viśhnudata, an inhabitant of Daśapura, the cave and the two—2—cisterns. Out of them the one cistern which has a small opening is on behalf of my father and mother."

The bearing of Dāmachika, a clan or district, is entirely unsettled. Bhagwanlal asks if that Śāka could not be a Greek from Damascus. This idea is more ingenious than probable. What seems likely is that Vudhika is the personal name of the donor. In spite of its correct look it does not, as a professional name, answer to any known handicraft. I do not think that the man's name, supposing Dāmachika to express it, could have been separated by professional names from the epithets which relate to his descent *Viśhnudataputasa*, etc. The reading *aparadha* or *aparadhā* being most probable, Bhagwanlal's tentative translation, based on another reading and by itself little satisfactory, must be given up. As to Bühler's interpretation, who takes *aparadhā* adverbially 'on the west,' such a way of distinguishing two small cisterns excavated near one another seems in itself very unlikely, and to Bühler himself this use of *aparadhā* appeared rather puzzling as he proposed the reading *aparato*. The idea which the final *dhā* suggests is rather that of some adjective or participle connected with *yā*. We obtain it by reading *aparandhrā* (which is hardly a conjecture, for the *anusvāra* may be actually expressed by one of the dots which appear above the head of the *r*) and explaining the word by *alparandhrā*, 'with a small opening or cavity.' Unfortunately the original state of things has been so altered that any actual verification of the fact is impossible, and we are unable to ascertain which of the two cisterns—the one which bears a special epigraph (N. 27) or the other, which has none,—was really characterised by more reduced dimensions.

No. 27, Plate vi. (N. 2).

On one of the two cisterns to the right of Cave No. 24

## TEXT.

- 1 Sidham Sakaśa Dāmachikasa (1)
- 2 legbhakasa Vudhikasa podhi (2).

## REMARKS.

(1) G Dama°. — (2) G poḍhi, AS. podhi

## TRANSLATION.

"Success' A cistern, (the gift) of the Śaka Dāmachika, the writer Vudhika."

## No 9—DHAR PRASASTI OF ARJUNAVARMAN.

## PARIJATAMANJARI-NATIKA BY MADANA.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D, HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription was discovered recently at Dhār (west of Mhow), the ancient capital of the Paramāra kings of Mālava and the present chief town of a State in Central India. The news of the discovery reached me through Mr K. K. Lele, Superintendent of Education, Dhār, who was good enough to send me a copy of his well written 'Summary of the dramatic inscription found at the Bhoja Shala (Kamal Maula Mosque), Dhār, C. I., in November 1903' According to Mr. Lele, "the slab of black stone (5 feet 8 inches by 5 feet) upon which this interesting Sanskrit inscription is engraved, was attached to the northern wall of the principal *mīhrāb* in the mosque, with the writing turned inside" — "The slab was taken out in November 1903, and is kept framed at the mosque" On receipt of Mr. Lele's 'Summary,' I requested Mr. Marshall to send me mechanical copies of the inscription. In compliance with this request, Mr. Marshall kindly instructed Dr. Vogel to forward me an inked estampage. Subsequently Mr. Cousens sent me two excellent inked estampages,<sup>1</sup> one of which is reproduced on the three accompanying Plates<sup>2</sup>

The inscription consists of 82 lines. On the whole it is well preserved, but the end of lines 70-80, the first few letters of ll. 63-68, and the first letter of some other lines are broken away.

The alphabet is an early variety of Nāgarī and exhibits several peculiarities. In the old Brāhmī alphabet the initial *i* consisted of three points. In the subjoined inscription the two upper points are represented by circles, and the lowermost one by a symbol which consists of a vertical line and of a flourish (see *e.g.* *iva* in l. 2); but in five instances (*kahai*, l. 56, *indranila*, l. 62, *mandabhānim*, l. 64, *qi*, l. 66, and *mandabhāniśa*, l. 80) there are two distinct flourishes instead of one, and in a single case (*itthiu*, l. 22) one of the two circles is omitted. The initial *i* occurs once (in *vanassainam*, l. 40). The initial *u* has two different shapes. The loop attached to it is turned either downwards or upwards, both forms may be seen together, *e.g.* in l. 22, where *śaūitthiśa* shows the second and *itthiu* the first form. The initial *z* occurs four times (in *riśa*, l. 19, *namūna*, l. 31, *niharūna*, l. 35, and *kālaśūda*, l. 51), and the initial *z* three

<sup>1</sup> The stone seems to have suffered additional damage since the first estampage had been prepared. The first letter of some lines is still partially visible in the latter, while it is missing in the two fresh estampages.

<sup>2</sup> As the three photographs overlap one another, line 26 appears both at the bottom of Plate I. and at the top of Plate II, and likewise l. 54 both on Plates II. and III. Through the carelessness of the Halle printer (not of Gebr. Plittner, who prepared only the collotypes), the figures on the left of the second and third Plates have been placed near the top of the corresponding lines, while they ought to stand opposite the centre of every second line.



times (in *rishabha*, l. 22, and *riju*, ll. 34 and 81). The initial *e* resembles the letter *pa*, compare *e.g. mae*, l. 4, with *prapā* in the same line. The initial *o* ends with the same flourish as *;* and the first form of *u* (see *e.g. loo*, l. 6), it bears a little hook at the right top, which is omitted, perhaps accidentally, in two cases (*chūo*, l. 44, and *osahī*, l. 63). The initial *au* occurs once (in *autsukyam*, l. 57).

Among the consonants, *jha* closely resembles the initial *ri*. It occurs seven times singly and four times in combination with *j* (*e.g. in majjhanna-samjhā*, l. 30). The consonant *pha* either has its usual shape, or its vertical portion is crossed by a thin curved line (*e.g. in kamphirava*, l. 7). The primary form of *na* consists of a horizontal line to which three vertical lines are attached, the middle one being slightly shorter, but the secondary form of *na* resembles that of *la*. The doubling of *na* is marked by a horizontal cross-line in four cases (*nishanna*, l. 26, *sunnaṃ*, l. 52, *kannāharana*, ll. 52 and 75); the primary and the secondary forms are combined in one instance (*āyannehi*, l. 21), and, if my reading is correct, the secondary form is improperly used twice in another (*thenna*, l. 75). The last mode is generally adopted if the doubling takes place after *r* (*e.g. in 'vatirnnasya*, l. 1), but the cross-line is then used in five cases (*e.g. nirvarṇayāmi*, l. 62), and the primary combined with the secondary form once (in *ākarnānta*, l. 1). The usual form of *tha* is not very different from *nva* (see *e.g. kathamchid*, l. 1)<sup>1</sup>. The same form is employed four times after *t* (*e.g. in hattha*, l. 17), but in the majority of cases the secondary form of *tha* is identical with that of *chha*, compare *e.g. titha* and *sthānā*, l. 6, with *uchchhaviṃmi*, l. 16. If my readings are correct, there are three instances (*thakka-thakkida*, l. 5, and *thenna*, l. 75) where even for the primary *tha* the same symbol is used as for the primary *chha* (see *chhachcharana*, ll. 5 and 75, and *lāmcchhanam*, l. 16). The group *kkha* is written in two ways. In *vayakkhana*, l. 45, the *kha* is regularly attached to the *k*, but in *parikkhalamta*, l. 42, the *kha* seems to be inserted between the two loops of the *k*<sup>2</sup>. The group *ddha* looks like *dva* in most cases (*e.g. yuddha*, l. 17), but in two places (= *Ddhārd-*, l. 32, and *muddhāo*, l. 47) its *dha* is distinguished from *va* by an additional horizontal line. Similarly, *ndh* looks like *nv* in *candhum*, l. 14, but not in *samvandh-ōchita*, l. 32.

The *virāma* is employed below *k* (ll. 10 and 61), *t* (*e.g. l. 9*) and *n* (*e.g. l. 20*). The *ava-graha* occurs five times—twice after *ś* and three times after *ā* (ll. 1, 2, 3). If at the end of a line there was no space left for the next *akshara*, the engraver filled up the line by a symbol which looks either somewhat like a reversed Nāgari *ta*, or like a narrow U,<sup>3</sup> in the transcript these signs are denoted by a vertical line in round brackets. Finally it has to be noted that the upper portions of a few letters of the first line are ornamented with scrolls or flowers.

The engraver has done his work with considerable care and has committed comparatively few real mistakes, part of which he has corrected himself on second thoughts. As regards orthography, it must be stated that *b* is nowhere distinguished from *v*. The dental is used instead of the palatal sibilant in *Sūradā*, l. 3, *Hiranyakasipu*, l. 7, *kāsmīra*, l. 20, *aṃsa*, l. 21, and *svāsēna*, l. 33 f, the *visarga* instead of the lingual sibilant in *chatuḥpatha*, l. 3, *nihkrāmati*, l. 58, and *nihkrāmta*, ll. 15, 28, 31, 39, 58, 81 and 82; and *t* instead of *ḍ* in *atbhuta*, l. 49. The spelling of *ujjala*, l. 13, *datvā*, ll. 13 and 21, and *patra*, ll. 25 and 61, is not correct, but frequent in inscriptions and manuscripts.

The languages of the inscription are Sanskrit and Prakrit.<sup>4</sup> There are 76 verses, the remainder is in prose.

<sup>1</sup> In four cases (*e.g. mamtharam*, l. 54) the top-line of this form of *tha* is indistinct.

<sup>2</sup> The *kkh* of *pachchakkho*, l. 64, seems to be a modification of the same type.

<sup>3</sup> The second variety occurs only in ll. 22 and 42.

<sup>4</sup> I have added a Sanskrit translation of the Prakrit passages at the end of the text on p. 117 ff.

The inscription contains the two first acts of a hitherto unknown *nāṭikā*, i.e. a drama of four acts,<sup>1</sup> entitled *Pārijātaṃjari* or *Vijayaśrī* (l. 4). This drama had been composed by the king's preceptor (*rājaguru*) Madana, whose family hailed from Gauda (Bengal), and who was a descendant of Gangādhara<sup>2</sup> (l. 3f.). It was acted for the first time at the spring-festival<sup>3</sup> in the city of Dhārā (l. 3)—the modern Dhâr.

The opening verse (1) contains the following statement —

"On this pair of blank slabs is being written with difficulty the power — to be absorbed by the ear— of the virtues of Bhōja himself, who has become incarnate in the form of Arjuna"

Of the two slabs here mentioned, only the first is now available. The second must have borne the two remaining acts of the *nāṭikā*.

The last verse (76) on the preserved slab runs thus —

"This panegyric (*praśasti*) was engraved by the artist (*śilpī*) Rāmadēva, the son of the excellent sculptor (*rūpakāra*) Sīhaka"

Here the inscription is called a panegyric. Hence it is very probable that it was composed and engraved in the lifetime of the prince whom it celebrates. This was Arjuna (v. 1) or Arjunavarman (l. 7 and v. 19), king of Dhārā (l. 9 and v. 6). He belonged to the Paramāra family (l. 13) and was a descendant of the emperor (*sārvabhauma*) Bhōjadēva (l. 7). The poet represents him as the equal of his ancestor Bhōjadēva (v. 6), and even as an incarnation of Bhōja (v. 1). In verse 3, Bhōjadēva himself is compared to the god Kṛṣṇa and to the epic hero Arjuna —

"Victorious is Kṛṣṇa, like Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna; (and) like Arjuna, the glorious king Bhōjadēva, who was able to defeat (his enemies) by leaping arrows,<sup>4</sup> who afforded protection to the whole earth, who assumed the *rādā*<sup>5</sup> which distressed (his enemies) by wounds from roaring, terrible arrows,<sup>6</sup> (and who) had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of Gāṅgēya."

The last few words of this verse imply that king Bhōjadēva defeated a prince named Gāṅgēya, just as the epic hero Arjuna killed Bhishma, whose metronymic was Gāṅgēya. As the well-known Paramāra king Bhōjadēva of Dhārā was reigning in the first half of the eleventh century,<sup>7</sup> his enemy Gāṅgēya must be identical with the Kalachuri king Gāṅgēya of Tripuri, whose reign fell into the same period.<sup>8</sup>

Arjunavarman, the hero of the drama, is in one place (v. 10) styled 'the son of king Subhata.' This enables us to identify him with the Paramāra king Arjunavarman, who was the son of Subhatavarman, and whose copper-plate grants are dated in A.D. 1211, 1213 and 1215.<sup>9</sup> The same three grants prove that the new drama was composed in the reign of this

<sup>1</sup> See the definitions in the *Daśarūpakam*, III verse 40, and in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press edition, p. 345, where the *Ratnāvalī* and *Viddhaśālabhaṇṇikā* are quoted as examples. Others are the *Prīyadarśikā*, *Karṇasundarī*, *Kamalinikāhamsa* and *Prishabhāṇujā*. The prototype of all of them is Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitram*, which has however five acts and is therefore styled a *nāṭakam*.

<sup>2</sup> On the formation of *Gangādhara* (without *vriddhi* of the first vowel) see Pāṇini, IV 1,160.

<sup>3</sup> *Varantōtsava*, v. 8 and l. 27. As this festival takes place on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI p. 187), it is also called *Chaitrōtsava* (v. 9), *Madhūtsava* (l. 15) and *Chaitrapāṇvan* (l. 3).

<sup>4</sup> The word *bāṇa*, 'an arrow,' may refer also to the Bāna king.

<sup>5</sup> "A particular attitude in shooting (standing with the feet a span apart)" — Monier-Williams.

<sup>6</sup> In the case of Kṛṣṇa we have to translate — "who was able to defeat the leaping (demon) Bāṇa, who afforded protection to all the cows (by lifting up the mountain Gôvardhana), who made Rādā distressed by being smitten with manifest love." In the case of Arjuna, Rādā is the foster-mother of his opponent Karṇa.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 232 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. II p. 302.

<sup>9</sup> Prof. Kielhorn's Northern List, Nos. 195, 197 and 198.

Arjunavarman, for they were composed (*rachita*) by the same *rājaguru* Madana,<sup>1</sup> who was the author of the drama (l 4)

Arjunavarman's grants report that he defeated Jayasimha.<sup>2</sup> The same enemy is referred to in the drama (l 7), with the additional information that he was a king of Gūrjara (l 7, vv 10 and 18) and belonged to the Chaulukya family (v 7). Hence he seems to be identical with the Chaulukya king Bhīmadēva II of Anahilapātaka,<sup>3</sup> whose grants are dated between A D 1199 and 1238.<sup>4</sup> Although these grants do not apply to Bhīmadēva II the name Jayasimha, they call him 'the new Siddharāja,' and 'Siddharāja' had been the surname of his ancestor Jayasimha. Hence I believe that Bhīmadēva II is meant both in the drama and in the grants of Arjunavarman. It is, however, not absolutely impossible that the Jayasimha whom Arjunavarman defeated was the temporary usurper Jayantasimha Abhinava-Siddharāja, who ruled in the place of Bhīmadēva II in A D 1223.<sup>5</sup> At any rate, as noted by Bühler,<sup>6</sup> Mērutunga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* places both the conquest of Gujārāt by Arjunadēva of Malava and an attempted invasion<sup>7</sup> by his father Subhata in the lifetime of Bhīmadēva II himself.

The drama locates the decisive battle between Arjunavarman and Jayasimha on the borders of the land at the foot of a mountain called Parvapārvata (l 7). The name of Arjunavarman's minister is stated to have been Nārāyana (v 8). To Arjunavarman himself the drama applies the surname Trivīdhavirachūdāmaṇi (l. 7 and v 9). Even this detail is corroborated from two different sides. The same surname occurs as Trivīdhavira in the grants,<sup>8</sup> and as Virachūdāmaṇi in the colophon of the *Rasikasamjivini*, a commentary on the *Amarusatakam*.<sup>9</sup> This commentary is attributed to king Arjunavarman, who at the beginning of it calls himself 'the son of king Subhata-varman' and 'the light of Bhōja's family'.<sup>10</sup>

In his commentary on the first verse of the *Amarusatakam* (p 2) Arjunavarman quotes a Śārdūlavikrīḍita verse of 'the preceptor (*upādhyāya*) Madana whose other name was Bālasarasvatī'.<sup>11</sup> The same person seems to be meant by the '*upādhyāya*' who is quoted as the author of an Āryā (p 15) and of two Anushtubh verses (pp 16 and 41). The *upādhyāya* Madana is of course identical with the *rājaguru* Madana, the author of the *Pāryātamāñjarī* and of Arjunavarman's grants.<sup>12</sup> The quotations in the *Rasikasamjivini* show that he produced other poetical works besides these,<sup>13</sup> and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he aided his royal pupil very materially in the compilation of the commentary on the *Amarusatakam*.

Finally the drama mentions a few localities within and near the city of Dhārā. According to the prologue, the first performance of the drama took place in a temple of the goddess Sarasvatī.<sup>14</sup> The scene of the first act is the top of the royal palace (v 8), and that of the

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. As Soc Bengal*, Vol. V p 379, *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII pp 29 and 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p 26, verse 17.

<sup>3</sup> This was already suggested by Dr Hall, *ibid* p 39 f.

<sup>4</sup> Prof Kielhorn's Northern List, Nos 188 and 216.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid* No 205.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 187.

<sup>7</sup> This invasion is alluded to in the grants of Arjunavarman, *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII p 26, verse 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Loc cit* verse 19.

<sup>9</sup> Kavyamala edition, p 69.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid* p 1, verse 5. On p 23 Arjunavarman quotes a verse of 'our ancestor Muñjadēva whose other name was Yākpātrīāja.' Compare *Zeitschr. D. M. G.* Vol XLVII p 93.

<sup>11</sup> Bālasarasvatī-Madana was taught poetry by the Jaina Āśādhara, a contemporary of the Mālava king Arjuna and of his two successors Dēvapala and Jastugidēva (Jayasimha). See Dr Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p 104 f., Bühler in *Zeitschr. D. M. G.* Vol XLVII. p 94, and Prof. Kielhorn, above, Vol. V App p 32, note 3.

<sup>12</sup> See the two first lines of this page.

<sup>13</sup> Prof Oppert's *Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts* mention three MSS of the *Bālasarasvatīyam*, a *kāvya* by Bālasarasvatī, which Prof. Aufrecht (*Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol I p 425) assigns to the *upādhyāya* Madana.

<sup>14</sup> Śaradadevī, l. 3, or Bhārati, l. 6.

second act a pleasure-garden (*līlōdyānam* or *pramāḍōdyānam*) on the Dhārāgiri, a hill near the city (ll 6, 12, 31, v 30, ll 36 and 75).

The *dramatis personæ* are The stage-manager (*sūtradhāra*); the actress (*naṭī*), king Arjunavarman, the jester Vīdagdha; queen Sarvakalā, her maid Kanakalōkhā, the royal gardener Kusumākara, his wife Vasantālilā, and the heroine Pārijātamañjarī or Vijayaśrī. The king and Kusumākara speak Sanskrit, the remaining persons Prakṛit—Śaurasēnī in the prose passages, and Māhārāshtrī in the verses. The pretty verses of the bards, which are recited behind the stage, are also in Prakṛit<sup>1</sup>.

In the prologue (*āmukham*, l 15) the stage-manager informs the actress that, when the army of Jayasimha took to flight and the victorious Arjunavarman was still seated on his war-elephant, a cluster of blossoms of a celestial tree (*pārijāta mañjarī*) fell on his breast and, on touching it, was transformed into a beautiful maiden, while a voice from heaven spoke thus

"Enjoying this lovely, auspicious Vijayaśrī, thou, O lord of Dhārā, shalt become equal to Bhōjadēva" (v. 6).

The stage-manager further explains this miracle in a somewhat complicated verse (7), which has probably to be translated as follows.—

"The Chaulukya king's daughter, (who was an incarnation of) the goddess Jayaśrī (i.e. the goddess of victory) herself, (and) who, having found her death in the defeat, caused to be irrigated the young forest of *tamāla*-trees, which was the grief of (her) father, through the waves of the tears of the harem,—she (is) this cluster of blossoms of the celestial tree (*svarḍruma-mañjarī*), which, after being hidden in a bud, developed into a lady."

To shelter her from the public gaze, the king placed her under the care of his chamberlain Kusumākara, who was in charge of the royal gardens, and whose wife Vasantālilā waited on her in an emerald pavilion on the Dhārāgiri hill.

The first act bears the title 'the spring-festival' (*vasantōtsava*, l 31). It describes the king viewing his sporting subjects from the top of his palace in the company of the jester, the queen and her maid.

In the introductory scene (*viśhkambhaka*, l. 39) of the second act, Kusumākara and Vasantālilā compare notes on the mutual passion of the heroine and the king.

The title of the second act is 'the reflecting ear-ring' (*tāḍanka-darpana*, l. 82). The king, accompanied by the jester, repairs to the pleasure-garden, in order to witness a ceremony performed by the queen. the marriage of a mango-tree to a spring-creeper. Vasantālilā and the heroine watch the proceedings from behind a tree. Bending aside the branches, the former reveals to the king the image of his beloved, reflected in the queen's ear-ring. The king's delight and confusion arouse the suspicions of the queen, who leaves abruptly together with her maid. The heroine and Vasantālilā also withdraw. At the advice of the jester, who reminds the king of the proverb that 'killed and eaten comes to the same' (l 59), both follow them to the emerald pavilion. The king's *tête-à-tête* is interrupted by the appearance of Kanakalōkhā, who is the bearer of the ear-jewel and of an ironical message from the queen. The king tries in vain to hide Pārijātamañjarī behind his back. At the end he leaves her in order to pacify his jealous queen. The heroine also departs, threatening to commit suicide, and Vasantālilā follows her.

The foregoing summary of the two preserved acts will remind the reader of another, well-known drama—the *Ratnāvalī*. The poet Madana, no doubt, derived the plot of his work from this or similar *nāṭikās*. But, as the hero of the new drama was a living and reigning king, it is unlikely that the chief persons who appear on the stage together with him were pure inventions

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 17-19 and 28; but vv. 72-74 are in Sanskrit

of the poet. It would have been a poor panegyric that made Arjunavarman move among fictitious characters. Hence I believe that, as stated in the drama, his chief queen was actually named Sarvakalā<sup>1</sup> and was the daughter of the king of Kuntala (v. 11),—who is perhaps identical with the then reigning Hoysala king Vira-Ballāla II,<sup>2</sup>—and that Pārijātamañjarī<sup>3</sup> or Vijayaśrī<sup>4</sup> happened to be Arjunavarman's favourite at the time when the drama was composed. Her miraculous appearance and her fanciful connection with the vanquished king of Gujarāt may have been suggested to the poet by her real name. They could not fail to please the king and his mistress, and could perhaps be risked all the more easily because the lady was not of royal blood, but owed her elevation only to her personal charms.

Another instance in which the wedding of the favourite queen of a reigning sovereign forms the subject of a romantic story is that of Chandaladēvi in the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharitam*.<sup>5</sup> In this case, contemporary inscriptions and Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* prove that the heroine's name was not invented by the poet Bilhana, but that she was actually one of the wives of Vikramāditya VI.<sup>6</sup> Vidyanatha's *Pratāparudriyam* deserves to be mentioned in the same connection, as it includes a drama that resembles the *Pārijātamañjarī* in being the panegyric of a reigning king.<sup>7</sup>

#### TEXT.<sup>8</sup>

1 श्रीः<sup>9</sup> ॥ श्री सरस्वत्यै नमः ॥ अत्र कथंचिदलिखिते अतिलेश्च लिख्यते  
शिलायुगले । भोजस्यैव गुणोजितमर्जुनमूर्त्या ज्वतीर्णस्य ॥ १ ॥  
तत्तादृक्षुमनोमनोहरतनुर्वामाणनृगारिणी सुष्टिस्त्रीकरणीयमध्यमधुरावटभ्रम-  
न्नाकृतिः । आकर्णान्तनटकटाक्षविशिखव्यापारधन्या जयत्यन्या चापल-  
तेव चंद्रमुद्गदौ

2 देवस्य कान्ता रतिः ॥ २ ॥ अपि च । <sup>10</sup>वलाढाणजयचमो विजयते  
निःशेषगोत्राणकृष्णः कृष्ण इवार्जुनो र्जुन इव श्रीभोजदेवो नृपः ।  
विस्फूर्जद्विपमेयुवेवविधुरां राधां विधत्ते अ यस्तूर्ण्यं पूर्णमनोरयचिरमभू-  
द्भागेयभगोक्वे ॥ ३ ॥ नाद्यन्ते सूत्रधारः । आर्ये । इतस्तावत् ।  
प्रविश्य नटी । आणवेदु<sup>11</sup> अज्जो । सूत्र । प्रिये । आ-

3 दिटो ऽस्मि तत्रभवत्या परिपदा (i) यया ऽद्य त्वया ऽस्मिन्नेव चैत्र-  
पर्वणि [चतु]रगोतिचतुःपय<sup>12</sup>भुरसदनप्रधाने धारापुरीयुवतिनृंगारमुक्तास्रजो  
जगज्जडतांधकारयातनगरश्चद्रिकायाः <sup>13</sup>सारदादेव्याः सन्ननि सकलदिगंतरो-  
पागतानेकत्रैविद्यसङ्गदयकलाकोविदरसिकसुकविसंकुचे गौडान्वयगंगापुलिनरा-

<sup>1</sup> Vr. 11, 37, 55, 62 and l. 76; Samastakalā in v. 30

<sup>2</sup> See the Table of the Hoysalas in Dr Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 493.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 23, 29, 33, 35, 38, 43, 44, 48, 59, 64, 78, 80; Kusumaśrī in l. 12, and Kusumamañjarī in l. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Vr. 8, 15, 55 and l. 69, Javāśrī in v. 70

<sup>5</sup> Bühler's edition, p. 38 ff. of the Introduction.

<sup>6</sup> Dr Fleet's *Dynasties*, p. 449 and note 4.

<sup>7</sup> Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI p. 198 f.

<sup>8</sup> From three inked estampages

Cancel the *visarga*, the syllable *om* is expressed by a symbol resembling the one employed at the beginning of the Bhopāl plates of Udayavarman, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI p. 254, Plate.

<sup>9</sup> Read वल्लाड<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 117 below A.

<sup>12</sup> Read चतुपय<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Read सारदा<sup>13</sup>.

- 4 [जहं]सस्य [गगाध]रायणे[मंदनस्य रा]जगुरीः कतिरभिनवा समस्तसामाजिक-  
मधुव्रतानंदमकरंदप्रपा पारिजातमंजरीत्यपराख्या विजयश्रीनाम नाटिका  
नाटयितव्या । तदाविर्भाव्यतां रंगमगलसंपदां संप्रदायः । नटी [1\*]  
सहर्षं । जं<sup>1</sup> अज्जो आणवेदि । किं च मए वि सुणिदं (1) जधा  
मलयानिलमंदमंदंदोलणमहमहत-
- 5 मायंदमउलमयरंद[पिंडि]द[परायपुंजपिं]जरिज्जंतमंजरीकवलपरपरिपणकेलिपज्जा-  
उलकलयंठमिहुणमहुरकलयलहेलावहत्थिदविहत्थमाणंसिणीमाणं पि (1)  
परिमलतरंगचंगचंपयचसयमहु[य]क[य]किदक्खरणचारणरणभणक्कारसुहलं पि  
(1) जतकुंजरकरसीयरासारसेयसरसविअसं-
- 6 [त]विविह्विडवकुडंगवद्धयारं पि (1) धारागिरिलीलीज्जाणं परिहरिय  
कोदुहल्लपंपुक्क<sup>2</sup>लोयणो भारहीभवणहुत्तं सहस त्ति <sup>3</sup>परावडिदो ज्जेव लोओ  
त्ति । ता कधेहि केरिसं इत्थ कधासंविहाणयं । सूत्र । आकाशे  
। किमाचक्षते भवतः । स्थाने सुमनसां स्त्रीत्वं मृहीनामतिसुंदरं ।  
याश्चैवं कांतमासाद्य विभ्रति स्मितमा-
- 7 धुरीं । [४ ॥\*] तज्जो<sup>4</sup> साधूक्तं । नटीं प्रति च । आर्यं [1\*] श्रुतं  
त्वया । सुमनसां स्त्रीत्वमिति । नटी । अध<sup>5</sup> इं । सूत्र ।  
प्रिये [1\*] शृणु तर्हि । त्रिविधवीरचूडामणेः सार्वभौमश्रीभोजदेवान्वय-  
मूर्धन्यस्य राज्ञः श्रीमदर्जुनवर्मदेवस्य गूर्जरपतिना जयसिंहेन सह पर्व-  
पर्वतोपत्यकापरिसरेषु हिरण्यकसिपु<sup>6</sup>कदनकुपितवैकुण्ठकांठीरवकांठ-
- 8 नादचकितदिग्वारणेंद्रमुक्तविश्वंभरानिपतनोहेलसप्ताण्वलहरिसफेटतुल्यतुमुलकोला-  
हलः कलहो बभूव ॥ नटी । अज्ज<sup>7</sup> [1\*] जहिं चउरंगवलजुअलधूली-  
कडपेहिं कवलदिग्गि मच्चंडमंडले सयंवरकोदुहल्लहल्लुप्फलमिलंतसुरसुदरी-  
सुहयंद<sup>8</sup>चदायवेण नियपरविहाओ संजादो सुणीयदि ॥
- 9 सूत्र । आर्यं [1\*] एवमेवैतत् । नटी । तदो<sup>9</sup> २ [1\*] सूत्र ।  
ततश्च प्रतिवले पलायमाने जयसिंधुरस्कंधाधिरूढस्य धनुष्मतो धारापते-  
स्तत्कालोपसंहृतनाराचदुर्दिनस्य पुरंदरपुरद्वारकवाटविकटे वक्षसि लोकोत्त-  
रपरिमलामीदवासितदिगतरा विस्मैरहंदारकहंदकुसुमहृष्टिमध्यादेका पारि-  
जातमंजरी पपात ॥

<sup>1</sup> See p. 117 below, B.<sup>2</sup> Read °पफुक्क°.<sup>3</sup> The engraver has left a blank space between the two *aksharas* प and रा.<sup>4</sup> The *visarga* had been omitted by the engraver and was inserted by him on revision.<sup>5</sup> See p. 117 below, C.<sup>6</sup> Read °कसिपु°.<sup>7</sup> See p. 117 below, D.<sup>8</sup> Read °मद° (P).<sup>9</sup> See p. 117 below, E.

- 10 नटी । सकौतुक । तदो<sup>1</sup> २ [1\*] सूत्र । ततश्च । अचोन्म गल-  
हस्तनोपनतयोर्द्वेन वचोजयोः कर्णोर्लघ्वनजाधिकेन नयनद्वयेन हेवा-  
किनी । वक्त्रं विश्वविलोचनोत्पलवनीचद्रोदय विभ्रती सम्भूवाण-  
जिगीषुयौवनसुरामाद्यत्तनुः कामिनी ॥ [५ ॥\*] तद्वै चान्नायदाक्  
प्रादुरासीत् । मनोज्ञा निर्विशन्नेतां कल्पा-
- 11 षीं विजयत्रियं । सदृशो भोजदेवेन धाराविष भविष्यति ॥ [६ ॥\*]  
नटी । अज्ज<sup>2</sup> [1\*] ता हि दिव्यमाणसेण वा वध । सूत्र ।  
प्रिये । न खल्वेवं । किं तु । या चौत्पलजदीमहेद्रुहिता  
देवी जयत्रीः स्वयं भंगे नृत्युमवाप्य<sup>3</sup> वाद्यसलिलैरताः पुरस्कोर्त्तिलैः ।  
वधुः शोकतमालवालविपिन चक्रे नदीभाटन (1)<sup>4</sup> वेग खर्दुस-  
मंजरी कि- (1)
- 12 सलये संक्रम्य जातांगना ॥ [७ ॥\*] नटी । सकाशायश्च<sup>5</sup> । तदो<sup>6</sup> २ ।  
सूत्र । ततश्च (1) देवेन जयकुंजरकुंभस्ततादात्म्य तस्याः लुचस्यले  
दृष्टिं संचारितवता महाजनलज्जया सा लुभ्यन्ती[1\*] कञ्चुकिनः  
कुसुमाकरनामधेयस्योद्यानाधिकारिणः समर्पिता । तेन चानीय धारा-  
गिरिगर्भमरकतमंडपे वसंतलीलां खण्डहि-
- 13 षीं योगक्षेमकारिणीं दत्त्वा<sup>7</sup> स्थापिता । नेपथ्ये । इत इतो देवः ।  
सूत्र । तत्रावलोकितकेन । प्रिये [1\*] प्रसन्नः । नारायणेनात्यशुचौ  
निवेश्य सौराज्यभार स्वयमाशूरोह । देवो वसतोत्पन्नोक्तानुकेन नवीन-  
रत्नोज्ज्वल<sup>8</sup> हर्म्यमृगं ॥ [८ ॥\*] अचो राजपोयन परमारनृहृन्मय ।  
हयाननतरंगितत्रिविधवीरचूडामणि-
- 14 प्रगीतरसरजितां रतिमवेक्ष्य मोहायिते । यदीयदिव्यदं अरः परपुरंभ्रिवन्धुं  
जगौ स एष नृपसुदरो जयति जैश्चोन्नोत्सव<sup>9</sup> ॥ [९ ॥\*] श्विस्रयं ।  
अंतःपुरवनिताच्च द्विरददटाद्याशु गूर्जरैर्द्रुम । मृगलिता यदनीकैः स  
एष सुभटचितींद्रसुतः ॥ [१० ॥\*] नटी । पासे<sup>10</sup> उण अंतैरिया  
विय कावि एसा । सूत्र । समुच्चवेन या
- 15 सृष्टा कलानां परमेष्ठिना । कुंतलेंद्रुता सय राज्ञः सर्वकला प्रिया  
॥ [११ ॥\*] तदनया सहितो मानयतु नृधूल्वं देवः । आवाप्त्यनंतर-

<sup>1</sup> See p 117 below, F.<sup>2</sup> See p. 117 below, G.<sup>3</sup> Read वाप्य<sup>3</sup>.<sup>4</sup> The *risarga* was inserted by the engraver on revision.<sup>5</sup> This mark of punctuation seems to have been cancelled by the engraver himself.<sup>6</sup> See p 117 below, H.<sup>7</sup> Read दत्ता.<sup>8</sup> Read 'रत्नोज्ज्वल'.<sup>9</sup> Read जैश्चोन्नोत्सव.<sup>10</sup> See p. 117 below, I.

करणीयाय सज्जीभवाव[ः ।\*] इति निःक्रांतावासु<sup>१</sup> ॥ ततः प्रविशति  
विदूषकेण सह वसंतवेषरमणीयो राजा (i) साख्या<sup>२</sup> सह राज्ञी च ।  
राज्ञी । सहकारमंजरीं दर्शयित्वा (i) सलीलस्मितं । अञ्जल-

16 त्त<sup>३</sup> [।\*] नोहलियं गेण्ह एदं । कोदलसरवाहुक्षेण मणहरा पढम-  
मंजरी एसा । तुह उच्छवम्भि हु मए विणिउत्ता गायणीइ जहा  
॥ [१२ ॥\*] राजा । सहर्षादरं (i) हस्तद्वयेन गृहीत्वा । देवि ।  
त्वयोपनीयमानोयं सहकारांकुरो मया । आतः पुप्पायुधस्येपुराज्ञास्त्रीका-  
रलाङ्कनं ॥ [१३ ॥\*] अपि कुसुमे नवफलिकाव्यपदेशः पेशलांगि युक्तस्ते

17 । फलमेव कुसुममपि मे प्रसन्नया यच्चया दत्तं । [१४ ॥\*] विदूषकः ।  
साकूतं । अहो<sup>४</sup> अचरियं [।\*] भायधेएण वयस्सस्स कुसुममंजरी  
फलत्तणेण हत्थे चडिदा । राजा । सोत्कंठमात्मगतं । या मन्मथस्स<sup>५</sup>  
जयिनोभिनवास्सदेवी मूर्त्ता पपात हृदये मम युद्धभूमौ । भंग्या  
मनोहरतनुं विजयत्रियं तां प्राणेश्वरीमयमुदाहरते वय-

18 स्यः ॥ [१५ ॥\*] किं च । या शारदी शशिकलेव कलेवरं मे 'संग्राम-  
डामरसमुल्लसितप्रतापं । लावण्यकांतिसुधया स्रपयांचकार सा मे हृदि  
स्खलति मन्मथविह्वलांगी ॥ [१६ ॥\*] नेपथ्ये वैतालिकाः । सुपचायसि-  
रीसहिदो<sup>६</sup> सूरौ वि तुहुच्छवेण कीलंतो । बालायवसिंदूरं दियगणाणं  
सुहे खिवइ ॥ [१७ ॥\*] जं सीमंताहिंतो द्विय तए गुज्जरिदर-

19 मणीणं । मन्ने सिंदूरेणं तेण द्विय रमइ तुह लोओ ॥ [१८ ॥\*]  
वाणेहिं अवनारी विसमसरेणावि नियरिज रइओ । अञ्जुणवम्भ तए  
उण अवल द्विय विरइआ रिउणो ॥ [१९ ॥\*] \* ॥ विदू ॥ कल-  
कलमाकर्ण्य (i) नेपथ्य[।\*]वलोकितकेन । वयस्स<sup>७</sup> [।\*] पेच्छ २ पहरि-  
सकीलिदं नायरजणस्स । राजा । सहकारमंजरीं विदूषकस्यार्प- (i)

20 यित्वा (i) सकौतुकं पश्यन् । सखे [।\*] किमुच्यते । राज्ञीं प्रति च ।  
देवि [।\*] प[श्य] २ [।\*] सिंदूरं क्वचिददृष्टासनिनदैरुहंडमुड्डीयते  
कस्तूरीनिकरः क्वचित्क्वचिदपि श्रीखंडरेणूत्करः । 'कास्मीरद्रवशीकरैर्दृति-  
मुखोन्मुक्तैरतिव्याकुलः पौरैः स्त्रीरमनेकधायमधुनारब्धो मधोरत्नवः ॥  
[२० ॥\*] अपि च । पौष्पीराभरणैर्मनोज्ञतनवः

21 स्त्रीरं दधत्योधुना सिंदूरीमरुणीकृतालकलतां लेखां ललाटीतटे । नृत्यंत्यो  
मदविह्वलं लयविसंवादिषु पौरागनाः क्रीडामीरजिकस्वकांतवदनान्या-

<sup>१</sup> Read निःक्रांती । आसुध.

<sup>२</sup> See p 117 below, K.

<sup>३</sup> See p. 118 below, A.

<sup>४</sup> Read सख्या

<sup>५</sup> Read मन्मथस्स

<sup>६</sup> See p 118 below, B.

<sup>७</sup> See p 117 below, J

<sup>८</sup> Read सयान<sup>०</sup>

<sup>९</sup> Read कास्मीर<sup>०</sup>.



लोकयन्ति स्मिताः ॥ [२१ ॥\*] राज्ञी [1\*] कर्णं दत्वा<sup>1</sup> (i)  
 सोल्लासं । अल्लउत्त<sup>2</sup> । एदं पि आयण्णेहि (i) समयसुहावय हिंदो-  
 लयं । राजा । प्रिये [1\*] किमुच्यते । <sup>3</sup>असन्यासग्रहकृतपद  
 ता- (i)

22 डितं मंद्रभूमौ षड्<sup>4</sup> तन्वन्<sup>5</sup> ऋषभरहितं धैवतेनापि हीनं । हिंदो-  
 लाख्यः सुखयति दधन्मध्यम तारदेशे कपं विभ्रक्लिमपि रुचिर  
 षड्भुक्ते पंचमे च ॥ [२२ ॥\*] विद्रू । वयस्स<sup>6</sup> [1\*] जाणिदं मए  
 वि । एसो सो हिंदोलओ (i) जहिं हिंदोलयचउत्थीए इत्थीउ  
 कीलति । राजा । स्मितमभिनीय (i) सोपहास । नूनमभिन्नो  
 भवान् ग्राम- (i)

23 रागेषु । विद्रू । सदपै । कध<sup>7</sup> गेयं न जाणामि । जदा मे  
 वंभणी वडुवियड[द]तसुदर सुहं पसारिय मगलाइ गाएदि तदा  
 हं <sup>8</sup>गोरिगेयगहिहो हरिणी व पाणे दाउमिच्छामि ॥ इति विद्रू-  
 षकं विहाय सर्वे हसति । राजा । स्मिता [1\*] सखे ।  
 एतावता गीते सम्यगभिन्नो भवान् । कनकलेखा<sup>9</sup> अचलपिहितं  
 सिंदूरमुष्टिं राज्ञी-

24 हस्तेर्पयति । राज्ञी गृहीत्वा स्मितमभिनीय च (i) राज्ञी मस्त-  
 कमुडूलयितुं मुष्टिसुत्तिपति । राजा । शिरो नमयन् सस्मितं ।  
 सिंदूरोडूलनायैष मूर्द्धा नमोस्ततो मया । एष एव प्रणामश्च  
 तन्निषेधाय दर्शितः ॥ [२३ ॥\*] राज्ञी (i) सलीलस्मित (i) सख्याः  
 सिंदूरमर्पयति । कनकलेखाविद्रूपकौ परस्परं सिंदूरोडूलन नाट-  
 यतः । विद्रू ॥

25 कस्तूरीचोदमर्पयन् । वयस्स<sup>10</sup> [1\*] तुमं पि देविं भरेहि । [रा]ज्ञी (i)  
 विशृंखलचरणारविदमपसरति । राजा । देवि त्वन्मुखमुत्तसत्परिमलं  
 स्मोरा[र]विदम्भमाङ्गुणाणमुपसेदुषां प्रतिमया स्निग्धेद्रनीलत्विषा । सजाते  
 मृगनाभिपत्र<sup>11</sup>मकरीशृंगारलीलायिते चेतोहारि करोति कः पुनरिदं  
 कस्तूरिकापंकिलं ॥ [२४ ॥\*] उपसृत्य (i) लला-

26 [ट\*]स्वेदमुत्पुंसयन् । अलं संभ्रमेण [1\*] अपनीयतां अमः । इदानीं  
 हि । <sup>12</sup>संभोगोत्कलिकामिलत्सहचरीशृंगावमर्शद्रवत्कस्तूरीमृगमीलितेक्षण-

<sup>1</sup> Read दत्ता.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 118 below, C.

<sup>3</sup> Read अश

<sup>4</sup> Corrected by the engraver from पञ्च.

<sup>5</sup> Read तन्वन्नृषभ

<sup>6</sup> See p. 118 below, D

<sup>7</sup> See p. 118 below, E.

<sup>8</sup> Read गोवी

<sup>9</sup> Read 'लेखांचल'.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 118 below, F.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'पत्र'.

<sup>12</sup> 'लिका' looks almost like 'लिका'.

भरत्तीषाशुमिश्रीज्ञमः । गीतैकांतनिषण्णकिन्नरवधूकंदर्पकेलिक्रमस्वेदच्छेद-  
विचक्षणो विचरति श्रीखंडशैलानिलः । [२५ \*] विदू । वयस्<sup>१</sup> ।  
जदि तुमं एदाए दासीधूआए क-

- 27 [ण\*][य]लेहाए सह मम पाणिगहण करावेसि (i) तदा अहं पि  
तुमं व नायरियनारीसहिदो वसंतसवं<sup>२</sup> माणेमि । राजा (i) राज्ञी  
च स्येते । कनक । सनासासंकोचं विचिकित्सते । राज्ञी [i\*]  
स्मृतिमभिनीय । अज्जउत्त<sup>३</sup> [i\*] पाणिगहणवयणेण संभराविद म्हि ।  
मए भाहवीलदाए सहयारस्स पाणिगहो कारिदब्बो [i\*] तुम्हे वि  
तहिं (i)
- 28 [णि\*]मंतिदा चिद्ध । ता दाणि उवसंभारसंपादणकज्जेण उज्जाणं गमिस्सं ।  
राजा । यदभिरुचितं देव्यै । इति सख्या सह राज्ञी निःक्रांता<sup>४</sup> ।  
राजा । सखे । क सा नवफलिका पारिजातमंजरी । न न [i\*]  
विस्मृत [i\*] सहकारमंजरी । विदू । सस्मितं [i\*] वयस्स<sup>५</sup> ।  
ण खु एदं विंभरण । सभरणं जेव एद । इति सहकारमंजरीं  
समर्पयति । रा-
- 29 [जा\*] । गृहीत्वा (i) सकरणमात्मगतं । परिस्नानामिमां दृष्ट्वा नूतनां  
चूतमंजरीं । स्मरामि 'विरहक्लांतामतः प्राणेश्वरीं नवां ॥ [२६ \*] इति  
तादात्म्यमभिनीय शून्यमवलोकते । विदू । वयस्स<sup>६</sup> । मन्ने पारि-  
आयमजरीसणाह पि दे सुन्न हिययं । राजा । सखे [i\*]  
किमुच्यते । रागं सांध्यमिवाह<sup>७</sup> हृत्यविरलं शून्यत्वमासेदुपि प्रोन्मीलन्नववि-  
प्रयो- (i)
- 30 [ग\*][त]मसि व्योक्तीव सा मे हृदि । वाला चांद्रमसी कलेव वसति  
स्तोतव्यनव्योदया पचेषोर्जयिनः प्रतापमसमं साक्षाद्विधत्तेपि च ॥ [२७ \*]  
जेपथ्ये । सहयारिणी<sup>८</sup> भोदु मज्झन्नसंभा देवस्स । तिसियाण काणणेसुं  
तुह रिउ[र]मणीण विंणनिहेण । वयणाइं हारमुत्तासु सलिलकज्जेण  
व विसंति । [२८ \*] विदू<sup>९</sup> । वयस्स<sup>१०</sup> [i\*] देवणाहवनिज्जिदाण
- 31 सहसा वंदीकदंतेउरं दितेणं समिदा विओयवियणा जाणं वसंतुगमे ।  
एदे ते णमिज्जण पायजुवल दडप्पणामेण दे पत्तिच्छत्तभरेण भूमिव-  
इणो वच्चंति वासालय ॥ [२९ \*] ता किं इध द्विदेण । एहि [i\*]

<sup>१</sup> See p 118 below, G<sup>२</sup> Read निःक्रांता.<sup>३</sup> Read 'मिवोह'.<sup>४</sup> The symbols दू ।<sup>५</sup> Read वसंतसवं.<sup>६</sup> See p 118 below, I<sup>७</sup> See p 118 below, K.

वय seem to be corrected from यस्स.

<sup>८</sup> See p. 118 below, H<sup>९</sup> See p. 118 below, J.<sup>१०</sup> See p 118 below, L.

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धारागिरिलीलोच्चाणं जेव गच्छामो । राजा । सप्रत्याशं सोत्कांठं  
च । यदभिरुचित वयस्यायेति निःक्रांतौ<sup>1</sup> । वसंतोत्सवो नाम

32 प्रवृत्तोद्भवः<sup>2</sup> ॥ २४ ॥ श्रीः[\*] ॥ प्रविश्य कुसुमाकरः । देव्या समस्तकलया  
मलयानिलेन चूतातिमुक्तकलतामिथुनोत्सवेन । वारांगनामसृणमगलगीत-  
रगैर्धारागिरिः कमपि सम्मदमातनोति ॥ [३० ॥\*] अद्यैव<sup>3</sup> च ।  
मत्तानां मलयानिलैर्विटपिनां यूनां स्मितश्रीमतां संवन्धोचितनर्मणामिदं  
वलादाकृष्टकेशांशुकान् । भ्रूभगेन विवृ-

33 [त्य] पल्लवकरान् रोमांचितान् कोरकैरसंख्याकुलपाणिकंकणभूषणत्कारेण  
वारांगनाः ॥ [३१ ॥\*] केवलं वत्सा पारिजातमंजरी राजदर्शनोत्कलिका-  
परंपराभिरुत्ताम्यती मर्मणि व्यथयति । सा हि ॥ सायं कीक-  
वियोगदर्शनदलन्मर्मक्षणा पक्षिणः किं नोड्डीय मिलंत्यमी द्रुतमिति क्लाता  
सुहृः पृच्छति ॥ सीतारामकथासु कपितकुचा स्ना-<sup>4</sup>

34 [से]न शून्योद्गम हुकार ददती करोति करुणाविस्मारितार्थां सखीं  
॥ [३२ ॥\*] किं बहुना । तन्वी तापातिरेकेण धत्ते यस्माद्विहस्तता ।  
प्रवालहस्तै [रं]धन्ति तस्येदोरातप लताः ॥ [३३ ॥\*] नेपथ्यावलोकित-  
केन । कथं प्रिया मे वसतलीला ॥ सप्रणयादरं । प्रिये [।\*]  
अयमहमित इतो भवती । निर्वर्ण्य । नूनमियमिदानीं । ऋजुस्तथभु-  
जेनाघोहस्तेनाकाशले-

35 [खि]नी । नतानना मदगतिस्तुचितामेव गाहते ॥ [३४ ॥\*] ततः प्रवि-  
शति यथानिर्दिष्टा वसतलीला । कुसुमाकरः । उपसृत्य । प्रिये  
[।\*] कथमास्ते वत्सा पारिजातमंजरी । वसत । उत्तुगे<sup>5</sup> थणमंडलस्य  
सिद्धरे ओष्ठप्यवालप्यहापुंज कुजरगामिणी वहदि सा चितानमता-  
ण्णा । अतो नीहरिजण सासलहरीसत्येण पञ्जूसुत्रं दूरारोहनिहालि-

36 [अ\*][पि]ययमं रत्नं व चित्तं निय ॥ [३५ ॥\*] कुसुमा । सकरणचिता-  
वात्सल्य<sup>6</sup> । प्रिये [।\*] तत्किमर्थमागतासि तामेकार्किनीं वालां  
विहाय । वसंत । रायागमणपउत्ति<sup>7</sup> उवलंभिदु । कुसुमा । प्रिये [।\*]  
साधूक्तं । कथित हि मे राज्ञी नर्मसुहृदा विदग्धेन यव्याद्य<sup>8</sup>  
माधवीसहकारविवाहारंभदर्शनापदेशेन देवो धारागिरिलीलोद्यानमागत्य  
युवांतशुद्धांतच-<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read वयस्याय । इति निःक्रांतौ

<sup>2</sup> Corrected by the engraver from आद्यैव

<sup>3</sup> See p 119 below, A.

<sup>4</sup> Read यथाय.

<sup>5</sup> Read प्रथमोद्भवः

<sup>6</sup> Read °रस्यत्वा

<sup>7</sup> Read °वात्सल्य

<sup>8</sup> युवांत was corrected by the engraver from युद्धत.

<sup>9</sup> Read आद्येन

<sup>10</sup> See p 119 below, B

- 37 [ण\*]सहचारिणीं प्राणेश्वरीमवश्यमेकांते संभावयिष्यतीति । वसंत । आश्व-  
सिति । कुसुमा । प्रिये । एवं च कथितं । देवः परिजनस्योक्ती-  
रज्ञातार्थीपि चिंतया । अभ्युपैति<sup>1</sup> कथांताय शून्यं कंपितमस्तकः  
॥ [३६ ॥\*] किं तु । नो संभावयति प्रसादविभवैर्भृत्यांश्चकोराच्चिजानु-  
क्तासं निदधाति नो कुवलये नो वाहिनीभर्त्तरि । राजा सर्वकला-
- 38 [यि]तोपि दिवसप्राये वियोगे प्रियां तामेव क्षणदामभीषति नवामापांडि-  
मानं गतः ॥ [३७ ॥\*] तदमुना संविधानकेन त्वया सविशेषमाश्लास्य  
परितोषणीया वत्सा पारिजातमंजरी । यतः । विरहे नूनमेकस्य  
दुःखेन लभते सुखं । सुखेन चेतरो दुःखं प्रेम्णो हि कुटिला गतिः  
॥ [३८ ॥\*] वसंत । ज<sup>2</sup> आणवेदि पिश्रयमो । कुसुमा । अह-  
मपि<sup>3</sup> एतत्का-
- 39 यानुरूपस्वाभिप्रायज्ञापनाय विदग्धद्वितीयस्य राज्ञः सकाशमेव गच्छामीति<sup>4</sup>  
निःक्रांतौ । विष्कभकः ॥ ततः प्रविशति राजा विदूषकश्च । राजा ।  
समंतादुद्यानमालोक्य । सखे । तस्या एव सुखेन निर्मलनिजज्योत्स्ना-  
भिराध्यायिताः शकेमी तरवो मनोज्ञमसृणच्छायाभिरायामिनः । सौरभ्यं  
कुसुमोत्करेण दधतस्तस्यैव स- (1)
- 40 [स्का]रजं भंपालंपट<sup>5</sup>भाह्वयंति मधुलिदसंतानमुच्चैस्तरां । [३९ ॥\*] विदू ।  
वयस्<sup>6</sup> [1\*] जुत्तमणुभाण ते । जदो वणस्सईण चंदो राया ।  
राजा (1) दक्षिणाक्षिदणं सूचयित्वा (1) सप्रत्याशमुलंठते । जेपथ्ये (1)  
मंगलध्वनिः । [रा]जा । आकर्णितकेन । सखे । मध्यादुभय तारं  
सृशदलघुकुचाकपल्लवेन यासां श्लासेनैवावरुढं व्रजति यतिविदां समकं  
रक्ति-
- 41 [मे]व । ताभिर्याम्योपि गीतध्वनिरयमधुना माधवीमंगलार्थं वारस्त्रीभिः  
प्रयुक्तौ गमयति गमकैर्नागरत्वं मनोज्ञैः ॥ [४० ॥\*] तदेहि [1\*]  
देवीं प्रत्युपसर्पावः [1\*] इति परिक्रामतः । विदू । वयस्<sup>7</sup> ।  
जधा एस समकालुकंठिदकेलिदीहिआकलहंसकूडदकरंविदो<sup>8</sup> असमंजभमं-  
जीरकलयलो जधा य थोउमहायमाणकपूरपरिमलुम्मीसिदो किलं-
- 42 [त]कुसुमामोओ पञ्चासन्नो ज्वदि तधा (यणस)<sup>9</sup> चंपडभियामिलंतीहिं  
वियडनियंवीरभरपरिक्खलतचलणारविंदाहिं दाहिणानिलंदोलिरवसंतमाला-

<sup>1</sup> Read अभ्युपैति<sup>2</sup> See p 119 below, C<sup>3</sup> Read अहमप्येत<sup>0</sup>.<sup>4</sup> Read गच्छामि । इति निष्क्रांतौ<sup>5</sup> Corrected by the engraver from लपाट<sup>0</sup><sup>6</sup> See p 119 below, D.<sup>7</sup> See p 119 below, E.<sup>8</sup> Read असमजस<sup>0</sup>.<sup>9</sup> These three aksharas are due to a mistake of the engraver, they occur again in their proper place as part of the compound वीरयणसंठ<sup>0</sup> in the same line

मणहराहिं थोरयणमडलुव्वहणपरिस्स[मस]सिदमदपचायमाणतम्मीलरसाहिं  
वारविलासिणीहि सेविज्जती अन्हुडिदा देवी । राजा । निर्वण्णं ।  
सखे [1\*] किमुच्यते । वारांगनामुख- (i)

43 [ज्यो]क्त्तालघनोत्कंधरद्युतिः । देवी दुग्धाण्वे लक्ष्मीरुत्तसंतीव लक्ष्यते ॥  
[४१ ॥\*] ततः प्रविशति यथानिर्दिष्टा राज्ञी । विदू । वयस्स<sup>१</sup> [1\*]  
इदो वि पेच्छ [1\*] जघा एस कुसुमायरो मम सम्मुहं सन्नं  
करेदि तधा अ[संसय] पारिआयमंजरिं वसतलीलाए सह इध ज्जेव  
सचारइस्सदि । राजा । निर्वण्णं (i) किचिदाश्सस्य च । क्तातो  
विरहदावेन तामेव प्रति-

44 [धा]वति । अंत.करणपच्ची मे लावणामृतवाहिनीं । [४२ ॥\*] ततः  
प्रविशति विटपांतरिता पारिजातमंजरी वसतलीला च । राज्ञी<sup>२</sup>  
उपसृत्य (i) राजानमवलोक्य क्षितेन सभावयति । विदू [1\*]  
ससंभ्रमं । अहो<sup>३</sup> अरिडमरिडं । चूओ चपयकुसुमेहिं चंपओ पाडला-  
पदणेहि । वडलो सिरीसडप्पेहिं वियमियो हत अच्चरियं ॥ [४३ ॥\*]  
राजा । सन्नितं । धिञ्चूर्ख<sup>४</sup> [1\*] नेदमरिष्ट किं तु देव्यायमस्माक-

45 [मा]चार्यकेण चित्रप्रयोगो नाम वृत्तायुर्वेदभेदः प्रदर्शितः । कनकलेखा ।  
विहस्य [1\*] भट्टा<sup>५</sup> [1\*] ए खु एसो वियक्खणत्तणेण वियट्ठी किं  
तु विसेसेण दट्ठा<sup>६</sup> त्ति । इति सर्वे हसन्ति । नायिका । राजानं  
सस्यहमवलोक्य<sup>७</sup> (i) अपवारितकेन [1\*] अज्जे<sup>८</sup> [1\*] अन्नपायवे अन्न-  
कुसुमेहि वियसाविट्ठुं अत्थि मे कीदुहन्नं । वसंत । वच्चे<sup>९</sup> [1\*]  
एसो ज्जेव राया तुह उवज्झाओ हविससदि । नायिका ॥

46 [उ]ण निअस्य (i) सवितर्कमात्मगतं । कत्तो<sup>१०</sup> अम्हाण तारिस्ता भायधेया ।  
राज्ञी । अज्जउत्त<sup>१०</sup> । एदं तं माहवीसहयारमिड्डण । [रा]जा । देवि  
[1\*] साधु दर्शितं । पूर्वामुखालंकृतयोर्माधवीसहकारयोः । कापि  
वैवाहिकी लक्ष्मीरियमाह्लादतेतरां । [४४ ॥\*] किं च । धन्योयं  
सहकारसुंदरयुवा चैत्रानिलादीलनैरुद्युक्तः परिरिप्सते प्रियतमां वामांग-  
विभ्रभिणीं । <sup>११</sup>एपाप्पइंसुवासिनी नवलता

<sup>१</sup> See p 119 below, F

<sup>२</sup> See p 119 below, H.

<sup>३</sup> See p 119 below, I

<sup>४</sup> See p 119 below, L.

<sup>५</sup> Read राष्ट्रयप°.

<sup>६</sup> Read दट्ठी

<sup>७</sup> See p 119 below, J

<sup>८</sup> Read एपाप्पइंसु°.

<sup>९</sup> See p 119 below, G

<sup>१०</sup> Read °लीकाप°

<sup>११</sup> See p. 119 below, K.

- 47 [न]स्त्रीभवन्ती स्युं निर्वधेन 'परासुखी न सहते वैयात्यवात्तामपि ।  
 [४५ ॥\*] वसंत । नायिकां प्रति । अय्यो<sup>१</sup> [1\*] एवं जेव तुम्हारिस्सीओ  
 मुद्दाओ दूरे गादुक्कंठिरीओ पियमयासे परंमुद्दीओ हवति । नायिका ।  
 किंचिदिहम् (1) सास्यमिव । अज्जे<sup>२</sup> [1\*] त अन्नं जेव किंपि  
 जंपन्ती चिट्ठसि । अहं उण एत्तिगं जेव भणामि जं अन्नपायवे  
 अन्नकुसुमेहिं वियमाविदं अत्थि मे कोदुद्धनं । वसंत । स्रगतं । देवी<sup>३</sup>
- 48 [जा]व उत्तरामुहडिदा माह्वीसह्यारमिहुणं अणुरायभिमन्ना भन्तुणो पच्छि-  
 मामुहडिदम् दंसयन्ती चिट्ठि (1) ता मुहत्तं पारिजायमंजरिं पायडं  
 कर्म्मि (1) जवा देवीए कहिंपि आहरणे पडिंविंविदं पेच्छदि नं  
 राया । इति विटपपन्नवानपमार्य नायिकां प्रकटीकरोति । राजा ।  
 राज्ञीताडकं प्रतिविंवितां नायिकामवलोक्य (1) सहर्पावहिल्यमात्मगतं ।  
 अयं जितं मनोरथैः ।
- 49 [य]दियं वल्लवन्निवोरांधकारदुःसंचरसमरसंकेतनयाभिमारिका मे प्राणेश्वरी  
 प्रथमप्राणेश्वरीताडकदर्पणे लोचनगोचरं गता । भवितर्कात्मुत<sup>४</sup> च ।  
 नूनमियमस्मान् पश्चिमेन विटपांतरे वसंतलीलया केनचिदुल्लेखलंपाकेन  
 वचसा नर्ममर्मणि स्रष्टा सस्मितमसूयने । सद्यः 'साव्यसधूसरेण विक-  
 सदैवञ्चलञ्जीस्रुगा कर्णगंतान्सदृष्टिनाधरपुटोद्भिन्नम्-
- 50 [त]योमता । [स्त्री]रोर्याभिनयभृकुंमभृकुटीसौभाग्यनृंगारिणा तन्वीयं वद-  
 नेदुना मम दृगोदत्ते सुवाचवणां ॥ [४६ ॥\*] सकृन्गानुगमं च ।  
 प्रतिविंविमिपाट्या [स्त्री]यं दौन्यमुपागता । अत्यंतदुर्वैरंगैर्व्रतं विरहदुर्देयां ॥  
 [४७ ॥\*] इति कोमलांगुलिग्रहेण कर्णं धृत्वा 'माविलासमवलोकयति ।  
 राज्ञो (1) सरोमांचमवनतमुखो अगंमुग्वानुभवं नाटयति । वसत ।  
 ताडकं नायि-
- 51 [का]प्रतिविंवं निर्वर्ण्यं राज्ञेयटया चित्तोपलक्षितकेन<sup>५</sup> (1) अपवार्यं साकृतं ।  
 यच्छे<sup>६</sup> [1\*] पेच्छ देवीए ताडकस्य रामणिज्जयं (1) ज राया आव-  
 हिल्यमेहदिष्टीए पेच्छंतो चिट्ठदि । नायिका । राज्ञीताडके सप्रतिविंवं  
 राज्ञानं च निर्वर्ण्ये (1) सवितर्कप्रत्यागमात्मगतं । अस्महे<sup>७</sup> [1\*] किं  
 एमो राया मे पडिंविंवं पेच्छदि (1) आदु देवीए ताडकं जेव ।  
 ता<sup>८</sup> दाव अमयकालजडाण अंत-

<sup>१</sup> The two words after which the y are due to a fault in the inked stampage from which the Plates were prepared, and a space in the two other copies of the inscription.

<sup>२</sup> See p. 119 below, M.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'तस्मादिह'.

<sup>४</sup> Read 'यमोद'.

<sup>५</sup> See p. 120 below, A.

<sup>६</sup> See p. 120 below, B.

<sup>७</sup> Read 'सवि'.

<sup>८</sup> See p. 120 below, C.

<sup>९</sup> See p. 120 below, D.

<sup>१०</sup> Corrected by the engraver from M.



- 52 [रा]लि दोलाइद न्हि । इति चिंतां नाटयति । वसंत । नायिका-  
याश्चित्तमुपलक्ष्य । वच्छे<sup>1</sup> [1\*] मा अन्नहा मन्नेहि । देवीए ताडके  
कक्षाहरणाहिदेवयं व तुम । संकाणुरायनिहुओ पीच्छइ पडिविवियं  
राया ॥ [४८ ॥\*] जइ उण न पत्तियसि ता खणइ तुम पल्लवं-  
तरिदं करेमि (i) जधा पडिविवसुखं ताडकं पेच्छतस्स केरिसी दिट्ठी  
भत्तुणी भोदि त्ति जाणासि । इति नायिका पुन. पल्लवात-
- 53 [रि]ता करोति । राजा (i) सखेदावहिल्यं शून्यदृष्टिरालोकते । वसत ।  
वच्छे<sup>2</sup> [1\*] पेच्छ २ । ताडके तुह पडिम अणियती भक्ति भत्तुणी  
दिट्ठी । विश्वस्त्रिनिहाणडाण<sup>3</sup> व्व सुन्नपज्जाउला जाया ॥ [४९ ॥\*]  
राजा (i) सावेग पृष्ठतोवलोकते । साह्वादमात्मगतं । येनायोधनदर्शनो-  
त्सवजुषां वैमानिकीनां 'मुखान्यजानीव निशाकरेण गगने नीतानि  
विच्छायतां । भूयो दृष्ट-
- 54 [मि\*][द] तदेव सुतनोः स्मर किमप्याननं विच्छेदातपलीढलोचनमुधा-  
निध्यंदिचंद्रातपं ॥ [५० ॥\*] नायिका (i) ससाध्वसं राजानमपागेनावलोक्य (i)  
लज्जयापसर्तुमिच्छती परिक्रामति । वसत । तां रुणद्धि । राजा ।  
निर्वस्य ससृहमात्मगत । उच्छ्वासि स्तनयोर्द्वय तदपि यत्नीमाविवा-  
दोत्पन्नं लीलोत्प्रेक्षि गत तदप्यनुप[मं] ओणित्रिया मंथरं । दीर्घ  
दृग्युगलं तद-
- 55 [प्य\*][तु]गतं लास्येन किंचिद्भ्रुवोरेतस्यास्तु मध्यम विजयते सौभाग्यवीजं  
वयः ॥ [५१ ॥\*] सखीविदूषकौ विदितराजनायिकावृत्तांतौ परस्पर  
साकूतमवलोकयत. । राजा स्मृतिमभिनीय (i) सातकं (i) पुनस्तथैव  
ताडकमवलोकयति । सविमर्शपक्षपातमह[ह]<sup>4</sup> । अज्ञातदोषा ताडकं  
'मदृष्टालिंगितं प्रिया । धत्ते निखलमा[द्या]पि' प्रीत्या मदनुवृत्तये  
॥ [५२ ॥\*] राज्ञी (i) द-
- 56 [चि]णाच्चिसंदितकेन<sup>5</sup> (i) अधृतिमभिनीय सोद्देगमुन्मुखी सखीमुखमीक्षते ।  
तच्चेष्टां परिकलय्य (i) सासूयवितर्कमात्मगत । अथो<sup>6</sup> [1\*] कुदो उण से  
हदासाए अज्ज वियट्ठसंसुही सवियारा दिट्ठी । सविमर्शमात्मगतं ।  
पडिहाइ<sup>10</sup> अज्जउत्तो स[व्भा]वसिणेहसुंदरसहावो । असुह पि व कहइ  
पुणो दाहिणनयणं पुरतं मे ॥ [५३ ॥\*] कनक । राज्ञी सवि-<sup>11</sup> (i)

<sup>1</sup> See p 120 below, E<sup>4</sup> Corrected by the engraver from सुखन्य<sup>6</sup> Read मद्दया<sup>8</sup> See p 120 below, G; read चव्वी.<sup>2</sup> See p. 120 below, F.<sup>7</sup> Read मद्यापि<sup>10</sup> See p 120 below, H.<sup>3</sup> Against the metre<sup>5</sup> Read पातम् । अहइ<sup>9</sup> Read केनाधृति<sup>11</sup> Read सवै.

- 57 [ल]क्ष्मितमीचते । राज्ञी । औत्तुक्वमभिनीय (i) साकृतं । [स]द्धि<sup>1</sup>  
[i\*] किं तए हसिदं । कनक । सविलक्ष्य<sup>2</sup> जोपमास्ते । राजा ।  
विद्रूपकं प्रति<sup>3</sup> अपवारितकेन । सखे । नूनमनया दासीपुत्र्या दानसं-  
मानपूर्वं चिरनिवारितयाप्यद्य<sup>4</sup> सर्वं प्रकाशियते । विद्रू । अपवार्यं ।  
अध<sup>5</sup> इ । राजा (i) दृष्टिसंज्ञया कनकलेखां प्रसादयति । राज्ञी (i)  
राजचेष्टां परिकलय्य तं भ्रूभगेन त-
- 58 [ज]यती कनकलेख[ा व]ाहो<sup>6</sup> धृत्वा सावहेलं परिक्रम्य निःक्रामति<sup>7</sup> ।  
नायिका । सर्वेषां चेष्टाः परिकलय्य सदैव्यमात्मगतं (i) राजानं प्रति ।  
चदस्व<sup>8</sup> व तुह मेहतरम्भि खणदंसणेण जा ससिया । सीयामि सा  
चओरि व्व पुण वि तइ अतरिज्जंते ॥ [५४ ॥\*] प्रकाशं । अज्जे<sup>9</sup> [i\*]  
नूणं देवि पसादिदुं गमिस्सदि राया । ता एहि [i\*] गच्छम्ह [i\*]  
इति निःक्रान्ति<sup>10</sup> । राजा । सप्रत्याशं पृष्ठतोवलोक्य
- 59 [ना\*]यिकामदृष्ट्वा विद्रूपकं प्रति सविलक्ष्यं [i\*] सखे [i\*] दृष्ट त्वया  
यन्ममापतितं । अपि सर्वकाला देवी यदर्थंभूत्पराङ्मुखी । सापि जाता  
दृशोर्दूरे<sup>11</sup> विजयन्तीः प्रिया मम ॥ [५५ ॥\*] तत्किमत्र कर्तव्यं ।  
विद्रू । व[य]स्व<sup>12</sup> [i\*] मारिदस्व भुजिदस्व य एक्क जेव णामं । द्योओ  
वह वा अव[रा]हो अवराहो ज्जिव । ता संभावेहि महाभाइणिं  
पारिआयमंजरिं । राजा । सोत्कठ । सखे [i\*] एवं करोमि । इ-  
60 [ति] परिक्रामतः । विद्रू । वयस्व<sup>13</sup> [i\*] पेच्छ [i\*] एद तं रविरहत्तुरंग-  
मकंतिसच्छायं मरगयमंडवं । राजा । दक्षिणभुजस्यंदनं सूचयित्वा (i)  
सप्रत्याशं । सखे [i\*] साधु दर्शितं । एतच्चेतो हरति पुरतः  
पार्वतीकातकंठच्छायाकांतं मरकतशिलामंडपं श्लक्ष्णमच्छोः । येनोवां-  
तैर्युतिकिसलयैर्निङ्गुतानामलीनां<sup>14</sup> मालात्मान खलु विहणुते मञ्जुना  
गुजितेन ॥ [५६ ॥\*] इति परिक्रामतः ॥
- 61 [रा]जा । तस्या लोलदृशः स्तनौ सहृदयौ सम्यक् प्रमाणोद्धतावुद्धतुं  
निजदोषमप्रतिज्ञतावाक्रातकचांतरौ । सरस्वौ<sup>15</sup> नवपत्रमगिरचनारंभेण

<sup>1</sup> See p 120 below, L.<sup>2</sup> Read सवैलक्ष्य<sup>3</sup> Read प्रत्यप°.<sup>4</sup> Read °याप्यद्य<sup>5</sup> See p 120 below, J<sup>6</sup> Read वाहो.<sup>7</sup> Read निःक्रामति.<sup>8</sup> See p 120 below, K, the स्व is spoiled in the inked estampage from which the Plates were prepared, but is quite clear and regular in the two other copies<sup>9</sup> See p. 120 below, L.<sup>10</sup> Read निःक्रान्ति.<sup>11</sup> Corrected by the engraver from दशेर्दूरे.<sup>12</sup> See p 121 below, A.<sup>13</sup> See p. 121 below, B.<sup>14</sup> The engraver has erased an *anusvara* above the ना of °ताना°.<sup>15</sup> Read सरस्वौ नवपत्र°





- वादस्थले [मा]ध्यस्थेपि ययोर्वलिचयमधस्तस्थौ तनुप्रातिभ ॥ [५७ ॥\*]  
 इति परिक्रम्योपसृत्य नायिकां पश्यन् सहर्षाखं धृतिनिश्वास विमुच्य ।  
 उपधाय वयस्या[ङ्गं] ज्ञानत[ल्यो]त्पलाङ्कुरा । वियोगयोगनिद्रायामियमास्ते  
 62 [प्रि\*][या] मम ॥ [५८ ॥\*] तद्भवतु [१\*] निर्वर्षयामि तावत् । ततः  
 प्रविशति यथानिर्दिष्टा नायिका सखी च । राजा [१\*] स्वगत ।  
 अहह । सुखज्योत्स्नाकुरैरस्याः पीते तमसि मांसले । इद्रनीलांश-  
 [वः] शेषाः परभागं दधत्यमी ॥ [५९ ॥\*] सकरुणच[म]त्कार ।  
 मरकतमयमेदिन्यां भा[ति] प्रतिविविता क्लशांगीय । अंतर्जलशयनीयं  
 तापेन निषेवमाणेव ॥ [६० ॥\*] वसंत । सकरुणमाकाशे ॥ क (१)  
 63 . . [वा] वलआइ<sup>३</sup> व मयरइय जयसि सन्हमज्जाए । त चिय हंत  
 कुणतो णिज्जीवं होहिसि कहं व ॥ [६१ ॥\*] नायिका । व[सं]त-  
 लीला वाष्पार्द्रमवलोक्य (१) सगद्ग[दं] । अज्जे<sup>३</sup> । तस्मि<sup>४</sup> सहाव[सु]हए  
 सव्वकलासगयस्मि दिक्के वि । धिप्पेमि ओसही विय सी दूरं दुल्लहो  
 राया । [६२ ॥\*] राजा (१) कुसुमान्यवचित्य (१) च्छन्नं<sup>५</sup> च्छन्नमुपसृत्य  
 तैर्नायिकामेकैकेन प्रहरति । नायिका । स- (१)  
 64 . . . विगं (१) राजानमवलोक्य । हृद्दी<sup>३</sup> । एस णिहओ पच्चक्खो ज्जेव  
 कुसुमाउहो मं मन्दभाइणिं पहरेदि । ता परित्तायदु २ अज्जा  
 [१\*] इति वसतलीलामालिगितुमिच्छंती भूच्छंति । राजा [१\*]  
 सहसोप[सृ]त्य । हा प्रिये पारिजातमजरि [१\*] देहि मे प्रतिवचनं  
 [१\*] इति सकरुण नायिकाहृदयस्पर्शं नाटयति । वसंत । राजा-  
 नमवलोक्य (१) नायिका वीजयंती साश्वासं  
 65 [सकर\*][ण] च । वच्छे<sup>३</sup> [१\*] समस्सस २ [१\*] ण खु एसो कुसु-  
 माउहो [१\*] तुह हिययवल्लहो खु भट्टा<sup>३</sup> एसो । नायिका (१) संज्ञां  
 लभते । राजा । साश्वास निर्वर्ष्य । यत्सद्यः- पुटभेदसालसलसत्यक्षां-  
 चले चक्षुषी सोलंपस्तनया प्रसीदति धृतिश्वासत्रिया यन्मुखं । यच्चायं  
 पुलकः पुरा परिचितस्पर्शोपलंभात्तनौ तेनेयं सुतनुर्वभूव विधुरे जीवार्गला  
 मे हृदि ॥ [६३ ॥\*] नायिका (१) राजा-  
 66 [नमुप\*]लभ्य (१) ससाध्वसमुत्थायात्मानं पर्यवस्थापयति । धृतिनिःश्वास-  
 सुसृज्य (१) वसंतलीलां प्रत्यपवा[रि]तकेन । अज्जे<sup>३</sup> [१\*] अइ वल्लहे

\*Read 'तल्लो'.

\*Read नस्थि.

See p. 121 below, F.

\* See p 121 below, C

\* Read वृत्त<sup>३</sup>

\* Corrected by the engraver from भाट.

\* See p 121 below, D.;

\* See p 121 below, E.

\* See p 121 below, G

- वि परवसे जणे केरिसो वारं वारमणुवंधनिव्वंधो । ता एहि [1\*]  
गच्छह् । इति राजानं सलज्जाभिमानमपांगेनावलोक्य पराधुखो परि-  
क्रमितुमिच्छति । राजा । सौख्य (1) यादौ धृत्वा नायिकां  
निर्वर्णयन् स्वगत । उत्थान क-
- 67 [थमप्य\*]जायत गतिस्त्रांसु मामीदृते वैलक्ष्याददनेन्दुनैय वलितं दृष्टिस्तु  
सार्द्रा मयि । अगान्वेव पराधुखानि पुलको मत्पक्षपातो 'पुनर्मान-  
प्राथमकल्पिकी मृगदृशयेष्टैव चिन्तयते ॥ [६४ \*\*] अपि च ॥  
तल्लेदीवरसुद्राभिरंकितानि मृगीदृशः । सुरभिस्त्रेदविदूनि मदयत्वंगकानि  
मां ॥ [६५ \*\*] ससृष्टातिरेकं । उत्थान जघनेन विघ्नितमभूदस्याः क-
- 68 [क\*]रो नीवीरचणसौविदपदवीं यामः प्रकामं गतः । नीरगी-  
सिचयाचल कुचतटे वध्नाति वामेतरस्तन्वग्यास्त्रपयावगुंठितमिदं लीलायितं  
जृम्भते ॥ [६६ \*\*] प्रकाश । अयि अयिसुखि' मान मुच दृष्टि-  
प्रसादैरुपजनय सुभिचं खेरनीलोत्पलाना । अपि भवतु भवत्याः  
कीमलालापभग्या भगिति गलितगर्वी वल्लकीनां निनादः ॥ [६७ \*\*]  
इति प्र- (1)
- 69 [णमति] । नायिका (1) हस्ताभ्या राजान किरीटेन प्रेरयंती सञ्चितम-  
पसरति । विदू । मा<sup>१</sup> कव्वि कोवि इह देवीए परिअणो सचरेदि ।  
ता आसासेहि कंठगहेण तुरियं जेव मद्दाभायं विअयसिरिं । राजा  
[1\*] आलिंग्य (1) सुहृत्तमिवानंदसुद्रां नाटयित्वा (1) स्वगतं । शीघ्र-  
मतर्मुखैर्भूत्वा विलीनं नवनीतवत् । करणैः सगंलाभान्मे सुखाद्वैते  
मनः स्थित । [६८ \*\*]
- 70 [अ]पि च । उन्मीलितपुलकांकुरस्तनतटस्त्रे<sup>२</sup>दां वुजं वालितत्रीखड्गप्रभविष्णुसौरभगुण-  
ग्राही हठालिगने । आनंदायुतरगसंगमचमत्कारयिया शीतलो विच्छेद-  
ज्वरमावयोर्धृतिभवः<sup>३</sup> श्लासानिलः पीतवान् ॥ [६९ \*\*] ततः प्रविशति  
ताडकहस्ता कनकलेखा ॥ कनक । सचितासंभ्रम । मए<sup>४</sup> महारा-  
यस्स . . . . .
- 71 [ल\*]द्धा ण उण इत्थि त्ति अज्ज जाव भट्टिणी विप्पलडा । अज्ज उण  
देवीए सयं जेव उल्लिहिय सव्वं उवल्लं । अह णिमित्तमेत्तं जाद  
हि । अव्वो सामिणिओअस्स अवस्सकारणिज्जदा [1\*] जेण ज्जेव देविं

<sup>१</sup> Corrected by the engraver from पुनर्मान°<sup>२</sup> Corrected by the engraver from °सुखी<sup>३</sup> See p 121 below, H.<sup>४</sup> Corrected by the engraver from स्त्रे.<sup>५</sup> The engraver has struck out a secondary s before the भ, and another before the प, of °भवः.<sup>६</sup> See p 121 below, L.

वचिदु अम्भलिदा तं जेव महारायं देवीए निओएण उल्लुठिस्स ।  
पुरोवल्लोक्ख । एद<sup>1</sup> त मरगयमडवं । [इ] . . . . .  
. . . . .

72 . राजानमवल्लोक्ख स्वगत । अम्महे<sup>2</sup> [I\*] कत्तो आसासो भट्टिणीए (i) जीए  
वल्लहो अन्नगणणवरगसिणेह्वाउराणिवडिदहिअयहरिणी एवं हिडदि ।  
उपसृत्य (i) वैल्लत्ता<sup>3</sup> नाटयंती प्रकाशं । जयदु<sup>4</sup> २ भट्टा । सर्वे  
शंकते । राजा । नायिकां पृष्ठतः कृत्वा (i) कनकलेखाहस्ते ताड-  
कम[व]लो[क्ख] (i) स्वगत । अ[वे] . . . . .

73 . त्या देव्या दोषोद्धनेन निपुणमुल्लुठिताः स्मः । प्रकाश । भट्टे । अथ  
खल्वकारणकुपितापि देवी प्रसादनीयेति त्वामेव प्रतिपालयतामस्माकमत्र  
दिनमतिक्रांतं । त्वत्साहायकसापेक्ष्य<sup>5</sup> ह्येतत्कार्यं । कनक । सनस-  
स्मितं । भट्टा<sup>6</sup> [I\*] जा एसा अम्हाण दुदीया भट्टिणी तए पडिं  
दितेण रोसाविदा चिड्ढदि (i) . . . . .

74 [रा\*]जा । स्मिन्वा । कनकलेखे [I\*] उभयमप्येतत्कार्यं त्वय्येवायतते ।  
तत्किं प्रष्टव्यं भवत्या । कनक । ताडंकमर्पयति । राजा । गृहीत्वा  
स्वगतं । कर्णालकरणं देव्या विवस्थानं जयन्त्रियः । 'संप्रत्युभयथाप्येष  
ताडकः प्रतिभाति मे ॥ [७० ॥\*] प्रकाशं । किं पुनः कारणं ताड-  
कप्रेषणे । कनक । एद<sup>3</sup> कारणं । एद ताडको अज्ज ग[र] ।  
. . . . .

75 . [व] कषाहरणं देवीए धारिद । अज्ज खु वसंतलीलाविअङ्गोडीमहुमत्त-  
सवणजुअल[स्स] अहिणव[सो]हग्ग[सु]देरमणहरकुसुममजरीरसस्मि [धेण]-  
कृच्चरणच[रि]दस्स भत्तुणो धारागिरिपमदुज्जाणे जेव सब्बो दिणो अदि-  
कंतो । रयणी उण मए विणा कध गमिस्सदि त्ति विर[ह] ।  
. . . . .

76 [पे\*]सिदो । वसंतलीलाविदग्धौ (i) सभयमन्योन्य पश्यतः । राजा ।  
स्वगतं । अये वक्रोक्तिपरिपाटीपाटवन्नापन । यदि वा (i) देवीं  
सर्वकलामधिकृत्य स्तोकमेतत् । किं तु [I\*] देवी प्रसादनीयेत्येना  
मुंचामि कातरां विरहे । स्वहृदयमयोस्मि जातो वज्रं तु सुओमलं  
हृदयात् ॥ [७१ ॥\*] नेपथ्ये । [अ] . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> See p. 121 below, J<sup>2</sup> See p. 121 below, L<sup>3</sup> Read सप्रभुभय<sup>0</sup>.<sup>4</sup> See p. 121 b low, K<sup>5</sup> Read सापेक्ष<sup>6</sup> See p. 121 below, N<sup>7</sup> Read वैल्लद<sup>8</sup> See p. 121 below, M

- 77 . णि प्राची कोकिलमचकेन तमसा मालिन्यमालंवते । या प्रातः परिरंभ-  
निर्भरक[रं] दोषापलापक्षम लब्ध्वा रागिणमेव<sup>1</sup> वक्ष्यति सुखं स्मेरं  
प्रसादयिष्या ॥ [७२ ॥\*] अपि च । विस्फूर्जत्करदीपिकांक्षुरमरुन्धनावधूतं  
जगद्वाणप्राणमपल्लम विदधतः कर्पूरभंगानिलैः । सिंहहारि नि[वा]  
. . . . .
- 78 . [त]वदिपाठतुमुलं ताम्यंति शृगारिणः ॥ [७३ ॥\*] किं च । नासीरचंद्रातप-  
दीपिकाभिः पूर्वाचलेनातरितोनुमेयः । अपींदुरत्ताम्यति राजभावाद्भूमं-  
डलाखडल सेवितुं त्वां ॥ [७४ ॥\*] नायिका । वसंतलीलां प्रति  
सकारुण । तए<sup>2</sup> वि देवीए भएण मदभाइणी पारिआयमंजरी परिहरि-  
दव्वा । अदो ज्जे[व] . . . . .
- 79 . [ज\*]णे केरिसो वा[रं] धारमणुवधणिब्धो<sup>3</sup> । वसंतलीला नायिकां [सा]-  
समालिगति । राजा । अपवारितकेन नायिकां चिवुके सृष्ट्वा । प्रिये  
[।\*] अलमन्यथा संभावनया । सुहृत्तमास्थानमधिष्ठाय प्रतिनिवृत्त एवा-  
स्मि । वसंतलीलां प्रति । आर्ये । भवत्यास्मद्भृदयं गतया लालनीयेयं  
तावद[स्म] . . . . .
- 80 . [वि]दूषककनकलेखाभ्यां सह परिक्रामति । सकारुणं पृष्ठतोवलोक्य (।)  
स्वगतं । आः प्रिये पारिजातमंजरी । उल्लिख्यमानचंद्राशुदृष्टाकराले  
निशाचरोमुखे सुच्यमानासि । नायिका । सास्र । महाभाय<sup>4</sup> [।\*]  
इत्तिग दिट्ठो सि मए मदभाइणीए । राजा । सव्यथमात्मगतं ।  
किमपि मरु . . . . .
- 81 . हृदयशिलायां विश्वशृंगारशिली । तव ऋजुगुणसूत्रन्यासरेखांकितायां  
लिखति विशिखटकैः पुष्पकेतुः प्रशस्ति ॥ [७५ ॥\*] इति निःक्रांतः<sup>5</sup> ।  
नायिका । सानुतापसुद्धीविकावलोकितकेन । कधं<sup>6</sup> लोयणपहं अदिक्कंती  
परव्वसो जणो । स्वगतं । ता' दाणि जं देवीए कारिदव्व तमहं  
सयं जेव [करइस्सं मं]द[भाइणी ।]
- 82 [इ]ति सोद्वेगमुज्जांतहृदया परिक्रामति । वसत । सौत्सुक्य । नूणमे-  
दाए<sup>7</sup> किंपि अमगलमज्जवसिदं । ता सव्वधा धारइस्सं ॥ इति  
निःक्रांताः<sup>8</sup> सर्वे [।\*] ताडकदर्पणो नाम द्वितीयोद्धः ॥ श्रीः<sup>10</sup> ॥ ॥

<sup>1</sup> Corrected by the engraver from °णमेव<sup>2</sup> See p 122 below, A<sup>3</sup> The same passage has occurred before in line 66<sup>4</sup> See p 122 below, B<sup>5</sup> Read निःक्रांत<sup>6</sup> See p 122 below, C<sup>7</sup> See p 122 below, D<sup>8</sup> See p 122 below, E<sup>9</sup> Read निःक्रांता .<sup>10</sup> The visarga was inserted by the engraver on revision



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रूपकारप्रकांडस्य सीद्वाकस्यांगजन्मना । प्रशस्तिरियमुक्तीर्ण्णा रामदेवेन  
शिल्पिना ॥ [७६ ॥\*] ❀ ॥

## SANSKRIT TRANSLATION OF THE PRAKRIT PASSAGES 1

A.—Text, line 2 —आज्ञापयत्वार्यः ।

B—Text, 1 4—यदार्थं आज्ञापयति । किं च मयापि श्रुतं यथा मलया-  
निलमन्दमन्दान्दोलनप्रसरद्भव<sup>२</sup>माकन्दमकुलमकरन्दपिण्डितपरागपुष्पपिञ्जर्यमाणमञ्जरीकवल-  
परस्परार्पण<sup>३</sup>केलिपर्याकुलकलकण्ठमिथुनमधुरकलकलहेलापहस्तित<sup>४</sup>विहस्तमानवती<sup>५</sup>मानमपि  
परिमलतरगचार<sup>६</sup>चम्पकचपकमध्वसर<sup>७</sup>विलम्बित<sup>८</sup>षट्करणचारणरणभ्रणत्कारमुखरमपि यन्त्र-  
कुञ्जरकरशीकरासारसेकसरमविकसद्द्विविधविटपकुडङ्गवद्धान्वकारमपि धारागिरिलीलीद्यानं  
परिहृत्य कौतूहल<sup>९</sup>प्रफुल्ललोचनो भारती<sup>१०</sup>भवनाभिमुख<sup>११</sup> सद्दसेति परापतित एव लोक  
इति । तत्कथय कीदृश<sup>१२</sup>मत्र कथासविधानकम् ।

C—Text, 17—अथ किम् ।

D—Text, 18—आर्य । यत्र चतुरङ्गवलययुगलधूलीनिकरैः<sup>13</sup> कवलिते मार्तण्डमण्डले  
स्वयवरकौतूहलाकुलत्व<sup>14</sup> मिलत्सुरसुन्दरीमुखमन्दचन्द्रातपेन निजपरविभागः संजातः श्रूयते ।

E—Text, 1 9—ततस्ततः ।

F —Text, l 10 —ततस्ततः ।

G—Text, 111—आर्य । तत्त्विं दिव्यमानुष्याः सा कथा ।

H—Text, l 12.—ततस्ततः ।

I—Text, 1 14—पार्श्वे पुनरन्तःपुरिकेव काप्येषा ।

J—Text, l 15—आर्यपुत्र । लवफलिकां गृहाणैताम् ।

कोकिलस्वरबाहुल्येन मनीहरा प्रथममञ्जर्येषा ।

तवोत्सवे खलु मया विनियुक्ता गायन्या यथा ॥ १२ ॥

K—Text, l 17—अहो आश्चर्यम् । भागधेयेन वयस्यस्य कुसुममञ्जरी फलत्वेन हस्ते चटिता ।

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes — *Dś* = Hemachandra's *Dśindamālā*, ed by Prof Pischel. — *Ha's* = Hala's *Saptasatikam*, ed. by Prof Weber — *Hem* = Hemachandra's *Prākṛit Grammar*, ed by Prof Pischel. — *Jacobi* = Prof Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahāśāstrī* — *Pā* = Dhanspala's *Pāyalachchāt Namamālā*, ed by Prof Bühler — *Pischel* = Prof Pischel's *Prākṛit Grammar*

<sup>2</sup> Hòm IV 78

<sup>3</sup> Н.м. I 63

\* H&h, p 531, s r ανακαττήσια

\* For *mānamsint* = *mānaratt* see *ibid* p. 99

• Def III 1

1 Dés Y 24

<sup>8</sup> Hem IV 259

<sup>a</sup> Hêm I 117 and II 99

<sup>10</sup> *Gaṇḍarāho*, verse 107

11 *Des VIII* 70

<sup>12</sup> Pischel, § 121.

<sup>13</sup> *Déf* II 13

<sup>14</sup> With *halluypphala* compare *hallapphala*, *Dés* VIII 59, *hallaṛhala*, *Hala*, p 27 f, and *halloḥala*.

A —Text, l 18 —

सुप्रभातयोसहितः सूर्योऽपि तवोत्सवेन क्रीडन् ।  
बालातपसिन्दूर दिगङ्गनानां मुखे क्षिपति ॥ १७ ॥  
यत्सोमन्तावृतं त्वया गूर्जरेन्द्ररमणीनाम् ।  
मन्ये सिन्दूरेण तेनैव रमते तव लोकः ॥ १८ ॥  
बाणैरर्धनारी विषमशरेणापि निजरिपू रचितः ।  
अर्जुनवर्मस्त्वया पुनरवला एव विरचिता रिपवः ॥ १९ ॥

B —Text, l 19 —वयस्य । प्रेक्षस्व प्रेक्षस्व प्रहर्षक्रीडितं नागरजनस्य ।

C —Text, l. 21 —आर्यपुत्र । एतमप्याकर्णय समयसुखापकं<sup>1</sup> हिन्दोलकम् ।

D —Text, l 22.—वयस्य । ज्ञातं मयापि । एष स हिन्दोलको यत्र हिन्दोल-  
कचतुर्थ्या स्त्रियः क्रीडन्ति ।

E —Text, l. 23 —कथं गेयं न जानामि । यदा मे ब्राह्मणी बहुविकटदन्त-  
सुन्दरं सुखं प्रसार्य मङ्गलानि गायति तदाहं गोपीगेयग्रहिलो<sup>2</sup> हरिण इव  
प्राणान्दातुमिच्छामि ।

F —Text, l 25 —वयस्य । त्वमपि देवीं पूरय<sup>3</sup> ।

G —Text, l. 26.—वयस्य । यदि त्वमेतया दासीदुहित्रा कनकलेखया सह मम  
पाणिग्रहणं कारयसि तदाहमपि त्वमिव नागरिकनारीसहितो वसन्तोत्सवं मान-  
यामि ।

H —Text, l 27 —आर्यपुत्र । पाणिग्रहणवचनेन स्मारितास्मि । मया माधवी-  
क्षतया सहकारस्य पाणिग्रहः कारयितव्यः । युवामपि तत्र निमग्नितौ तिष्ठथः ।  
तद्दिदानीमुपसभारसपादनकार्येणोद्यानं गमिष्यामि ।

I —Text, l 28 —वयस्य । न खल्वेतद्विस्मरणम्<sup>4</sup> । स्मरणमेवैतत् ।

J —Text, l 29 —वयस्य । मन्ये पारिजातमञ्जरोसनाथमपि ते शून्यं हृदयम् ।

K.—Text, l 30 —सुखकारिणी भवतु मध्याह्नसंध्या देवस्य ।

दृष्टितानां काननेषु तव रिपुरमणीनां बिम्बननिभेन ।

वदनानि चारसुक्तासु सलिलकार्येणैव विशन्ति ॥ २८ ॥

L —Text, l 30 —वयस्य ।

देवेनाह्वयनिर्जितानां सहसा बन्दीकृतान्तःपुरं  
ददता<sup>5</sup> शमिता वियोगवेदना<sup>6</sup> येषां वसन्तोद्गमे ।

<sup>1</sup> Compare *suhdres* = *sukhoyats* in Hala and in the *Gāṇḍavaho*

<sup>2</sup> With *gahilla* for *grahita* compare *ganthilla* for *granthila*, Pischel, § 595

<sup>3</sup> Compare *dhare* in the *Gaudavaho*, verse 231, and Jacobi, p. 133, s. v. *dhariṣṭha*

<sup>4</sup> Pischel, § 313, end

<sup>5</sup> Hōm II 84

<sup>6</sup> For *dinta* = *dadat* see Jacobi, p. 117, s. v. *des*.

<sup>7</sup> *Pd* p. 96

एते ते नत्वा पादयुगलं दण्डप्रणामेन ते  
 पात्रीकृत्तभरेण भूमिपतयो व्रजन्ति<sup>1</sup> वासालयम् ॥ २८ ॥  
 तत्किमिह स्थितेन । एहि । धारागिरिलीलोद्यानमेव गच्छावः ।

A—Text, l 35—

उत्तुङ्गे स्तनमण्डलस्य शिखर श्रीर्ध्रप्रवालप्रभा-  
 पुञ्च कुञ्जरगामिनी वहति सा चिन्तानमदानना ।  
 अन्तर्निर्हृत्य खासलहरीसार्धेन पर्युत्सुकं  
 दूरारोहनिभालित<sup>2</sup>प्रियतमं रक्तमिव चित्तं निजम् ॥ ३५ ॥

B—Text, l 36—राजागमनप्रवृत्तिसुपलब्धम् ।

C.—Text, l. 38.—यदाज्ञापयति प्रियतमः ।

D.—Text, l 40—वयस्य । युक्तमनुमानं ते । यतो वनस्पतीना चन्द्रो राजा ।

E—Text, l 41—वयस्य । यथैष समकालोत्काण्डितकेलिदीर्घिकाकलहंसकूजितकर-  
 म्बितो ऽसमञ्जसमञ्जीरकलकलो यथा च <sup>3</sup>स्तोकोष्मायमाणकर्पूरपरिमलोन्मिश्रितः  
 स्नान्तकुसुमामोदः प्रत्यासन्नो भवति तथाहप्रथमिकामिलन्तीभिर्विकटनितम्बोरुभरपरि-  
 खलचरणारविन्दाभिर्दक्षिणानिलान्दोलनशील<sup>4</sup>वसन्तमालामनोहराभिः स्थूल<sup>5</sup>स्तनमण्डलो-  
 हहनपरिग्रहमयसितमन्दप्रत्यायमानताम्बूल<sup>6</sup>रसाभिर्वारविलासिनीभिः सेव्यमानाभ्युत्थिता  
 देवी ।

F—Text, l 43—वयस्य । इतोपि प्रेक्षस्व । यथैष कुसुमाकरो मम संमुखं  
 संज्ञा<sup>7</sup> करोति तथासंशयं पारिजातमंजरीं वसन्तलीलया सहेहैव सचारयिष्यति ।

G—Text, l 44—अहो अरिष्टमरिष्टम् ।

चूतश्चम्पककुसुमैश्चम्पकः पाटलाप्रसूनैः ।

वकुलः शिरीषपुष्पैर्विकसितो हन्ताद्यर्यम् ॥ ४३ ॥

H—Text, l 45—भर्तः । न खल्वेय विचक्षणत्वेन विदग्धः<sup>8</sup> किं तु विशि-  
 षेण दग्ध इति ।

I—Text, l. 45—आर्ये । अन्यपादपानन्यकुसुमैर्विकासयितुमस्ति मे कौतूहलम् ।

J—Text, l. 45—वत्से । एष एव राजा तवोपाध्यायो भविष्यति ।

K.—Text, l 46—कुतो<sup>9</sup> ऽस्माक तादृश भागधेयम् ।

L—Text, l 46—आर्यपुत्र । एतत्तन्माधवीसहकारमिथुनम् ।

M—Text, l. 47.—अब्जो<sup>10</sup> । एवमेव युष्मादृशो सुग्धा दूरे गाढोत्कण्ठाशीलाः  
 प्रियसकाशे पराङ्मुख्यो भवन्ति ।

<sup>1</sup> Hem. IV 225.

<sup>2</sup> Püschel, § 536.

<sup>3</sup> With *tammōla* compare *tambōla*, Hem L 124

<sup>4</sup> Hem II 40

<sup>5</sup> Pd p 79

<sup>6</sup> Hem I. 124 and 255

<sup>7</sup> Hem L 124

<sup>8</sup> Püschel, § 197

<sup>9</sup> Hem II 45

<sup>10</sup> Jacobi, p 149

<sup>11</sup> Hem II 204.

A—Text, l 47—आर्ये । त्वमन्यदेव किमपि जल्पन्ती<sup>1</sup> तिष्ठसि । अहं पुनरे-  
तावदेव<sup>2</sup> भणामि यदन्यपादपानन्यकुसुमैर्विकासयितुमस्ति मे कौतूहलम् ।

B—Text, l 47—देवी यावदुत्तरामुखस्थिता माधवीसङ्कारमिधुनमनुरागविह्वला<sup>3</sup>  
भर्तुः पश्चिमासुखस्थितस्य दर्शयन्ती तिष्ठति 'तावन्मुहूर्तं' पारिजातमञ्जरीं प्रकटा<sup>4</sup>  
करोमि यथा देव्याः कुचाभ्याभरणे प्रतिबिम्बितां प्रेक्षत एनां राजा ।

C—Text, l 51—वत्से । प्रेक्षस्व देव्यास्ताडङ्गस्य रामणीयकं यद्राजा सावहि-  
त्यमेकदृष्ट्या प्रेक्षमाणस्तिष्ठति ।

D—Text, l 51—अम्भहे<sup>5</sup> । किमेष राजा मे प्रतिबिम्बं प्रेक्षते ऽथ वा' देव्यास्ता-  
डङ्गमेव । तत्तावदमृतकालकूटयोरन्तराले दोलायितास्मि ।

E—Text, l 52—वत्से । मान्यथा मन्यस्व ।

देव्यास्ताडङ्गे कर्णाभरणाधिदेवतामिव त्वाम् ।

शङ्कानुरागनिभृतः<sup>6</sup> प्रेक्षते प्रतिबिम्बितां राजा ॥ ४८ ॥

यदि पुनर्न प्रत्येषि<sup>7</sup> तत्क्षणार्धं त्वां पल्लवान्तरितां करोमि यथा प्रतिबि-  
म्बशून्यं ताडङ्गं प्रेक्षमाणस्य कीदृशी दृष्टिर्भर्तुर्भवतीति जानामि ।

F—Text, l 53—वत्से । प्रेक्षस्व प्रेक्षस्व ।

ताडङ्गे तव प्रतिमामपश्यन्ती<sup>8</sup> भटिति<sup>9</sup> भर्तुर्दृष्टिः ।

विस्मृतनिधानस्थानिव शून्यपर्याकुला जाता ॥ ४९ ॥

G.—Text, l 56—अव्वो । कुतः पुनरस्या हताशया अद्य विसंवाद<sup>12</sup>संसुखी  
सविकारा दृष्टिः ।

H.—Text, l 56—

प्रतिभात्यार्यपुत्रः सङ्गावस्त्रेहसुन्दरस्वभावः ।

असुखमपीव कथयति<sup>13</sup> पुनर्दक्षिणनयनं स्फुरन्मे ॥ ५३ ॥

I—Text, l 57—सखि । किं त्वया हसितम् ।

J—Text, l. 57—अथ किम् ।

K.—Text, l 58—

चन्द्रस्यैव तव मेघान्तरे क्षणदर्शनेन या सञ्जिता ।

सीदामि सा चकोरीव पुनरपि लथ्यन्तर्यति ॥ ५४ ॥

L—Text, l. 58.—आर्ये । नूनं देवीं प्रसादयितुं गमिष्यति राजा । तदेहि ।  
गच्छावः ।

<sup>1</sup> Pischel, § 298

<sup>2</sup> Hém I 271

<sup>3</sup> Pischel, § 56.

<sup>4</sup> Hém IV 181.

<sup>5</sup> Hém IV. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Hém II 157.

<sup>7</sup> Hém I 44

<sup>8</sup> Hém I 131.

<sup>9</sup> Hém I. 42

<sup>10</sup> Pischel, § 209

<sup>11</sup> Hém IV 284.

<sup>12</sup> Pischel, § 281.

<sup>13</sup> P4 verso 248.

A.—Text, l. 59 —वयस्य । मारितस्य भुक्तस्य चैकमेव नाम । स्तोको बहुर्वापराधो  
ऽपराध एव । तत्संभावय महाभागिनीं पारिजातमञ्जरीम् ।

B.—Text, l. 60 —वयस्य । प्रेक्षस्व । एतत्तद्रविरथतुरगमकान्तिसच्छाय मरकत-  
मण्डपम् ।

C.—Text, l. 63 —

. . . . वल्ल्यानीव मकरध्वज जयसि स्तच्छा<sup>1</sup>मध्यया ।  
तामेव हन्त कुर्वन्निर्जीवां भविष्यसि कथमिव ॥ ६१ ॥

D.—Text, l. 63 —आर्ये ।

यस्मिन्स्वभावसुखदे सर्वकलासगते दृष्टेपि ।  
दीप्य<sup>2</sup> ओषधिरिव स दूरं दुर्लभो राजा ॥ ६२ ॥

E.—Text, l. 64 —हा धिक्<sup>3</sup> । एष निर्दयः प्रत्यक्ष एव कुसुमायुधो मां  
मन्दभागिनीं प्रहरति । तत्परित्रायतां परित्रायतामार्या ।

F.—Text, l. 65 —वत्से । समाश्रयसिद्धिं समाश्रयसिद्धिं । न खल्वेष कुसुमायुधः ।  
तव हृदयवत्सलः खलु भर्तृपुत्रः ।

G.—Text, l. 66 —आर्ये । अयि वल्लभेपि परवशे<sup>4</sup> जने कीदृशो वार  
वारमनुबन्धनिर्वन्धः । तदेहि । गच्छावः ।

H.—Text, l. 69 —मा कथमपि<sup>5</sup> कोपीह देव्याः परिजनः संचरत् ।  
तदान्वासय कण्ठग्रहेण त्वरित<sup>6</sup>मेव महाभागा विजयश्रियम् ।

I.—Text, l. 70 —मया महाराजस्य . . . . . लब्धा  
न पुनः स्त्रीत्यद्य यावद्भट्टिनी विप्रलब्धा । अद्य पुनर्देव्या स्वयमेवोत्तिष्ठत्य सर्वसुप-  
लब्धम् । अहं निमित्तमात्र<sup>7</sup> जातास्मि । अब्जो स्वामिनियोगस्थावश्यंकरणीयता ।  
येनैव देवीं वञ्चयितुमभ्यर्थिता तमेव महाराजं देव्या नियोगेनोत्तुष्टिष्यामि ।

J.—Text, l. 71 —एतत्तन्मरकतमण्डपम् ।

K.—Text, l. 72 —अम्भहे । कुत आद्यासी भट्टिन्या यस्या वल्लभो ऽन्याङ्गनानव-  
रङ्गस्त्रेह्वागुरानिपतितहृदयहरिण एवं ह्रिण्डते ।

L.—Text, l. 72 —जयतु जयतु भर्ता ।

M.—Text, l. 73 —भर्तुः । यैषास्माकं द्वितीया<sup>8</sup> भट्टिनी त्वया पृष्ठ<sup>9</sup> ददता  
रोषिता तिष्ठति . . . . .

N.—Text, l. 74 —एतत्कारणम् । एष ताड्यो ऽद्य . . . . .  
कर्णाभरणं देव्या धारितम् । अद्य खलु वसन्तलीलाविदग्धगोष्ठीमधुमत्तश्रवणयुग-

<sup>1</sup> For *saṅgha* (which is here written with the dental *n*) see Pischel, § 315

<sup>2</sup> Hém I 223.

<sup>3</sup> Hém II 192.

<sup>4</sup> Pischel, § 198.

<sup>5</sup> Hém I 29

<sup>6</sup> Hém IV 172

<sup>7</sup> Hém. I 81.

<sup>8</sup> Hém. I 94.

<sup>9</sup> Hém. I. 35 and 129.

लस्याभिनवसौभाग्यसौन्दर्यमजोहरकुसुममञ्जरीरसे स्त्रीन्यषड्वरणचरितस्य भर्तृधारागिरि-  
प्रमदोद्यान एव सर्वं 'दिनमतिक्रान्तम् । रज्जो पुनर्मया विना कथं गमिष्य-  
तीति विरह . . . . . प्रेषितः ।

A—Text, l 78—त्वयापि देव्या भयेन मन्दभागिनी पारिजातमञ्जरी परिहृतव्या ।  
अत एव . . . . . जने कीदृशो वारं वारमनुबन्धनिर्वन्धः ।

B—Text, l 80—महाभाग । 'एतावदृष्टोसि मया मन्दभागिन्या ।

C—Text, l 81—कथं लोचनपथमतिक्रान्तः परवशो जनः ।

D—Text, l 81—तदिदानीं यदेव्या कारयितव्यं तदहं स्वयमेव करिष्यामि  
मन्दभागिनी ।

E—Text, l 82—नूनमेतया किमप्यमङ्गलमध्यवसितम् । तत्सर्वं धारयिष्यामि ।

#### No. 10.—KARKALA INSCRIPTION OF BHAIRAVA II ,

SAKA-SAMVAT 1508

By H KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A

The village of Kārkaḷa, which is mentioned as Kārakaḷa in this inscription (text line 14) and other connected ones, is 18 miles east-south-east of Udipi, the head quarters of the tāluka in which it is situated, and 10 miles north of Mādabidūre. It is the largest Jaina settlement in the South Canara district of the Madras presidency and contains, besides the colossal image of Gummata,<sup>4</sup> a number of Jaina temples which are ruined and out of repair with the single exception of the Chaturmukhabasti.<sup>5</sup> This temple is situated opposite to the Jaina *maṭha*<sup>6</sup> at Kārkaḷa, on a hillock<sup>7</sup> half as high as the hill on which the colossus stands. Hiriyangadi, i.e. 'the big bāzār,' which is now a few furlongs distant from Kārkaḷa, but appears, from its very name, to have once formed the commercial quarter of the town,<sup>8</sup> contains, besides some *bastis*, a beautifully

<sup>1</sup> Fischel, § 176

<sup>2</sup> Compare Fischel, § 357

<sup>3</sup> Hām II 156

<sup>4</sup> A photograph of this colossus is given above, Vol VII Plate facing p 112

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed description of this temple by Mr Walhouse see *Ind Ant.* Vol V, p 39 f, Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol I p 89 f and the Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 6

<sup>6</sup> The Jaina *maṭha* at Karkala is presided over by a pontiff, just as the *maṭhas* at Mādabidūre, Sravana-Belgoḷa and Humcha. He bears the title Lalitakīrti and is reported to be the trustee of the Jaina temples at Kārkaḷa and in its neighbourhood. In the inscriptions at Hiriyangadi near Kārkaḷa, the teachers to whose pontificate Kārkaḷa and the surrounding country belonged are generally called Lalitakīrti bhāṭṭārakadēva, with the word *Maḷadhari* prefixed to it in two of them, viz Nos 66 and 70 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901. No 67 of the same collection makes Lalitakīrti the *vichārakartā* or 'supervisor' of the charity recorded therein, and No 70 says that these teachers belonged to the Kundakunda division, were lords of the lineage of Panasōka and members of the Kāḷōgragaṇa. In v 4 of the subjoined inscription, which does not mention their division (*anvaya*), it is stated that the Lalitakīrtis belonged to the Dēśigaṇa. Perhaps Kāḷōgragaṇa was a local branch of the Dēśigaṇa. Panasōkā has been identified with Hanasōge in the Mysore State, see above, Vol VII p 110, note 1

<sup>7</sup> The inscription gives this hill the name of Chikkabōṭṭa (i.e. 'the small hill') in order to distinguish it from the higher hill on which the colossus is set up.

<sup>8</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol V p 40



preserved Jaina pillar<sup>1</sup> (*mānastambha*)<sup>2</sup> A lithograph of a similar pillar at Venūr is given in *Ind Ant* Vol V Plate facing p 39 Prof Hultzsch, who has published<sup>3</sup> three of the inscriptions at Kārkala, asked me to edit the subjoined record. The black granite slab on which it is engraved is set up on the proper right of the western entrance into the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Chaturmukhabasti. At the top of the slab are, in relief, the following sculptures. In the centre, within a *mandapa* surmounted by a triple umbrella, is a Jaina figure squatting on a raised seat, the *mandapa* is flanked on both sides by a lampstand, and beyond the lampstand is the disk of the sun on one side and the crescent of the moon on the other, below the moon is the figure of a cow suckling its calf. The inscribed surface of the slab, including the erased lines at the end measures roughly 4 4½" by 3' 2"

The record is written in Kanarese characters of the period to which the inscription belongs, between two margins which are marked out on both sides of the slab by two double lines with a space of ⅓" between them. These double lines are entered on either margin up to l 42 where the main portion of the inscription ends. It contains eight Sanskrit verses (ll 1 to 8, l 15 f and l 49 f) and four short sentences (ll 1, 3 and 8) in the same language. The remainder of the inscription is in Kanarese prose. At the end is a diagram, consisting of a square bounded by a double line. Within this is another square, similarly bounded by a double line and sub-divided into 25 minor squares with single letters written in each. The diagram is inserted between ll 42 and 49 just in the centre of the slab, thereby dividing ll 43 to 48 into two equal halves. About a dozen syllables in l 42, the second halves of ll 43 to 46, the diagram itself and the remainder of the inscription are faintly engraved. A few lines at the end of the inscription are completely erased. Although comparatively modern, the Kanarese characters in which the inscription is written differ in many points from those of the present day. Aspirates are not generally distinguished by a vertical stroke added at the bottom of the letter, except in *pha* of *phala* (l 33), *da* is distinguished from *dha*, as in old Kanarese by a small opening at the right side of the letter; in *bha* the aspiration is marked by the *talakattu* and a small projecting stroke at the bottom of the left side, which seems to be the origin of the vertical stroke of the modern *bha*, *lha*, *gha*, and *tha* are distinguished, by their very form, from the corresponding unaspirates. *Chha*, *dha* and *tha* do not occur in their primary form as independent letters, but only in their subscript secondary forms. *Cha* is differentiated from *ba* sometimes by the *talakattu* alone (e.g. *cha* of *aicharu*<sup>4</sup> in l 40), and in other cases by the *talakattu* and a slight indenture at the middle of the left side (e.g. *cha* of *°chandra*, l 13), in modern Kanarese this indenture is projected out into a horizontal stroke. In cases, however, where the r-curl is added to *cha*, this horizontal stroke is necessarily introduced. The same remarks hold good as regards the indenture in the middle of *la*. The loop on the left side of *da* is not fully developed. *Ta* and *fa* still preserve their older forms. *Sha* is, as in old Kanarese, written like *pa*, with a small slanting stroke cutting its left side in the middle. *Ra*, which is now altogether replaced by the common *ra*, occurs in ll. 12 (twice), 17, 25, 27, 28,

<sup>1</sup> *South Canara Manual*, Vol I, p 19

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol V p 171, note 5. The *mānastambhas*, which are generally graceful, high and imposing, have to be distinguished from other Jaina pillars neither so tall as the former nor bearing any *mandapas* on their tops. These latter are called Brahmadeva pillars and appear to be usually set up in front of colossal statues. The Tyāgada-Brahmadeva Pillar (figured on Plate facing p 33 of the Introduction to Mr Rice's *Śrāvana-Belgola Inscriptions*) is set up opposite to the colossal statue on the Doddabetta hill at Śrāvana-Belgola, the Kūge-Brahmadeva pillar at the entrance into the *bastis* on the Chikkabetta hill of the same village, indicates perhaps the existence of the unfinished colossus on that hill (*ibid* p 29, note 1), and the colossi at Kārkala and Venūr have similar pillars in front of them, bearing an image of Brahmadeva on their tops (Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraphs 6 and 7).

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol VII p 109 ff

<sup>4</sup> A tentative transcript and translation of it was published by Mr Walhouse in *Ind Ant* Vol. V pp 40 ff

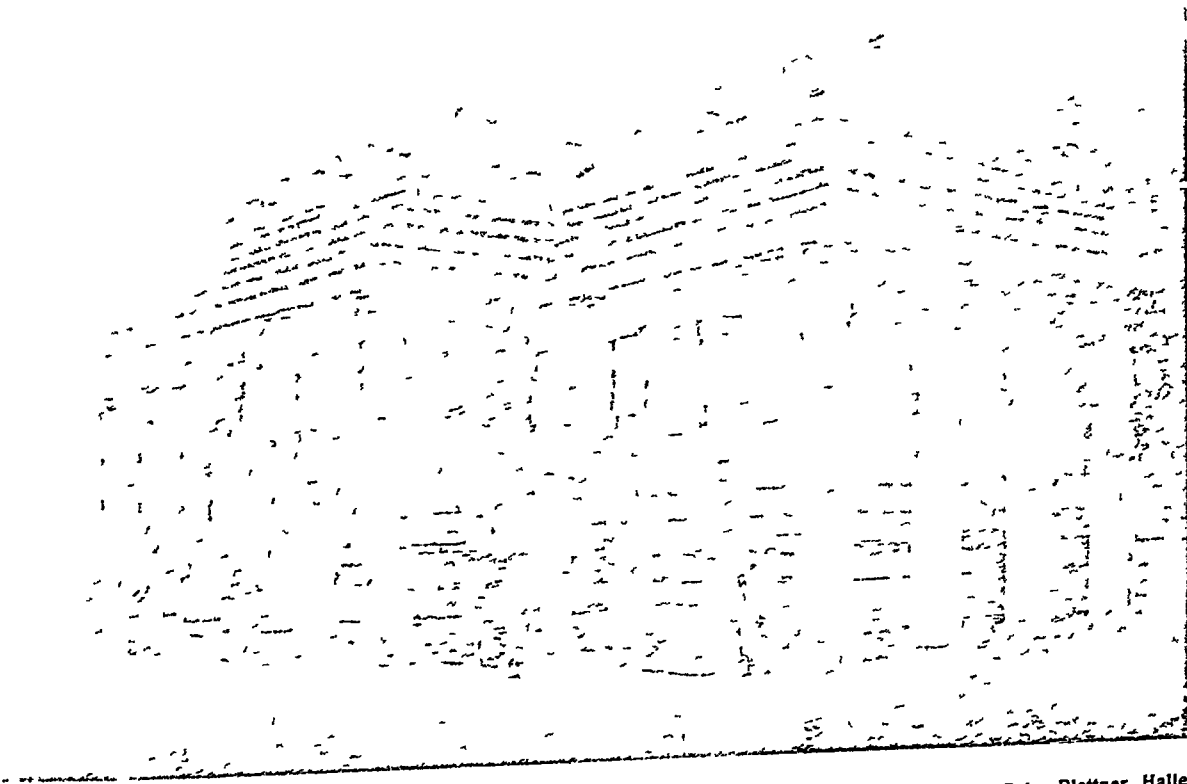
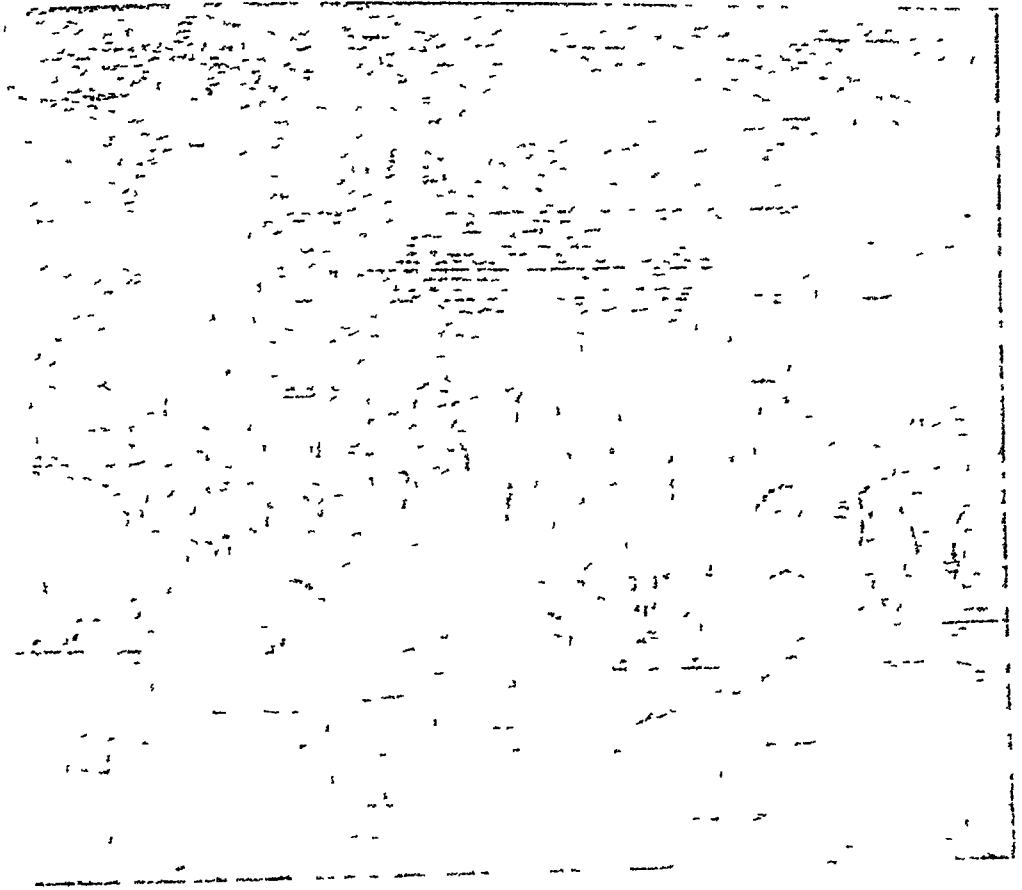
30, 32, 34, 37, and 43, *ḷa* is written in its proper form but looks like a hook with the *taḷekaffu* attached to it. Among vowels, initial *u* and *ū* which occur in ll. 37 and 9, respectively, are written exactly as in modern Telugu. The vowel-signs *i* and *ī* are not always distinguished; and where they are, *ī* is represented by a loop at the end of the *i*-curl, *e* resembles *i* in almost every respect, except that, before being added, it makes a small angle with the letter, which the *i*-curl does not. The angle perhaps is meant for the *taḷekaffu* which represents the *a*-sign, and this with the *i*-curl attached to it gives the compound *e*-sign. *o* and *ō* (the latter being occasionally distinguished from the former by a loop at the end of the *o* curl) are expressed, as in Telugu, by attaching to the top-stroke of the letter two small semi-circular curves, the second of which is bent down a little lower than the first. Exception is, however, made in the case of *ma*, *ya* and certain conjunct consonants where, as in modern Kanarese, *o* is denoted by *ḍ+ū*. Many of these remarks are found, on comparison, to be applicable also to the Harihar stone inscription of Achyutarāya of Śaka-Samvat 1460 (=A.D. 1538-39) which is photo-lithographed in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V Plate facing p. 362. It may be remarked that to this day the Jainas use an older Kanarese script than other Kanarese people, and that their way of writing *bha*, *ḷa* and *ka* and of affixing *i*, *e* and *o*-curls to consonants is not very different from what we find in this inscription. As regards orthography. The nasals preceding other letters of their class are invariably changed into an *anusvāra*, of double nasals of the same class, the first always becomes an *anusvāra*, provided it does not come after an *r*, the only exception being *nni* of °*pānni*° (l. 7), and the doubling of the consonant after an *r* is common. A hiatus between two vowels, which is not allowed by the rules of *sandhi*, occurs in °*travā* for °*travā*° (l. 9), °*raneyi*° for °*raneyi*° (l. 18), and °*sthāt*° for °*sthāy*° (l. 26). *śāl-* for *śāl-* (l. 19) and *śita* for *śita* (l. 41), double dental *n* for the double lingual *n*, the aspirate for the unaspirated letter and *vice versa* are purely graphical errors. Among words deserving particular mention are certain special phrases of Jaina ritual (*hālādharā*, *aṣṭādhnika*, *siddhachakra*, etc.), some fiscal terms peculiar to the South Canara district (*mūḍa*, *hāne*, *kudute*, *hāḍa*, *beṭṭu*, *bālu*, etc.), and some expressions which are not intelligible to me (e.g. *aḍipuna-mūḷiti*, *bajakaḷa*, *kambuḷa*, etc.). The use of the Kanarese word *ḍgara* instead of the Sanskrit *ḍgāra* in v. 7 is a mistake. The construction of the Kanarese passages is often complicated.

The inscription opens with an invocation of Vitarāga and the verse *śrīmat-parama-gambhīra*, etc., with which almost all Jaina inscriptions begin. It then invokes (verses 2 and 3) the blessings of the Tirthakaras (Jina, Jinapa, Jinendra or Tirtha), of Dōrbali, and of the goddess Padmāvatī of Pombuchcha on the donor Bhairava or Bhairavendra, called also Bhairarasa-Vodeya and Immadi-Bhairarasa-Vodeya in the Kanarese passages (ll. 48 f and 13 f). We may at once call this chief Bhairava II<sup>1</sup> in order to distinguish him from his maternal uncle and namesake Bhairava I referred to in the inscription as Bhairavarāja (l. 6) and Bhairarasa-Vodeya (l. 12). The record goes on to state that, at the advice of the Jaina teacher Lalitakirti of the lineage of Panasōgo and of the Dēśigana (v. 4), Bhairava II. built (l. 19) the temple of 'the three jewels' (ll. 7, 8 and 17), by which evidently the Chaturmukhabastī is meant. Verse 6 and the Kanarese prose passage which follows it give the date of the foundation and consecration of the temple, viz. the Śālī-(or Śālīvāhana-)Śaka year 1508, the Vyaya-samvatsara, the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra, a Wednesday, when the *nakshatra* was Mṛgaśīrsha or Mṛgaśīrā (ll. 8 and 9) and the *lagna* Vṛisha or Vṛishabha (*loc. cit.*). This date has been calculated<sup>2</sup> by Prof. Kielhorn and is found to be correct in all details for Wednesday, 16th March A.D. 1586. The Kanarese passages in ll. 10 to 14 and 17 to 18 contain a string of

<sup>1</sup> The distinction applies only to this paper, because there have been in this family many chiefs bearing the same name prior to the donor of our inscription. The Jaina chiefs belonging to other families on the western coast also frequently called themselves Bhairava. Writers on the history of the northern portion of South Canara invariably refer to the Kārkāḷa chiefs as "Byrasu Wodears."

<sup>2</sup> List of Southern Inscri. No. 993

# The Chaturmukha-Basti at Karkala



Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle.

E Hultsch, photo



*birudas* of Bhairava II. and furnish the name Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityālaya<sup>1</sup> (l 17) for the temple, which is described as being auspicious on every side (*sarvatoḍbhadra*)<sup>2</sup> and as having four symmetrical faces (*chaturmukha*)<sup>3</sup>. It was built on the Chikkabetta hill in the vicinity of the blessed Gummatēśvara at Pāndyanagari in Kārkala (l 14 f). Pāndyanagari, just like the modern Hiriyangadi, was apparently another suburb of Kārkala and comprised within itself the Chikkabetta hill, on which the Chaturmukhabasti is built, the colossal statue, and the long narrow street that runs between them, containing a few Jaina houses and the *maṭha*. It probably received its name from Pāndyarāya or Vira-Pāndya, who set up the famous colossus<sup>4</sup>. In ll. 19 ff. we are told that Bhairava II. set up the images of the three Tirthakaras Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata<sup>5</sup> on each of the four faces of the temple and consecrated at the same time the images of the 24 Tirthakaras and those of the Jinas together with Brahma and Padmāvati<sup>6</sup>.

ll. 22 to 42 record the grant of the village of Tejāra, which yielded a revenue of 700 *māḍe* of rice. Besides this, 238 pagodas (*gadyāna* or *varaha*, l. 23) from the *siddhāya* (i.e. the established revenue) of the villages Rañjāla and Nallūru were also granted. The income was to be utilised for the requirements of worship in the four symmetrical central shrines of the temple<sup>7</sup> and in the subordinate shrines, by fourteen families of Sthānikas<sup>8</sup> appointed for that purpose. Provision was also made for temple servants and musicians. The four groups (*ṭanḍa*) of Jaina mendicants who had quarters in the temple were supplied annually with 8 blankets, to protect themselves from cold, and with 1 blanket to receive the daily doles of rice which they collected from door to door. They were also given the necessary requirements for oil baths, viz. oil, soap-nut and fuel. ll. 43 to 47 record two additional grants, perhaps by the same chief, for the daily offerings (1) to Chandranātha in the *basti* situated within the quadrangle of the *hiriya aramane* (i.e. the big palace),<sup>9</sup> and (2) to Pārśvanātha in the *basti* on the Gōvardhanagiri hill<sup>10</sup>. The inscription ends with a puzzle (v 8), which was composed by the author of the inscription in order to celebrate the power of the five syllables *Śrīvitarāga* (i.e. Jina), which the donor Bhairava II. is said to have affixed to the inscription with his own hand in token of his approval of the charities recorded therein. The four erased lines at the end of the inscription may have contained the clue for the right interpretation of the puzzle.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps so named in imitation of the Hoṣabasti at Mūdabidure, which according to the inscriptions of that temple was called Tribhuvanachūdāmani-Chaityālaya and was built in Śaka Samvat 1351, i.e. 157 years prior to the construction of the Chaturmukhabasti.

<sup>2</sup> This attribute given to the temple appears to have suggested the insertion of the puzzle in the *sarvatoḍbhadra* verse at the end of the inscription.

<sup>3</sup> *Chaturmukhabasti*, the present popular name of the temple, is derived from the fact that the temple was constructed with four symmetrical faces (*chaturmukha*).

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. VII p 109 f

<sup>5</sup> Same as Suvrata mentioned in v 3

<sup>6</sup> These two deities are different from the Brāhmanical gods of the same name. Brahma and Padmāvati in Jaina mythology are two demigods (*yakṣa* and *yakṣiṇī*) who attend invariably upon the Tirthakaras.

<sup>7</sup> The allotments made for the worship at each gate are very carefully recorded, and from these it appears as if the western gate, which enjoyed the largest share of the gift in money, was the primary one, while the three other symmetrical gates were only of secondary importance. This is also proved by the fact that at this particular gate alone the images of the 24 Tirthakaras were consecrated (ll 20 and 39).

<sup>8</sup> The Jaina priests are now generally known by the name *Indra* (Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 5). The name *Sthānika* given to them in the inscription appears to be used in imitation of the name given to a section of Brāhmanas in South Canara, whose sole profession is temple service.—See Mr. Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol I p 154.

<sup>9</sup> This might be the name of one of the palaces of Bhairava II. himself, which was probably situated either at Pāndyanagari or Hiriyangadi, both of which are still covered with ruins of buildings.

<sup>10</sup> This is perhaps one of the many small hills that surround Kārkala. I was informed while there, that one of these bears at its top a Jaina *basti* even now. It will be too fanciful to connect the name with Gōvardhanagiri in the Shimoga district, which 'is said to have been fortified by Jinadatta' (the mythical founder of a Jaina line of kings in the south); (*Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II p 452).

The donor Bhairava II belonged to the lunar race (v. 5 and l. 11), to the Kāśyapa-gōtra (l. 11) and to the family of Jinadatta or Jinadattarāya (ll. 6 and 12) and was the son of Gummatāmbā (ll. 6 and 13) and of Vīra-Narasimha-Vanganarēndra (l. 13).<sup>1</sup> Gummatāmbā was the sister of Bhairava I (v. 5), the son of Honnaināmbikā (l. 12). Some of the titles of Bhairava II were (1) *arirāya-ṇḍara-ḍāvanī*, (2) 'the lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchcha the best of cities,' and (3) 'he who has obtained excellent boons from (the goddess) Padmāvatī of Pombuchcha.' The second and third of these, coupled with his professed descent from Jinadatta, connect Bhairava II with the Śāntara chiefs of Pombuchcha, who also traced their ancestry to Jinadatta and were worshippers of the goddess Padmāvatī of Pombuchcha.<sup>2</sup> Mr Rice in the Introduction to Vols. VI and VII of his *Epigraphia Carnatica* mentions a number of records which he assigns to 'the early members of the Śāntara family,' most of whom, as stated therein, were feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas and were ruling the Śāntalige country.<sup>3</sup> Pombuchcha, the capital of the Śāntaras, is spelt in early records as Pombuḷcha or Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura and is identical with the modern Humcha or Hombucha in the Nagar tāluka of the Shimoga district, it is mentioned in connection with the Śāntaras even in their earliest records. The alleged descent of the Śāntaras from Jinadattarāya, the mythical founder of the line of Jaina kings in the south, is not warranted by any of these earlier inscriptions. A long account of the Śāntaras which connects them with Jinadatta, first appears in a record of A D 1077 at Humcha itself.<sup>4</sup> The Baligāmi record of A D 1149<sup>5</sup> makes no reference whatever to the mythical Śāntaras, the stone inscription from Pūnēdhahalli<sup>7</sup> dated in A D 1287, connects Jinadatta with the Chālukya family. In any case the

<sup>1</sup> In No 903 of Professor Kielhorn's *List of Southern Insor*, which deals with the date of this record, Changanurēndra has to be corrected into Vanganarēndra, and the title 'supreme lord of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura' there applied to Bhairava I should, according to the present interpretation of the passage, be transferred to his son Bhairava II.

<sup>2</sup> See below, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> The Śāntaras of Pombuchcha and the Kadambas of the western coast appear from these records to have been related to each other in some unexplained way. This fact is cleared up in one of the later Śāntara inscriptions at Baligāmi, which states that the Śāntara chief Jagaddēva, who was a feudatory of the Western Chālukya Jagadkamalla II, and the Kadamba chief Jayakēśin, who was the son of Vijayadityadeva, were sons of two uterine sisters (Dr Fleet's *Dyn Kan Distr* p 458 and note 2). The Ājupas of the western coast, some of whose early inscriptions are found at Udiyāvāri near Udipi, may have had some connection with Pombuḷcha, since in two unpublished inscriptions from that village (Nos 97 and 98 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) Pombuḷcha and Udiyāpura (i.e. Udiyāvāri) are mentioned together with reference to certain tolls and *nakaras* (trading classes?) of the two places, another (No 108 of the same collection) states that Svātavahana, who was the lord of Paṭṭi (*Paṭṭi odayōn*), (i.e. Paṭṭi rājya, the province of which Humcha was the capital), fell in battle while entering (i.e. capturing) Udiyāpura, and Mr Rice's *Ep Carn* Vol VI Kp. 37 refers to the reign of Chitravahana, evidently an Ājupa king, over Pombuchcha.

<sup>4</sup> The exact position of this territorial division is not fixed. Dr Fleet places it somewhere west of the Mysore State (*Dyn Kan Distr* p 306), and Mr Rice states that it corresponds with the present Tirthahalli taluka of the Shimoga district (*Ep Carn* Vol VII Introduction, p 17). As however Humcha in the Nagar taluka was the capital of the Śāntara chiefs who were ruling over the Śāntalige one thousand country, as the earlier Śāntara records found in the Shikarpur taluka of the Shimoga district mention certain villages of this taluka as belonging to the Śāntalige country, (i.e. Sētuvimabidu or Sētu, the capital of the Śāntara chief Jagaddēva in A D 1119, 'would be located by Mr Rice somewhere in Canara' (*Dyn Kan Distr* p. 458, note 1), it may be assumed that Śāntalige included the western portion of the Shimoga district, i.e. the Shikarpur, Nagar and Tirthahalli talukas, and probably also a portion of the South Canara district.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol VIII Np 35. This record makes Jinadatta a member of the family of Ugra-vamśa and the hereditary lord of Uttara Madhurā. It gives also the story of the goddess Padmāvatī, who, being pleased with Jinadatta's prowess, built for him the city of Pombuchcha or Kanakapur. One of his descendants, Vikrama-Santara, is stated to have fixed the boundaries of the Śāntalige thousand province (*J R A. S* for April 1905, pp 295 and 298).

<sup>6</sup> No 32 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol VII Sk 312.

claim which Bhairava II puts forth to belong to the family of Jinadatta implies nothing more than his connection with the Śāntaras and the Jaina creed which he followed

Vol. VI. of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* contains also a number of inscriptions of a family called by Mr Rice Kalasa-Kārkala. He gives an account 'these chiefs in his Introduction to the same volume, pp. 19 to 21. The texts published by him show that they had no connection whatever with the Śāntaras of Humcha, and that of the records prior to the time of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II only a single one may be assigned to the family, viz. Mg. 65 dated in A D 1209, where the chief Vira-Balludēva receives the title *mandaliha-gandara-dāni*, which in the slightly altered form *arirāya-gandara-dāvanī* was assumed by almost all the subsequent members of the family. From the time of Dēvarāya II downwards the records are more definite and furnish a connected account of the chiefs, a list of whom is given by Mr Rice on p 20 of the Introduction. The donor of the subjoined grant figures as the last person in that list. We gather also from these records that the Kalasa-Kārkala chiefs followed the *aliya-santāno* law of inheritance and were Jainas in religion, though most of their inscriptions found at Kalasa and Koppa record grants to Śiva temples. As a rule they seem to have acknowledged the Vijayanagara kings as their overlords. But in Mg 48, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1424 (= A D 1501-2), which was about the period of the overthrow of the Śāluva usurpers at Vijayanagara and of the acknowledgment of the Tuluva Narasa-Nāyaka as sovereign, the Kalasa chief<sup>1</sup> Vira-Bhairarsa-Odeya seems to have been semi-independent, as no mention is made of any overlord in the inscription. The memorable battle of Talikōta dealt the death-blow to the Vijayanagara empire, and the Kalasa-Kārkala chiefs were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity to openly assert their independence. Accordingly, in a Koppa inscription (Kp 57), dated in Śaka-Samvat 1510 (= A D 1588-89), Bhayirarsa-Vodeya, son of Vira-Gummatadēvi, who is no doubt identical with the donor of the subjoined inscription, is represented as ruling his kingdom undisturbed (*sthira-sūmrājya*). The subjoined Chaturmukhabasti inscription of this chief, which is dated two years earlier, contains a long string of high-sounding *virūdas*, and this fact may be taken to show that Bhairava II had then already declared his independence. But this state of things did not continue long; for in Śaka 1531 (= A D 1609-10), Bhayirarsa-Vodeya, the son of Vira-Bhayirarsa-Vodeya, was ruling the Kalasa-Kārkala-rājya as a feudatory of the Vijayanagara king Venkata I. (Mg 63). From the above records we further learn that the country over which these chiefs originally ruled was called the Kalasa-rājya, which included one thousand villages (see e.g. Mg 88), and the chief town of which was evidently Kalasa above the ghats. But in Śaka-Samvat 1438 (= A D 1516-17), Kārkala seems to have been added to it, for Yimmaḍi-Bhairarsa-Odeya, who in Mg 39 is stated to have been ruling over Kalasa-rājya in the *duṭṭiya*-Śrāvana of Śaka-Samvat 1438, was, according to Mg 41,<sup>2</sup> ruling over the Kalasa-Kārkala-rājya in the (*niya*)-Śrāvana of the same year, and in Śaka-Samvat

<sup>1</sup> I have intentionally used the term 'Kalasa chief,' for, as will be seen in the sequel, the Kalasa Kārkala chiefs became rulers of both Kalasa and Karkala only in A.D 1516-17. Prior to this their dominion was limited to the Kalasa country, and the name Kalasa Karkala applied to their family prior to A.D 1516-17 is to be understood as being used only for the sake of uniformity.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Krishnarāya of Vijayanagara, Bhujabala-Mahārāja led a campaign against the Tulu rajya and was encamped at the *bhūrana-śāle* in Mangalūru. On this occasion the Kalasa-Karkala chief Yimmaḍi Bhairarsa Odeya, being dispossessed of (or not being sure of the stability of) his territory, prayed to the god at Kalasa that the invading forces might leave the Tulu country and that he might be undisturbed in his kingdom. This desire being fulfilled, he made certain gifts to that god in his capacity as the ruler of the Kalasa-Karkala-rājya. Bhujabala-Mahārāja, who led the campaign, must be identical with Krishnarāya's elder brother 'Busabalarao,' mentioned on p 110 of Mr Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*. The facts recorded in the inscription show that the Kalasa-Kārkala chiefs, who, as already noted, were trying to get independent of the Vijayanagara kings, and had, perhaps, also an idea of extending their dominions below the ghats, were now threatened to be dispossessed, but, perhaps, on promise of submission were left unmolested.

1446 (= A.D. 1524-25) the same chief was ruling 'the kingdom below and above the ghauts' (Mg 62). With the extension of the kingdom the capital also seems to have been removed to Kārkala from Kaḷasa, for in an inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1452 (= A.D. 1530-31) Virā-Bairarasa-Vodeya is said to have been ruling from his throne at Kārkala (Kp 47). It will be seen in the next paragraph how the Kaḷasa chiefs managed to add to their dominions the Kārkala country below the ghauts, but for the present it may be enough to conclude from the Koppa and Mūdgeis inscriptions published in Mr Rice's *Ep Carn* Vol VI that Bhairava II. of the subjoined inscription was a direct descendant of the Kaḷasa family, and that his hereditary ancestral dominion was the Kaḷasa country. His name, his title *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi* and the existence of an inscription of his in the Koppa tāluka (Kp 57) all point to the same conclusion.

Turning now to the inscriptions at Kārkala itself, from which further information may be expected about the ancestors of Bhairava II., we find that the colossus there was set up by Virā-Pāndya or Pāṇḍyarāya, the son of Bhairavēndra of the lunar race in Śaka 1353, and that in Śaka 1358 the same chief, who is here said to have been the son of Bhairava of the family of Jinadatta, set up the Brahma pillar in front of that colossus.<sup>1</sup> An unpublished inscription<sup>2</sup> at Hiriyangadi near Kārkala, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1379 (= A.D. 1457-58), records a grant to the temple of Nēmināthasvāmin, while the *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi*, the lord of Patti-Pombuchchapura, who had obtained excellent gifts from (the goddess) Padmāvatidēvi, and who was the uplifter of the ocean which was the family of Jinadattarāya—Abhinava-Pāṇḍyadēva-Odeya, was ruling over Patti-rājya. A second inscription<sup>3</sup> in the same village, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1514 (= A.D. 1593-94), records grants to Chandraṇāthasvāmin, while *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi* Pāṇḍyappa-Vodeya, the son of Virā-Bhairarasa-Vodeya, was ruling his country undisturbed (*sthira-rājya*). This chief is no doubt a son of Bhairava II. and apparently enjoyed the independence which his father also possessed. The earliest of the Kārkala inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> which is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1256 (= A.D. 1334-35), belongs to the time of Lōkanātharasa, who, though only a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* 'who had acquired the five great sounds,' bears the royal titles *saṁastabhuvandśraya*, *prithivīvallabha* and *mahārājādhirāja*. He also calls himself 'the lord of Utlara-Madhurā,' 'the jewel of the great Ugra-vansa,' 'the lord of Patti-Pombuchchapura,' 'the worshipper of (the goddess) Padmāvatidēvi' and 'the pupil of (the Jaina teacher) Chārukirti-Panditadēva.' These titles make Lōkanātharasa decidedly a Śāntara chief.<sup>5</sup> The existence of this record at Hiriyangadi makes it certain that the descendants of Jinadatta, removed the capital first to Sisila or Sisukali and then to Karkala, both in S. Kanara' (Mr Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol II. p. 456). It will now be easy to see how the Kaḷasa chiefs, of whom Bhairava II. was one, came to be connected with the Śāntaras, traced their ancestry to Jinadatta, became more zealous Jainas than their ancestors at Kaḷasa, and eventually stepped into the place of the Śāntaras in the Kārkala country. From the fact that the hereditary title *arirāya-gaṇḍara-dāvaṇi* of the Kaḷasa chiefs and the prominent Śāntara titles of Lōkanātharasa are found combined in the inscription of the chief Abhinava-Pāṇḍyadēva-Odeya as early as Śaka 1379, I conclude that the Kaḷasa chiefs must have entered into close relationship of intermarriage with the descendants of the Śāntara Lōkanātharasa, about Śaka-Samvat 1379 (= A.D. 1457-58), if not a little earlier. Further it may reasonably be assumed that it was by virtue of this relationship with the local Śāntaras that the Kaḷasa chief Yimmadi-Bhairarasa-Odeya, mentioned in the previous paragraph, extended his rule to the territory below the ghauts in A.D. 1516-17.

As regards the territory ruled over by Bhairava II. and his ancestors, a rough idea of its extent may be formed from the name given to it—Kaḷasa-Kārkala-rājya. To ascertain its exact

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol VII p. 109 ff

<sup>2</sup> No 70 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901

<sup>3</sup> No 68 of the same collection

No 71 of the same collection.

<sup>5</sup> See above p. 120 note 5.



boundaries, further places below the ghants and in the neighbourhood of Kārkala will have to be examined. But an inscription in the Koppa tāluka (*Ep Carn* Vol. VI Kp 47), dated in Śaka-Samvat 1452 (= A.D. 1530-31), states that, while Virā-Bairarasa-Vodeya was ruling on the throne at Kārkala, his younger sister Kālaladēvi was in charge of (the district) Baguñji-sime. Mg 40, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1474 (= A.D. 1552-53), records that Pāṇḍya-Vodeya was on the throne at Keravase while a certain Bhayirarsannāji was in charge of Kalasa. The same fact is mentioned also in Mg 60, dated four years later. The district Baguñji sime apparently derived its name from the modern village of Bagguñji in the Bāle-Honnūr tāluka, about 8 miles north-east of Śringēri, and Keravase is identical with Keravāśe, 8 miles east of Kārkala (Mr Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 232). Mūdabidure and Vēnūr, two other important centres of Jaina religion in the South Canara district which are not very far from Kārkala, do not appear to have been included in the Kalasa-Kārkala-rajya. The former of these two villages was in the possession of a family of local chiefs called Chautar, who were under the direct control of the Vijayanagara viceroys at Mangalore, while the second belonged to another petty Jaina principality, known as Puñjali- or Puñjalike-rājya, and was ruled over by the Ajilar.<sup>1</sup> Besides, the villages Mūdabidure and Vēnūr were included within the religious sphere of the Jaina teacher Chārūkirti, while Kārkala and its chiefs were subordinate to Lalitakirti.<sup>2</sup> It may, therefore, be provisionally assumed that the territory of the Kalasa-Kārkala chiefs extended from Bagguñji above the ghants to Karkala below the ghants, including between them the towns of Keravase and Kalasa. This comprises almost the whole of the present Bāle-Honnūr tāluka<sup>3</sup> of the Kudūr district in the Mysore State and the south-eastern portion of the Udupi taluka in the South Canara district.

The village of Tellāra, which was granted to the Chaturmukhabasti, is situated about 3 miles north-east of Kārkala and is marked on the Madras Survey Map of the South Canara district as Tellār. The two other villages, Rañjāla and Nallūru, which together contributed a sum of 238 *varaha*, are situated quite close to each other at a distance of about 4 miles due east of Kārkala and are marked on the same map as Nallur and Renjāla. Several nameless streams are marked on the map round Tellār, and these may have to be identified with the four boundary streams mentioned in l. 24. Two other proper names which occur in ll. 43 and 47, viz. Āṇṇuru and Kelavase, are identical with 'Arur' and 'Keravase' (Keravāśe) on the same map, in the Udupi taluka.

The requirements for the daily and annual worship in the temple, for which provision is made, call for a few remarks. The complicated calculations are very carefully worked out, and we are enabled to infer that, in measuring rice, 1 *mūde* was = 50 *hāne*,<sup>4</sup> and 1 *hāne* = 7½ *kudute*, and that, in counting money, 1 *ga* was = 10 *m*. Twelve *hāḍa*<sup>5</sup> of oil cost 8 *ga* 4 *m*, and 1 *hāḍa* cost 7 *m*.

<sup>1</sup> See the Government Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 5, and above, Vol. VII p 114 and note 1. It may here be noted that in an unpublished inscription at Kārkala (No 69 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901), dated in the cyclic year Vilambin, a certain Bhairarasa-Vodeya, son of Virā-Bhairarasa-Vodeya of the Kalasa-Kārkala family, presided over the settlement of a dispute, in which the Chautāru, Ajilaru, Dēsingarasarū and Sūladarasarū (i.e. the chief of Sūlā) acted as arbitrators (*śādhyaśha*).

<sup>2</sup> From the earliest inscription at Karkala referred to above, it appears as if the Jainas at that place were, about Śaka 1256, the lay-disciples of Kumudachandra-Bhāṇarāḍadēva, a pupil of Bhānukīrti-Malsadhāridēva of the Kānūrgana and the Mūlasangha, while the ruling chief Lōkanātharasa himself was the adherent of Chārūkīrti-pāṇḍitadēva. Perhaps the Lalitakīrtis of Hanaḍge received the Bhānukīrtis at Kārkala subsequent to Śaka 1256.

<sup>3</sup> The inscriptions of the Kalasa-Kārkala chiefs found in the Koppa and Mudgere talukas are chiefly confined to three villages Kalasa, Bagguñji and Nārve. The first two villages are now included in the newly formed Bāle-Honnur taluka, and the third is on its borders, but included in the Koppa taluka.

<sup>4</sup> In the inscriptions at Vēnūr we find a *mūde* = 50 *ḥāḍa* (No. 75 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) or sometimes 40 *ḥāḍa* (No. 84 of the same collection).

<sup>5</sup> Compare the Sanskrit grain measure *dhāḍa* which is equal to 4 *prastha* or 16 *ḍṛuḍa*, and also the Tamil *ḍḍam* which is even now used in measuring oil and ghee in the Southern districts.

According to the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol II. p. 508, 1 *māḍe* 'of corn in South Canara varies between 56, 50, 48, 45, 40 and 35 seers in different localities'. The *hane*, which at Kārkaḷa and in the surrounding country was equal to  $\frac{1}{25}$ th of a *māḍe*, may therefore be taken to be almost equal to our modern seer (i.e. 80 tolas). *Kuḍute* (woodṭay), according to the same authority (*loc. cit.*), is used only for measuring liquids and is equal to 12 rupees' weight. The late Dr. Kittel in his *Kannada-English Dictionary* explains *kuḍute* as 'the palm of the hand hollowed or held as a cup.' This may have been the unit which the South Canara people used for measuring both liquids and grain in the latter half of the sixteenth century, for, 1 *kuḍute* in liquid measure being equal to 12 rupees' weight, and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *kuḍute* in grain measure being equal to 1 *hāne* (i.e. 80 tolas, as already pointed out), the above supposition will give us 1 *hāne* =  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *kuḍute* = nearly 86 tolas, which is not a serious difference.

The abbreviated form *ga* used in the money calculations denotes a *varaḥa*, as stated in text line 28, and Mr. Brown in his *Telugu-English Dictionary* says that 'in arithmetic it stands for *gamḍu*, i.e. a pagoda,' and under *gamḍu* he says that 'among tradesmen it is a cant word for *varaḥa*.' In the Kanarese inscriptions at Kārkaḷa it is used as an abbreviation of *gadyāna*<sup>1</sup> and its variants *varahagadyāna* or *gadyānaḥa*, which are all synonymous with *varaḥa*, 'a pagoda equal to Rupees 3½'. In *Ep. Carn.* Vol VI. Mg 18, *ga* is used to denote a *honnū*, which according to Dr. Kittel is 'a gold coin, the half of a *varaḥa*'. The next coin of lower denomination is always written in the inscription after *ga*, with a final *m* preceding it, but there is no indication anywhere as to what this *m* stands for. The expression *ga 7 6 5* (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Mg 18) is explained in words as 7 *honnū* and 5 *hana*, the symbol being evidently introduced to separate the two denominations *honnū* and *hana*. This symbol (6) is used even now by village accountants and merchants of the Kanarese and Marāṭha countries in their business books to separate the money columns in calculation, even annas from rupees. Mr. Walhouse in his transcript of this inscription has throughout taken *m* for this symbol<sup>2</sup>. But I do not know whether the symbol 6, which is now used to separate different denominations of Indian and English money, and which was used in Śaka 1124 to separate *honnū* from *hana*, is also meant by the letter *m* inserted between the *varaḥa* (*ga*) and the tenths of *ga*. I have therefore retained the final *m* and not transcribed it by the symbol 6. The fraction  $\frac{1}{2}$  is represented in the inscription by the symbol which, in older inscriptions, is used for '9'. The modern method of expressing the fraction one-half is by two vertical strokes (||), each of which represents  $\frac{1}{4}$ . One-eighth is represented by a horizontal stroke (—). In current hand, however, the two vertical strokes that represent  $\frac{1}{2}$  are often merged into one. Consequently the symbol for  $\frac{1}{2}$  used in the inscription must be a completely reversed variant of the modern form. In ll 39, 10 and 42 the symbol = is used only as a mark of punctuation, and not as explained above to represent two-eighths, which would in this case be expressed by one vertical stroke, and not by two horizontal ones.

The puzzle contained in the *Sarvatōbhadrā* verse in the Indravajrā metre at the end of the inscription calls for a short remark. *Śisupālavadha*, XIX v 27 is a verse of the same kind, but it is written in the Anushtubh metre. Mallināth's commentary on the verse explains how the letters which form such verses are to be arranged so that, read from any direction in a given order, they may constitute the same verse. I have not found any other *Sarvatōbhadrā* verse in the Indravajrā metre.

<sup>1</sup> The Māḍṇabidure inscriptions mention three different types of *gadyāna*, viz. the Brikandura *gadyāna*, the Māḅḅalura *gadyāna* and the Kaṭṭhūrī ankusa *gadyāna* (Nos. 52 and 55 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901).

<sup>2</sup> It is not impossible that the symbol 6 has been derived from the final *m*, for in old Kanarese inscriptions the formation of this letter is not far different from the symbol in question; compare above, Vol III. l. 15 on the Plate facing p. 194.

**TEXT :**

- 1 Śrī-Vitarāgāya namah || Śrīmat-parama-gam-bh[ir]a-syā[dvād].<sup>2</sup>āmōgha-  
lāmcchhanam | jiyāt=[t]railōkyanāthasya śāsanam  
2 Jina-śasanam || [1<sup>\*</sup>] Ā-chamdr-ār[k]am sthīram bhūyād-āyuh-śrī-jaya-sam-  
dah(dā) | Bhairavēmdra-mahī-kāmta[h<sup>\*</sup>] śrī-Jinēmdra-prasādatah ||[1][2<sup>\*</sup>]  
3 Avighnam=astu<sup>3</sup> || Bhadram=astu || Tirt[th]-anghah [s]ukham=akshayam ch-  
kurutāch=chhri-Pārśvanāthō balam kirttum Nēmi-Jinah Suvira-Jinapa-  
4 ā=ch-āyuh śriyam Dōrbbalih | kalyānāny-Ara-Mallī-Suvrata-Jinā[h] Pombuchcha-  
Padmāvati ch-ā-chamdr-ārkkam=abhishta dā=stu suchiram sū-Bhairava-khāmā-  
5 patēh || [3<sup>\*</sup>] Śrīmad-Dēśi-ganē<sup>4</sup> khyatē Panasōg-āval-īvarah | yō=bhul=  
Lalitakirtty-ākhyas=ran-mun-imdr-ōpadēsatah ||[1<sup>\*</sup>] Śrīmat-Sōma-kul-āmrit-ambudhi-  
vidhuh  
6 śrī-Jainadatt-ānvayah śrīmad-Bhairavarāja-tunga-hhagini-śrī Gum[ma]tāmba-sutah |  
śrīmad-bhōgi-Surēmdra-Chakri-mahuma-śrī-Bhairavēmdra-prabhuh śrī-  
7 ratna-traya-bhadra-dhāma-Jinapan-nurmmāpya samsi[d]dhubhak || [5<sup>\*</sup>] Śrīmach-Chhālī-  
śak-ābdakē cha galitē nāg-ābhra-bān-ēmdubhis=ch-ābdē sad-Vyaya-nāmmi Chaitra-  
sita-shash[th]yā-  
8 m Saumya-vārē Vrishē | lagnē san-<sup>5</sup>Mrigaśirsha-bhē chīrataram śrī-  
Bhairavēmdrēna tē śrī-ratna-traya-bhadra-[dh]āma-Jinapā bhāmtu pratish[th]ā-  
pitāb || [6<sup>\*</sup>] Jināya namah<sup>6</sup> ||[1<sup>\*</sup>]  
9 Svasti śrī ||[1<sup>\*</sup>] Śālivāhana-Śaka-varsha (1)<sup>7</sup> 1508neya Vyaya-samvatsarada Chaitra-  
[s]uddha-shashthiyū Budhavāra Mrigaśirā-nakshatraḍ(vā) [V]rīshabha-  
lagnadallū Kaliyug-ābhūnava-  
10 Bharatēśvara-chakravartti Gutti-hamūbhara-gamda [Pa]tti-Pombuchcha-puravar-  
ādi(dhī)svara mare-<sup>8</sup>hokkara-kāva Mār-āmta-vairi mamna(ne)ya-rāya-mastaka-  
sū(sū)la shad-darśana-s[th]ā-  
11 pan-āchāryya Sōma-vamśa-śikhāmani Kāśyapa-gōtra-pavitrikarana-daksha Pombuchcha-  
Padmāvati-labdhā-vāra prasada samyaktv-ādy-anēka-guna-gan-ālamkṛita Jina-gamdh-  
ōdaka-pa-  
12 yirikrit-ōttamānga apurvattāgu-<sup>9</sup>mamdalikara-gamda Hom[na]māmbikā-priyakumāra-  
Bhairarasa-Vodeyar-ali,ai=unipa śrīma-Jinadattarāya-vamśa-sudhā-  
13 mbudhi-pūrnna(rnna)chamdra śīmad-Vira-Narasimha-Vam[ga]narēmdra-śrī-  
Gummatāmbā-kula-dīpaka-priyasūnu arirāya-gamdara-dāvani śrīmadh(d)-Immadī-  
Bhairarasa-  
14 Vodeyaru tamage abhyu[d]aya-ni[h<sup>\*</sup>]śrōyasa-lakshmi-sukha-samprā[p]ti-nimittav-āgi  
Karakalada Pāmdyanagariyalli śrī-Gummatēśvarana samnidhānadallū Kailāsa-  
giri-sa-

<sup>1</sup> From two inked estampages prepared in 1901

<sup>2</sup> The  $\delta$  of *syδ* has an indenture at the top, which makes it look like the  $\delta$ -sign attached to *lō* of *trailōkya* in the same line

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this line is engraved so close to the projecting top section of the slab as to make the letters on the estampage look faint and broken, but every syllable can be made out from the back of the impression

<sup>4</sup> The syllable *nd*, here and in the sequel is written in a peculiar way. The *n* sign is first affixed to *n* and the *e* curl then attached to the former

<sup>b</sup> The  $r_1$  of  $mr_1$  is represented by  $u$  and  $r_1$

<sup>6</sup> The five syllables *Jindya namah* are reversed and written from right to left

<sup>7</sup> Here and in what follows the enclosure of superfluous vertical strokes in round brackets does not, as elsewhere, represent a correction, but indicates that they have to be omitted.

<sup>a</sup> The *e* of *re* is formed in the same way as in *nd*, note 4 above.

\* The syllables *tāḍu* are corrected from *tāṇḍiku*, the subscript *t*, a portion of *n* and the subscript *k* being still visible. A similar *brāḍa*, held by certain Chōḷa chiefs of the Anantapur district, has *aruvattundika*\*, perhaps correctly, see below, p 135, note 8

- 15 mñibha-Chikkabeṭṭadallū || Śrī-kāmtā-kulavēśma kim vara-yaśah-kāmtā-pramōdh(d)-  
āgaram bhū-kāmtā-ratī sadma saj-jaya-vadhū-kṛd-āspadam kim punah | syā-
- 16 tār-ōjva(jya)la sam-naya-dvayamayī śrī Bhārati-ramga-bhūḥ sva[h\*]-śrī-mukti-Ramā-  
svayamvara-grīham śrī-Jaina-gēham vṛshē || [7\*] Imt-appa sakala-jan-āna-  
mda-mam-
- 17 dirav-āda sūrvatōbbhadra-chaturmmukha-ratna-tray.-vāpa-Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-  
Chaityālayavanu Rō[dda]da-gōva nikaṁka-malla bamtara-bhāva para-nāri-  
sahōdara
- 18 nudidu-bhāshēge-tappava-rāyara-gamda su[va]rṇa(rṇa)-kalāśa sthāpan-ā[ch]āryyar-  
ādakārāṇa dharmma-sāmrājya-nāyakar-āgi nja-puṇy-ānubamdi(dhī)-puṇyada  
prāraṇi(yi)-
- 19 mda tamagū taj-Jina-bhavana-prēkshakar-āda sakala-śīla-guna-sampānnar-aha  
chatus-samghakkū sākshāt-svar-mmōksha-lakshmi-svayamvara-sā(śā)-l-ōpamav-āgi  
nirmāpisi ananta-su-
- 20 khada samprāpti-nimittav-āgi (i) ā nālku-dikkinallū Ara-Malli-Munisuvrata-  
Tirtthakara-pratimegalanū s[th]āpisi | ā paśchima-digbhāgadalli chaturvimsati-  
Tirtthakara-pratimega-
- 21 janū ā bahir-vvālayada gumḍamgaḷ-olage Jina-bimbamgalanū yeda-baladalli  
Brahma-Padmāvatī-sahitav-āgi samsthāpisi [i] sa-vidhānadim pratishthāpisi ||
- 22 ā nālku-dikkinallū hadinālku vokkalu sthānikaru nadasuva abhishēka-pūje-  
muntādavakkū (i) mēle nadava amga-ramga-vaibhav-ādikamgaḷigū ā Bhairarasa-
- 23 Vodoyaru nja-samtōhadim[da] rājyavan-āluy-āga ā Tribhuvanatilaka-  
Jinachaityālayadalli ā pratishthā-samayada puṇya-kāladalli tamage  
puṇyārthav-āgi mū-
- 24 da Mukkadapina-hoḷe | teṁka Yempeya-hoḷe\* | paduva Polḷakaliyada-hoḷe |  
badaga Balimeya-hoḷe | i nālku-hoḷegalanu mārey-āg-uḷla | mudi(dhī) nīkshēpa |  
akshini āgā-
- 25 mya | jala pāshāṇa | siddha sādhyamgaḷ-ēmba (i) ashta-bhōgamgaḷig-olagāda  
Tēlāra-grāmavanū | adaḡ-olage akki mūde 700nū | Raṁjāḷa-Nallāra  
siddhāyadallū ga 238-
- 26 nū dhārā-pūrvvakav-āgi ā-chamdr-ārkkā-sthāi(yi)-y-appamte dēvargge mā[d]-koṭṭa  
dharmma-kshētradhā(da) vivara | ā kshētrada chatuḥ(s)-simey-olag-uḷla  
Haravar-i(i)-muntādavara-
- 27 ili sa[l\*]luva gēni-siddhāya baddiya-bhatta huruḷiya-akki jōḷakke-katṭṭa-  
akki homna-baddiy akki saha sa[l\*]luva akki hāne 50ṛa lekkada mūde  
700kkaṁ Nallū-
- 28 ru-Ramjāḷadalli vokkalu-tārkkaney-āgi bitta siddhāya ga 238 varahakkū sahay-āgi  
nadava dharmma | Paduvana-būgilalli vokkalu 2kke mūru-hotti-
- 29 na dēvapūjege charu hāne 9 mēlu-charu hāne 3 akshate-akki hā[n]e 1 tōye pāyasa  
tuppa kalasumēlōgara tāḷila muntāda pamcha-bhakshakke akki hāne 2
- 30 kudute 2 amtu akki hāne 15 kudute 2ṛa lekkadalli varsha (i) 1kke akki mūde 110 [i\*]  
udayada pamchāmṛitad-abhishēkakke ga 7 m 2 pamchakhajjāyakke ga 7½ siddha-
- 31 chakrada arādhanege ga 12 pa(pḥa)la-vastuvige ga 1 m 2 baigina hāladhārege ga ½  
m 4 gamdha-dhūpakke ga ½ m 3 yemne hāda 12kke ga 8 m 4 ashāṇhika 3kke ga 3
- 32 varsh-abhishāka 1kke ga 6 amtu ga 47 || ☉ || Badagaṇa-būgila vokkalu 2kke mūru-hottina  
dē apūjege dina 1kke charuvige akki hāne (i) 9 mēlu-[cha]rṇvig[e]
- 33 akki hāne 3 akshatege akki hāne 1 tōye pāyasa tuppa kalasumēlōgara tāḷila muntāda  
pamcha-bhakshakke akki hāne 2 kudute 2 amtu akki

\* In *ra*, as in *re* of l. 10, the *v*-sign is first affixed to *r*, and the *o*-curl is then attached to the former.

\* The *d* of *śāś* looks like *ś* on account of an indenture in the middle.

- 34 dina lkke hane 15 kudnte 2ra lekkadalli varsha (i) lkke mûde 110 [\*] udayada baiguna  
hâladbhârege ga 1½ m 3 pamchakhajjâyakke ga 7½ pa(pha)la-vastu-
- 35 vige ga 1 m 2 gamdha-dhûpakke m 8 yemne hâda 12kke ga 8 m 4 ashtâhnika 3kke ga 3  
varsh-âbhushêkakke ga 6 amtu ga 28 m 7 || i lekkadalli mûda-bâgûla vokka-
- 36 lu 2kke akki mûde 110 ga 28 m 7 || â temka-bâgûla vokkalu 2kke akki(kki) mûde 110  
ga [2]8 m 7 || amtu bâgûlu 4kke vokkalu 8kke varsha (i) lkke akki mûde 440 ga 133
- 37 m 1 || © || Paḍṇva-bâgûla yeda-balada gumda 2kke vokkalu lkke charuvige akki hâne 5ra  
lekkadalli mûde 36 akshatege akki mûde 4 ubhayam mûde 40 hâla-
- 38 dhâre 4kke ga 3½ m 1 phala-vastuvige ga 1 m 2 gamdha-dhûpakke m 3 yemne hâda  
5kke ga 3½ ashtâhnika 3kke m 5½ varsh-âbhushêkakke ga 1 amtu ga 10 m 1½ [\*]  
i lekkadalli
- 39 badaga (i) mûda temkana gumdamgaligû | â paduvana Tirtthakaru Brahma-  
Padmâvatigaligû saha vokkalu 5kke akki mûde 200 ga 50 m 7½ =<sup>1</sup> ubhayam  
vokkalu
- 40 6kke akki mûde 240 ga 60 m 9 [\*] Brahma-Padmâvatîya aicharuvige akki mûde  
4= amtu vokkalu 14kke akki mûde 684 ga 194 || © || Dôlu-nâgasara-kombinavara  
jana
- 41 6kke ga 36 adîpina mûltîyara jana 2kke akki mûde 16 bastiyall-iha tapasvigala  
tamda 4kke si(sî)ta-nivâraneya-hachhada 8kkam kaîyy-akkiya tumbuva sûsûva ha-
- 42 chchada lkkam saha hachhada 9kke ga 5 m 2 mamdeya tôla-vare yemneya hâda 2kke  
ga 2 adugabbu sigege saha m 8 amtu ga 8 = amtu akki mûde 700 ga 238 [i\*]
- 43 Hirya-aramaneya nalku-chañ(vu)kada volagana bastiya Chamdranâthasvâmiya  
amritapadige Ârûr=All[ana]bajakaladalli Biliyara-
- 44 sara guttu Jimnappanumda akki mûde 20 Bâgûlarasara guttu Mâmdarppâ[dî]yinda  
akki mûde 10 ubhayam mûde 30 Nallûra
- 45 Bikkurupâmdiya-bâlinalli ga 7½ Jattukôtiya-bâlinalli ga 3 Pam[jâ]ladalli kambuva-  
bâlinalli ga 7½ amtu ga 18 | Gôvarddhanagiriya-bastiya
- 46 Pârśvanâdha(tha)svâmiya amritapadige Mallilada-kambuladalli akkiya mûde 30  
â melana daddi-marugalalli mûde 4 [Nallû]ra Nam[bî]betti-Nârananalli
- 47 a[kki] mûde 6 am[tu\*] mû[de\*] 40 [Kê]lavaseya seti-bettina hittala [pha]ladalli [ga]  
8 m 2½ [i\*] [I]du pamcha-samsâra-kâl-ôraga-dashta gâdha-mûrchohhi[ta-nâ]nâ-samsâri-  
jîva-prabodhanaka-
- 48 ra-pamcha-mahâ-kalyâna-[bî]j-ôpama[v-âda] Jina-mamtra-pût-âtmaua | Śrîvitarâga | yemba  
pamchâkshariyann pamchavimsâta-mala-vidûra-parama-sa[mya]g-drîstîgal=âdakârana  
â Bhairara-
- 49 sa-Vodeyarê sva-hastadimda vo[ppa kottu]dadakke Imdravajrâ-[vritta]dimda [chatur-<sup>2</sup>  
vimsaty]-akshara-likhita-pamch-âkshara râpa-Sarvvatôbbhadra-chitra-prabamdhadim[da]  
rachusida chu[t]ra sloka || Śrî-vi[ta-vir-â]gata-viga-vitam śrî-râga-vitam ga-
- 50 ta-râga-râgam | śrî-[ga]m tatam râgatar-ânga-râ[mgam] śrî-Vitarâgam tata-vi[ra]-<sup>3</sup>gam  
tam || © ||<sup>4</sup> [8\*]

<sup>1</sup> The two horizontal strokes here and in ll 40 and 42 denote punctuations

<sup>2</sup> The impression has clear but faint traces of the syllables *chatur-* The verse contains 44 syllables, while the diagram inserted in the inscription has only 25 I am not sure if *chaturvimsaty=* has to be corrected into *chatuśchâtûrimsaty=* or *pañchavimsaty=*

<sup>3</sup> The reading *ra* is pretty certain, but as this curious verse is purely made up of the five syllables contained in the word *śrîvitarâga* by permutation or combination, I think the author has evidently committed a mistake in inserting the short *ra* (not found in *śrîvitarâga*) here, *ta* or *ga* might take the place of *ra* if either of them would give a better sense

<sup>4</sup> I cannot trace on my copy of the inscription the syllables *śrî* || *śrî* || given at the end of Mr Walhouse's transcript (*Ind Ant* Vol V p 42), but find that the continuation of this line and the four following lines are completely erased, and that traces of the beginnings and ends of these lines are still visible on the estampage

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Obeisance to the blessed Vitarāga.<sup>1</sup>

(Verse 1) [For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. VII. p. 113.]

(V. 2) May king Bhairavēndra live permanently as long as the moon and the sun (*exist*), (*blessed*) with abundance of age, prosperity and victory, by the grace of the blessed Jinēndras!

(L 3) May there be no obstacles! May there be happiness!

(V 3.) May all Tirthas (*i.e.* Tīthakaras) grant for a very long time endless happiness to the glorious king Bhairava (*viz.*) the blessed Pārśvanātha,<sup>2</sup> strength, the Jina Nēmi, fame, the Jinapa Suvira, long life, Dōrbali, prosperity, (*and*) the Jinas Ara, Malli and Suvrata, fortune! And may (*the goddess*) Padmāvatī of Pombuchcha grant (*his*) desires as long as the moon and the sun (*last*)<sup>1</sup>

(V 4) [For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. VII. p. 110]

(V. 5.) The moon in the ocean of nectar of the glorious face of the Moon, the glorious chief Bhairavēndra, (*who belonged to*) the prosperous family of Jinadatta, (*who was*) the son of the glorious Gummatāmbā, the renowned sister of the illustrious Bhairavarāja, (*and*) whose greatness (*was equal to that of*) the blessed and happy lord of gods (*i.e.* India) and Chakrīn (Vishnu), having set up the Jinapas in the blessed abode of the three renowned jewels,<sup>3</sup> fulfilled (*his*) object (*in life*).<sup>1</sup>

(V 6) May those Jinapas of the blessed abode of the three renowned jewels,—set up by the glorious Bhairavēndra while the prosperous year of the Śāli-Śaka (*counted*) by the elephant- (8), the sky (0), the arrows (5) and the moon (1)— (*i.e.* 1508)— had dropped (*i.e.* passed away), and in the excellent year named Vyaya, on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra, on Wednesday, in the Vrisha-lagna, (*while*) the *nakshatra* (*was*) the auspicious Mrigaśirsha,— shine for a long time!

(L 8) Obeisance to Jina

(L. 9 f) Hail! Prosperity! In the Śālivāhana-Śaka year 1508 which corresponded to the Vyaya-samvatsara, on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra, on Wednesday, (*the day of*) the *nakshatra* Mrigaśirā, the lagna (*being*) Vrishabha,— the full-moon in the nectar-ocean of the prosperous family of Jinadattarāja, the dear son who illuminates (*both*) the families of the famous Gummatāmbā and of the glorious Vira-Narasimha-Vanganarēndra,<sup>4</sup> the tying-rope of cattle (*viz.*) heroic hostile kings (*arirāya-gaṇḍara-śāvanī*), the glorious Immadī-Bhairarasa-Vodeya, (*who is*) known as the nephew of Bhairarasa-Vodeya the dear son of Honnamāmbika, (*who is*) the flesh Bharatēsvara-chakravartin<sup>5</sup> of the Kālī age, the chastiser of the twelve (*chiefs*) of Gutti,<sup>6</sup> the lord of Pattī-Pombuchcha the best of cities, the protector

<sup>1</sup> Vitarāga is synonymous with Jinendra which occurs in v 2, see also above, Vol VI p 165, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> [Pārśvanātha, Nēmi (Aśhtanāmi) and Suvira (Mahavira) are the 23rd, 22nd and 24th Tīthakaras. Dōrbali (Bāhubali, Bhujabali) is the same as Guṇmaṭa, see above, Vol VII p 108. Ara, Malli and Suvrata (Munisuvrata) are the 18th, 19th and 20th Tīthakaras, see *eg* Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra*, translated by Prof Jacobi, p 280.—E H]

<sup>3</sup> The three jewels (*ratna traya*) of the Jainas are *samyak darśana*, *samyak jñāna* and *samyak-charitra*, see above, Vol III p 184, note 2, and p 207, note 3. The 'abode of the three renowned jewels' is the Chatarmukhabasti itself, which in l 17 of the text is described as being the 'embodiment of the three jewels,' the Jinapas herein consecrated are Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata mentioned in l 20.

<sup>4</sup> I have taken this to be the name of Bhairava's father, but it may as well be a *biruda* of Bhairava himself.

<sup>5</sup> This is the mythical emperor who, according to Jaina mythology, was the brother of the saint Bāhubali, Bhujabali or Guṇmaṭa, see Mr Rice's *Sravaya-Delgoia Inscriptions*, Introduction, p 25.

<sup>6</sup> It is impossible that either Bhairava II or his ancestors could have had anything to do with the well known Gutti in the Anantapur district. The reference is perhaps to the 'Gutti thirty-four kampaga,' 'the Gōve-Gutti kingdom' or 'the Gōve Chandragutti kingdom' mentioned by Mr Rice on p 80 f of the Introduction to *Ep Carn.* Vol VII. Chandragutti is a hill fortress in the Sorab tāluka of the Shimoga district.

of those who seek refuge (*with him*), the deadly enemy of Māra (Cupid?), a spear on the heads of respectable kings, the teacher (*āchārya*) who has established the six *darsanas*,<sup>1</sup> the head-jewel of the race of the Moon, the powerful purifier of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, (*he*) who has obtained excellent boons from (*the goddess*) Padmāvatī of Pombuchcha, who is adorned by numberless and various (*good*) qualities, *samyaktra*,<sup>2</sup> etc, whose head is purified by the sweet-scented water (*which has been used for washing the image*) of Jina,<sup>3</sup> (*and who is*) the lord of sixty-six *mandalikas*,— in order to obtain for himself prosperity, final emancipation, riches and happiness,<sup>4</sup>— at Pāndyanagari (*a suburb*) of Kārakala, in the presence<sup>5</sup> of the blessed Gummatāśvara, and on the Chikkabetṭa (*hill*) resembling the Kailāsa mountain—

(V 7) Is this the noble abode of the lady Śrī (Lakshmi)? (*Is this*) the excellent pleasure-house<sup>6</sup> of the lady Fame? (*Is this*) the house of amorous enjoyment of the lady Earth? (*Or*) again, is this the sporting-place of the virtuous woman Victory? (*This*) prosperous Jaina abode (*is indeed*) the stage consisting of the two excellent doctrines resplendent with the word *syāt*, (*whereupon*) the glorious (*goddess*) Bhārati (Sarasvatī) (*dances*), (*and is*) the house where (*the ladies*) Heavenly bliss, Salvation and Prosperity choose their husbands . . . 7

(L 14 f) (This Bhairarasa) Rōddada-gōva,<sup>8</sup> Nīkalanka-malla,<sup>9</sup> the soul of warriors, the brother of the wives of others (*and*) the chastiser of kings who do not act up to the words which they utter,— because he was the foremost in setting up golden pinnacles (*on temples*), became (*as it were*) the ruler of the empire of charity, (*and*) actuated by merit (*which was*) the outcome of his good deeds (*in previous births*), caused to be made for (*the use of*) himself and the (*members of the*) four *sanghas* who possessed all noble qualities and were (*habitual*) visitors of that abode of Jina, the Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Charityālaya (*temple*), which is thus<sup>10</sup> a mansion giving pleasure to all people (*who look at it*), (*which is*) auspicious on every side (*sarvātōbhadra*), has four faces (*chaturmukha*)<sup>11</sup> (*and*) is the embodiment of the three jewels.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I cannot understand how a Jaina chief like Bhairava II could claim to have established the six systems of philosophy, all foreign to his own. Perhaps he tolerated the study of these systems in his petty dominions

<sup>2</sup> *Samyaktra* may refer to the possession of the three qualities (*ratna-traya*) referred to on p 134, note 3, each of which begins with the word *samyak*

<sup>3</sup> The same epithet is applied to the Dandandiyaka Balādēva in Nos 52 and 53 of Mr Rice's *Śravana-Belgola Inscriptions*

<sup>4</sup> The predicate of this sentence is the past participle *nirmmāpisi* which occurs in l 19

<sup>5</sup> The Chaturmukhabasti, though at a considerable distance from the colossus of Gummatāśvara, is here represented as being in its presence, for the latter was perhaps considered to be the presiding deity of Karkala and its suburbs. Besides, as the Chikkabetṭa hill is just opposite to the hill on which the colossus stands, it is literally true that the temple "stands in the gaze of the colossus," *Ind Ant* Vol V p 39

<sup>6</sup> *Āgara* seems to be used here, as in Kanarese, for the Sanskrit *āgāra*, which would not suit the metre. A derivative from *ā + gri* is *āgara* which means 'halloaing'. This does not suit the sense of the verse

<sup>7</sup> I do not understand the meaning and the construction of the word *ṛishā* at the end of the verse. Some word like *nīnam* or *dhruvam*, which characterises an *utprēkshādumkāra*, is required. Or can it only be a mistake for *ṛisham* = excellent?—[Perhaps the word *ṛishā* is repeated by mistake from verse 6—E H]

<sup>8</sup> Mr Rice (*Ep Carn* Vol VII Introduction, p 39) translates this epithet by 'guardian of Rodda' or 'Gōva of Rodda' (*ibid* Vol XII Translation, p 91). Elsewhere (*ibid* Vol III Introduction, p 16) he mentions Rodda among the conquests of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana and identifies it with 'Rodda on the northern Pennār in the Anantapur district, west of Penulonda'. If this is the correct explanation of the epithet Rōddada-gōva, Bhairava II, whose territory was far away from Penugonda, could only have borrowed the title from some other family. A local line of Chōla chiefs "in the country round Hēmāvatī and Nidugal" (in the Anantapur district) is described on p 7 of the Introduction to *Ep Carn* Vol XII. These chiefs flourished about the 12th century A.D. and invariably bore the titles Rōddada-gōva, nīgalankamalla, aruvattundiku mandalikara tale-gōnda gānda, bantara-bāva and marevoḡe kāva, which are almost the same as those assumed by Bhairava II. Besides, the Chōla chiefs of the Anantapur district belonged to the same Kāśyapa *gōtra* as Bhairava

<sup>9</sup> *I.e.* Nīkalanka-malla, 'the spotless wrestler.'

<sup>10</sup> *I.e.* as described in v 7

<sup>11</sup> The temple has four doors, each of which opens on three identical stone images of the Tirthakaras Āra, Malli and Munisuvrata

<sup>12</sup> See above, p 134, note 3.

just as if it verily were a hall wherein the glorious (goddess of) Heavenly emanation was to choose her husband.

(L 19 f) And in order to acquire endless happiness, (he) set up on the four sides of that (temple) the images of the Tirthakaras Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata, on the western side of that (temple) (he set up) the images of the twenty-four Tirthakaras, and in the niches (gumḍa ?) (at each entrance) of the outer enclosure of that (temple) (he) set up images of the Jinas together with Brahma and Padmāvati to the left and right (respectively), (and) consecrated (them all) according to rule.

(L 22 f.) (And) for the bathing, worship, etc (of the images) performed by fourteen families of Sthānikas (living) in the four directions of that (temple), and for the anga-ranga-vaibhava,<sup>1</sup> etc which follow after (worship), that Bhairarasa-Vodoya, while ruling (his) kingdom with true delight, on the auspicious occasion of the consecration in that Tribhuvanatilaka-Jina-Chaityālaya (temple), conferred on (that) god<sup>2</sup> for his own merit, so as to last as long as the moon and the sun (exist), with libations of water, 238 ga<sup>3</sup> from the established revenue of Rañjāla and Nallūru, also the village of Telāra subject to the eight enjoyments known as deposits, hidden treasures, permanent profit, future profit, water, stone, established income and feasible income, (and) having for (its) boundaries four streams, viz. Mukkadapina-hole to the east, Yemṇeya-hole to the south, Polḷakaliyada-hole to the west (and) Balimeya-hole to the north, and 700 mūḍe of rice in that (village) The (following are the) details of the land (thus) granted<sup>4</sup>

(L 26 f) From the 700 mūḍe of rice calculated at 50 hāne (for each mūḍe), accruing from the tribute on contracts due from the Harava<sup>5</sup> and such others that live within the four boundaries of that village, paddy (in payment of) interest, rice (in lieu of) gram, rice commuted from millet, and rice (in lieu of) the interest (payable) in money, and from the ga 238 varaha of established income granted (subject to) the personal observation<sup>6</sup> of the tenants of Nallūru (and) Rañjāla together, the (following) charities are (to be) managed.

(L. 28 f) To the 2 families (who have) to worship three times (each day) at the western gate, (the following allotment has been made) 7 9 hāne (for) the rice offering, 3 hāne (for) the superior rice offering, <sup>8</sup> 1 hāne (for) consecrated rice, 2 hāne (and) 2 kuḍute of rice for tōye,<sup>9</sup> pāyasa,<sup>10</sup> ghee, kalasumēlōgara,<sup>11</sup> tāḷala<sup>12</sup> and others (together with) the five kinds of cake, thus, at the rate of 15 hāne (and) 2 kuḍute of rice (altogether for one day), the rice (required) for

<sup>1</sup> I.e. all kinds of enjoyments, see *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 70, note 5

<sup>2</sup> This word is here used in the collective sense for the three gods Ara, Malli and Munisuvrata.

<sup>3</sup> This is an abbreviation of *gadyāna*

<sup>4</sup> The details hereafter specified are not those of the 'land granted,' but of the 700 mūḍe of rice which was the revenue in grain realized from Telāra, and of ga 238 which was the income in coin from Rañjāla and Nallūru

<sup>5</sup> On this ethnic name, which is perhaps the same as Parava, see Mr Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*, Vol I p 179

<sup>6</sup> According to Dr Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, *tārkaṇe* means 'personal observation' The sense appears to be that the tenants of the two villages were held directly responsible for the regular payment of ga 238 assigned to the temple by the king from the revenue of those villages

<sup>7</sup> The grain allotments of this paragraph are to be taken as made at daily rates This specification, which is omitted here, is inserted in its proper place in the next paragraph

<sup>8</sup> *Oharu* means 'an oblation (of rice, barley and pulse) boiled with butter and milk for presentation to the gods or manes,' see Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s v

<sup>9</sup> 'A dish prepared of boiled split pulse'

<sup>10</sup> 'A dish (or oblation) of milk, rice and sugar, etc'

<sup>11</sup> 'A mixture of boiled vegetables to which pepper, salt, etc are added'

<sup>12</sup> This is perhaps the Jaina spelling of *tāḷada* or *tāḷūda*, which means 'boiled and seasoned vegetables.'



1 year (is) 110 *mūde* For bathing (the images) with *pañchāmṛita*<sup>1</sup> in the mornings, *ga* 7 *m* 2,<sup>2</sup> for the five pleasant articles of food (*pañchakhajjāya*),<sup>3</sup> *ga* 7½, for the worship of the *Siddhachakra*,<sup>4</sup> *ga* 12, for fruits (and other similar) articles, *ga* 1 *m* 2, for the evening *hāladhāre*,<sup>4</sup> *ga* ½ *m* 4, for sandal (and) incense, *ga* ½ *m* 3, for 12 *hāda* of oil, *ga* 8 *m* 4, for 3 *aśtāhnikas*,<sup>4</sup> *ga* 3, for 1 annual bathing, *ga* 6, total (for one year) *ga* 47

(L 32 f) To the 2 families (who have) to worship three times (each day) at the northern gate, (the allotment has been made) for 1 day 9 *hāne* of rice for the rice offering, 3 *hāne* of rice for the superior rice offering, 1 *hāne* of rice for consecrated rice, 2 *hāne* (and) 2 *kudute* of rice for *tōye*, *pāyasa*, ghee, *kalasumēlōgara*, *tālila* and others (together with) the five kinds of cake, thus, at the rate of 15 *hāne* (and) 2 *kudute* per 1 day, the rice (required) for 1 year (is) 110 *mūde*. For the morning and the evening *hāladhāre*,<sup>5</sup> *ga* 1½ *m* 3, for the five pleasant articles of food (*pañchakhajjāya*), *ga* 7½, for fruits (and other similar) things, *ga* 1 *m* 2, for sandal (and) incense, *m* 8, for 12 *hāda* of oil, *ga* 8 *m* 4, for 3 *aśtāhnikas*, *ga* 3, (and) for the annual bathing, *ga* 6, total (for one year) *ga* 28 *m* 7

(L 35 f) At this rate, 110 *mūde* of rice (and) *ga* 28 *m* 7 for the 2 families at the eastern gate, (and) 110 *mūde* of rice (and) *ga* 28 *m* 7 for the 2 families at the southern gate. Thus (altogether), for the 8 families at the 4 gates for 1 year, 440 *mūde* of rice (and) *ga* 133 *m* 1

(L 37 f) For 1 family (worshipping) at the 2 niches to the left and right of the western gate (the allotment is as follows) at the rate of 5 *hāne* of rice (per day) for the rice offering, 36 *mūde* (for one year), 4 *mūde* of rice for consecrated rice, the two together (amount to) 40 *mūde*. For 4 *hāladhāres*, *ga* 3½ *m* 1, for fruits (and other similar) articles, *ga* 1 *m* 2, for sandal (and) incense, *m* 3, for 5 *hāda* of oil, *ga* 3½, for 3 *aśtāhnikas*, *m* 5½, (and) for the annual bathing, *ga* 1, in all, *ga* 10 *m* 1½ (for one year).

(L 38 f) At this rate, for the 5 families in all,—(viz those who worship) at the niches in the northern, eastern and southern (gates), (those who worship the images of) the Tirthakaras of that western (gate), and (those who worship the images of) Brahma and Padmāvatī,—(the allotment comes to) 200 *mūde* of rice (and) *ga* 50 *m* 7½. (Thus) for the 6 families altogether (the total is) 240 *mūde* of rice (and) *ga* 60 *m* 9. 4 *mūde* of rice (have been also allotted) for the five rice offerings to Brahma and Padmāvatī. Altogether, for the 14 families,<sup>6</sup> 684 *mūde*<sup>7</sup> of rice (and) *ga* 194

(L 40 f) For 6 persons who have (to beat) the drum (and to blow) the pipe (and) the horn, *ga* 36 (have been allotted for one year), (and) for the 2 *mūliti*-women of the *adīpu*,<sup>8</sup> 16

<sup>1</sup> The five nectarious substances 'milk, curd, ghee, honey and sugar'

<sup>2</sup> Here and in the subsequent money calculations of this paragraph, the allotments appear to have been made for the whole year, though the daily rate is not specified

<sup>3</sup> This word is more commonly spelt with the unaspirated *k*, it means 'the five pleasant articles of food (mixed together),' viz *avalakkī* (flattened rice), gingelly seeds, *kudle* (Bugal gram fried and split), dried kernel of coconut, and jaggery

<sup>4</sup> *Siddhachakra*, *hāladhāre* and *aśtāhnikā* are apparently technical terms of Jaina worship, which are unknown to me. *Aśtāhnikā* may perhaps correspond to *aśtavidh ārchana*, which occurs frequently in Mr Rice's *Śravana-Belgoja Inscriptions*, e.g. in Nos 80, 81, 86, 87

<sup>5</sup> It is strange that two *hāladhāres* both in the mornings and evenings are provided for at the northern, southern and eastern gates, while at the western gate, which was the most important one and received the largest allotment of money, provision was made for only one *hāladhāre*

<sup>6</sup> This number includes the 8 families at the four main gates and the 6 families mentioned in this paragraph

<sup>7</sup> The total 684 is arrived at by adding together 440 *mūde* allotted for the 4 gates, 240 *mūde* allotted for the niches, Tirthakaras, and Brahma and Padmāvatī, and 4 *mūde* specially allotted for the five rice offerings to the two last-mentioned images

<sup>8</sup> I do not understand the meaning of *adīpina mūlitiyaru*. This may perhaps refer to certain maid-servants of the temple, such as cooks, etc.

mûde of rice. For the 4 groups of ascetics who dwell in the *basti*, 8 blankets to ward off cold and 1 blanket for receiving (and) spreading (i.e. drying?) hand-rice<sup>1</sup>—altogether, for 9 blankets, ga 5 m 2, for 2 *hāḍa* of oil for the head and arms (of the ascetics), ga 2; and for fuel (and) soap-nut (for the same), m 8, altogether, ga 8 In all (the allotments come to) 700 mûde of rice (and) ga 238

(L 43 f) For the rice offering<sup>2</sup> of Chandrañāthasvāmin of the *basti* within the four squares (i.e. the quadrangle) of the big palace.—in the Allapabajakala (field?) at Ārūru, 20 mûde of rice from Jinnappa, the lessee<sup>3</sup> (?) of Biliyarasa, (and) 10 mûde of rice from Māndarpādi, the lessee<sup>3</sup> of Bāḡilarasa, both (together), 30 mûde From the land held (*bāḷu*)<sup>4</sup> by Bikkirupāndiya (i.e. Vikramapāndya) of Nallūru, ga 7½, from the land held by Jattikōti, ga 3, (and) from the land held by Kambuva at Pamjāla, ga 7½, altogether, ga 18.

(L 45 f) For the rice offering of Pārśvanāthasvāmin of the *basti* (on) the Gōvardhanagiri (hill),—from the Kambula (field?) at Mallila, 30 mûde of rice, from the enclosing hills beyond, 4 mûde, from Nambibettū-Nārana of Nallūru, 6 mûde of rice, altogether, 40 mûde. From the produce of the backyard of Seti-bettū<sup>5</sup> at Kelavase, ga 8 m 2½

(L 47 f) Inasmuch as that Bhairarasa-Vodeya, possessed as he was of that excellent right perception which keeps aloof from the twenty-five impurities, himself with his own hand affixed in (token of) approval (of the grant) the five syllables (*pañcāḥśhari*), viz. *Śrīvītarāga*—of Him whose soul is purified by (the recitation of) the Jina-mantra—which may be compared to a seed (that can produce) the five great virtues and can awaken the soul, (passing through) varied transmigration and heavily stupefied by the bite of the black viper, (viz.) the five-fold *samsāra*, this wonderful (*chitra*) verse (was) composed in the style of the Sarvatōbhadrā puzzle (*chitrāprabandha*), consisting of five letters combined as twenty-four (different) syllables, in the Indī vyaḡrā metre

[Verse 8 contains the puzzle alluded to above and is not quite clear to me]

## No 11.—NAGPUR MUSEUM PLATES OF MAHABHAVAGUPTA I JANAMEJAYA.

BY PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH.D., HALLE (SAALE)

Mr Venkayya sent me one set of ink-impressions of this unpublished inscription, with the following remarks —

“The Curator of the Nagpur Museum says, the locality from which the plates containing this inscription came is unknown. There are three copper-plates, of which only the second bears writing on both sides. The plates are broader in the middle than at the top or at the bottom.

<sup>1</sup> This probably refers to the rice collected by the Jaina mendicants in begging from door to door. It is customary even now in India to give a ‘handful of rice’ to beggars that call at the door. This seems to be the reason why such rice is called *kasy akki*.

<sup>2</sup> *Amṛitapādi* in the sense of ‘rice offering’ is not given in Kittel’s *Kannada-English Dictionary*. It corresponds to the *amudupadi* of Tamil inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> *Guttu* appears to be used here in the sense of *guttigedāra*, ‘a lessee’. Or, the meaning might be that Biliyarasa’s lessee, (viz.) 20 mûde of rice, was to be collected from (his tenant) Jinnappa.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Dr Fleet’s remarks on *bāḷasidor* on p 61 above.

<sup>5</sup> *Seti bettu*, or more correctly *setti-bettu*, means ‘the bettu of the merchant’. According to Mr Sturrock’s *South Canara Manual*, Vol I p 85, *bettu* means ‘a walled enclosure with a colossal statue’. The word here cannot be meant for the fiscal term *betf* — a land capable of producing one crop of rice annually — (*ibid.* p 122), for, in this case the backyard (*hittilu*) mentioned in connection with it would not be intelligible.

At the broadest part they measure nearly 9 inches Their height varies from  $5\frac{3}{4}$ " to  $5\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are held together by a ring, which has been cut by me with the permission of the Curator The ring, which is not quite circular, measures about 3" in diameter Its ends are secured in the base of a circular seal measuring  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter The seal bears, in relief on a counter-sunk surface, an image of Lakshmi, seated apparently on a lotus and flanked by two lampstands, of which the one on the left is not quite distinct The lotus extends on both sides to the height of the shoulders of the goddess and is surmounted on each side by an elephant with uplifted trunk This is the usual representation of the goddess Gajalakshmi The base of the seal is slightly damaged, and a nail seems to have been driven in to fix the seal to the ring"

The inscription records a grant of land, made by king Mahābhavagupta (I) surnamed Janamējaya in the eighth year of his reign. The alphabet resembles that of the grants of the same prince which have been published by Dr Fleet Initial *o* and *au* occur in *Ōdra* (l. 16), *oṃhā* (l. 44) and *Autathya* (l. 15), and the rare letter *jh* occurs in *oṃhā* (l. 44) The letter *ṭ* of *patu* (l. 5) differs in shape from that of *kufumv* (l. 10), etc The group *ṣṭa* is throughout written as *ṣa*, except in *āṣphoṭṭayanti* (l. 23), where it is wrongly employed A final form of *t* is used in *samvat* (l. 41), and the *virāma* in *dadyāt* (l. 27), *vrāhmaṇin* (l. 9), *ētān* and *pārthivēndrān* (l. 35), elsewhere the *virāma* is omitted The decimal figures 1, 2 and 8 occur in l. 41

The language is Sanskrit There is one verse in ll. 3-6, and 11 of the customary verses occur in ll. 23-38, the remainder of the record is in prose The *visarga* is omitted in several cases The rules of Sandhi are neglected in *śrīmān* (l. 4), *°chehinnah* and *°ngirasa* (l. 15), *°dhyāyane* (l. 16), *dadyāt* (l. 27) and *aśṭamē* (l. 40) The orthography is defective in many respects. The vowel *ṛ* is mixed up with *i*, and *u* with *ū* In *nōpūra* (l. 1) for *nūpura* and *dyōtaka* (l. 41 f) for *dūtaka*, *ō* is used instead of *ū* The vowel *ri* and the syllable *ri* are mixed up in *samāhatrī* (for *°hartrī*) and *sannidhātṛī* (l. 11), *tridasa* (l. 4) and *Trikalīngi* (ll. 8 and 39). In *krihṇa* (l. 5) and *samachchharē* (l. 40), *ts* is represented by *chh* The dental *n* takes the place of the lingual *n* in *punya* (ll. 19 and 30), *hiranya* (l. 20), *grihnātṛī* (l. 29 f) and *Samgrāmēna* (l. 44) Of sibilants, *ṣ* is used for *śh* in *nissiddha* (l. 14), and *ś* for *s* in *salila*, *purassara*, *śama* (l. 18) and *śaśeta* (for *śaśēt*, l. 26) A *y* is inserted in *śākhya* (l. 16) for *sakhā*, and *dyōtaka* (l. 41 f) for *dūtaka* The consonant *b* is always represented by *v*, which must have been pronounced as *b* just as in Bengali This may be concluded from the spellings *śūmra* (l. 14) for *sāmra*, *tāmra* (l. 19) for *tāmra*, *°dattām=vā* (l. 32), *samachchharē* (l. 40) and *samvat* (l. 41) Other irregularities are *tuvdhā* (l. 38) for *buddhvā*, *tryārīshaya* (l. 15) for *tryārshēya*, *Kaṭilāsa* and *utkīrita* (l. 44) for *Kailāsa* and *utkīrṇa*

The inscription opens with the words "Om Hail! From the prosperous Murasiman, where flights of merry pigeons rise up at the sound of the anklets of many beautiful maidens, (and) whose fame is spread by bards coming from all quarters" Another grant of Mahābhavagupta I is dated from the same Murasiman, which is there spelt with a long *ū* in the first syllable,—apparently by mistake, as *Mura* is a well known word, and as *ū* is used erroneously for *u* in many other instances<sup>1</sup> The next word of the same grant, *-samāvāsita*, may be meant for *-samāvāsitaḥ* As, however, it would be difficult to imagine that the king resided at one place and issued his grant from another, I prefer to correct *-samāvāsitaḥ* and to take the following word *kataka* to mean 'a camp,' and not the city of Cuttack<sup>2</sup> Thus the inscription of the sixth year is dated "from the prosperous camp of victory, pitched at Murasiman" With the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 341

<sup>2</sup> Professor Kielhorn kindly refers me to three very similar instances in inscriptions from Northern India —

1 — *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 360, text line 6 f. — *śrīmād-Vishnupurāṇasita śrī vijaya katakaḥ*

2 — *Ibid.* Vol. IV p. 121, text line 23, — *śrī-Vadatiṣa-grāma samavāsita-vijaya-katakāḥ*

3 — *Ibid.* Vol. II p. 369, text line 33, and Vol. V App. p. 58, note 4, — *Prayāga samāvāsita śrīmād-vijaya katakaḥ*

same alteration, the three inscriptions of the 31st year<sup>1</sup> are dated "from the prosperous camp of victory, pitched at the prosperous Ârâma."

Lines 3-6 contain a verse which celebrates the king under his surname Janamêjaya—contracted into 'Janmêjaya' for the sake of the metre—and states that he claimed descent from the race of the Moon (*Sôma-vamśa*) The same verse occurs in the grant of the sixth year, where it is placed at the end of the whole document (ll 43-45).

Then follows the preamble of the grant itself (l. 6 ff) .—

"This *Paramabhakṣāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the ornament of the race of the Moon (*Sôma-kula-tlaka*), the lord of Trikalinga, the glorious *Mahābhavaguptarājadēva*,—who meditates at the feet of the *P M P*, the glorious *Mahāśivaguptarājadēva*,<sup>2</sup>—being in good health, having worshipped the Brāhmanas in the village of Satallamā attached to the Kaśalôḍā district (*viśhaya*), commands the ryots residing in that (village), the inhabitants of that district at the time, (and) all servants of the king, (*viś*) collectors, attendants, irregular and regular soldiers, spies, staff-bearers, eunuchs, favourites of the king, *etc* "

The king then states that he granted this village (*viś* Satallamā, l. 9) by a copper-plate edict (*tāmra-sāsana*, l 19) "to the *Bhaktaputra Sānthakara*, son of *Dhṛitakara* (l. 17 f), who belonged to the *Gautama gōtra*, who had the three *pravaras* of *Gautama*, *Āngirasa* and *Autathya*, who studied the *Vājasaneyi-Mādhyaṇḍina śākhā*, who had immigrated from the village of *Purushamandapa* in the *Ôdra* country (*dēśa*), (and) who resided in the village of *Murujunga*." Of the proper names mentioned in this passage I can identify none besides *Ôdra*, which is the Sanskrit form of *Oḍḍa*, i.e. Orissa<sup>3</sup>

11 verses from the *Dharmasāstra* are quoted in ll 23 38 Then follows the date of the grant —"In the victorious reign of the *P M. P*, the ornament of the race of the Moon, the lord of Trikalinga, the glorious *Janamêjayadēva*,—in the eighth year, in the second half of the month of *Kārttika*, on the twelfth *tithi*—and in figures *Samvat 8, Kārttika śudi 12*" The *Dātaka* was the *Mahāmahattama Bhakṣa Sādhārana*, son of *Śôbhana* (l. 41 f). This person must be the same as the donee of three other grants of *Mahābhavagupta I*, where he is called the *Bhakṣa Mahattama Sādhārana*, son of *Bhakṣa Śôbhana*,<sup>4</sup> and he seems to have been the prime-minister of the king<sup>5</sup>

According to ll 42-44, "this edict was written by the *Kāyastha Ālāya*, son of *Kaulāsa*, who was attached to the *Mahāsāndhivigraha Rānaka Mallādatta*, son of *Dhārādatta*" The same minister is referred to in the remaining published inscriptions of *Mahābhavagupta I* In the three grants of the 31st year he is called *Mallādatta*,<sup>6</sup> while the grant of the sixth year has *Mallādharādattasuta*,<sup>7</sup> which, as the new grant suggests, is meant for *Mallā[datta]*, son of *Dhārādatta*

The inscription ends with the statement that it was engraved by *Samgrāma*, son of *Rayanājyā*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol III p 347, text line 1.

<sup>2</sup> The other grants of *Mahābhavagupta I* omit the word *mahā* before *Śivagupta's* name.

<sup>3</sup> *Ôdra-dēśa* is mentioned also in an inscription of *Mahāśivagupta II*, above, Vol III. p 353, text line 33

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p 348, text line 12 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp 345 and 350.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p 350

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p 344, text line 42.

<sup>8</sup> Compare *ibid.* p 212, note 2 According to Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, *ôja* (or *edja*) means (1) 'a teacher,' and (2) 'an artificer' In Tamil we have the forms *uvachōka* and *ōchōka*, see *South-Ind Inscri* Vol II, p. 293, note 2. The word is evidently a *śabdānta* of *upādhyāya*; compare *Ind Ant* Vol XX p. 393, note 23 A similar honorific term, also applied to artisans in Southern India, is *dohdya*, see above, Vol. VII. p. 168, note 8.

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TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 श्री<sup>1</sup> स्वस्यनेकवरविलासिनीचरणनोपूररवोद्भान्तमत्तपारावत-<sup>3</sup>  
 2 कुलात<sup>4</sup> सकलदिगन्तरागतवन्दिजनविस्तारितकीर्त्तः श्रीमतो मुरसिन्ध<sup>5</sup> [1\*]  
 3 अस्ति चोणीश्वराणाममलमणिरुचामन्वयात<sup>6</sup> कौस्तुभाभः शौर्यत्वागा-  
 4 'म्वुरा[शि]र्विरचितविधिवद्दान(र)शम्भीकृताभः [1\*] श्रीमान्जन्मेजयाख्यस्तृदश-<sup>9</sup>  
 5 पतिसम[:\*] कृष्णगा<sup>10</sup> भोक्तकामः प्रख्यातद्वेषिवशप्रविदलनपटुर्भूपति<sup>11</sup> सो-  
 6 मवंशे [11\*] सोयं <sup>12</sup>परमभटारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमहा-<sup>13</sup>  
 7 शिवगुप्तराजदेवपादानुध्यात्परमभटारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-<sup>14</sup>  
 8 श्वरसोमकुलतिलकतुक्लिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमहाभवगुप्तराजदेवः<sup>15</sup> कु-  
 9 शलो <sup>16</sup>कशलोडाविषयप्रतिवद्वसतलमाग्रामे <sup>17</sup>ब्राह्मणान् सम्पूज्य<sup>18</sup> त-  
 10 अतिनिवासिकुटुम्बिजनपदान<sup>19</sup> तद्विषयीययाकालाध्यासिन[:\*] सप्ता-  
 11 <sup>20</sup>हन्त्रिसन्निधात्रिचाटभटपिशुनवेत्रिकावरोधजनराजवल्लभादीन्<sup>21</sup> स-

## Second Plate, First Side

- 12 वान<sup>22</sup> राजपादोपजिविन<sup>23</sup> समान्नापयति [1\*] विदितमस्तु भवत[र] यथा-  
 13 स्माभिरयं ग्राम[:\*] सनिधिः सोपनिधिः <sup>24</sup>सर्ववाधाविवर्जितः सर्वोपरिकर-  
 14 करादानसहितः <sup>25</sup>साम्प्रमधुक[:\*] सगर्तोपरः <sup>26</sup>प्रतिनिसिद्धचाटभटप्रवेश-<sup>27</sup>  
 15 चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः<sup>28</sup> गौतमगोत्राय गौतमाङ्गिरसश्चौतथ्यत्रियारिप्रयप्र-<sup>29</sup>  
 16 वराय <sup>30</sup>वाजसनेयेमाध्यन्दिनशाख्याध्यायिने<sup>31</sup> ओडदेशे पुरुषमण्डपग्राम-  
 17 <sup>32</sup>विनीर्गताय मुरुजुंगग्रामवास्तव्याय <sup>33</sup>भटपुत्रश्रीसान्वकरनाम्ने धृति-  
 18 करसुताय <sup>34</sup>शलिलधारापुरस्वरमाचन्द्रतारकाङ्कचितिशमकालाप-<sup>35</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From a set of ink impressions supplied by Mr Venkayya.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a plain symbol.<sup>3</sup> Read 'नूपुर'.<sup>4</sup> Read 'कुलात्'.<sup>5</sup> Read 'सीध'.<sup>6</sup> Read 'यात्'.<sup>7</sup> Read 'म्वुराशि'.<sup>8</sup> Read 'श्रीमान्'.<sup>9</sup> Read 'स्त्रिदश'.<sup>10</sup> Read 'कृष्णगा भोक्तु'.<sup>11</sup> Read 'भूपति'.<sup>12</sup> The र of भटारक is corrected by the engraver from क, read 'भटारक'.<sup>13</sup> The र of 'श्वर' was inserted subsequently<sup>14</sup> Read 'पादानुध्यातपरमभटारक'.<sup>15</sup> Read 'विकलिङ्गा'.<sup>16</sup> Read 'प्रतिवद्व'.<sup>17</sup> Read 'ब्राह्म'.<sup>18</sup> Read 'सम्पूज्य'.<sup>19</sup> Read 'कुटुम्बिजनपदान्'.<sup>20</sup> Read 'हर्षसन्निधातृ'.<sup>21</sup> The ध of 'वरोध' is written on an erasure, read 'दीन्'.<sup>22</sup> Read 'वान्'.<sup>23</sup> Read 'पजीविन'.<sup>24</sup> Read 'वाधा'.<sup>25</sup> Read 'साध'.<sup>26</sup> Read 'निपिद्ध'.<sup>27</sup> Read 'प्रवेशयतु'.<sup>28</sup> Read 'च्छिन्नी'.<sup>29</sup> Read 'रसौतथ्यव्याप्येय', compare above, Vol. III p 45, note 4.<sup>30</sup> Read 'वाजसनेयि'.<sup>31</sup> Read 'शाख्याध्यायिन'.<sup>32</sup> Read 'विनीर्ग'.<sup>33</sup> Read 'भटपुत्र'.<sup>34</sup> Read 'शलिल', the ssa of 'पुरस्वर' is written as ssa<sup>35</sup> Read 'चितिसमकालीप'

- 19 भोगार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च <sup>1</sup>पुन्यशोभिष्वये <sup>2</sup>ताम्रशासनेनाकरिक्त्य<sup>3</sup>  
 20 प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्य <sup>4</sup>समुचितभोगभागकरहिरन्यादिकमुपनय-<sup>5</sup>  
 21 स्निभवद्भिः<sup>6</sup> सुखेन प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति [1\*] भाविमिथ भूपतिभिर्दत्तिरियमस्म-  
 22 दिया<sup>7</sup> धर्मगौरवादस्मदनुरोधाच्च <sup>8</sup>स्वदतिरिवानुपालनीया [1\*] तथा चोक्तं ध-  
 23 र्मशा[स्त्रे] [11\*] <sup>9</sup>वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्यस्य<sup>10</sup> यस्य यदा  
 भूमि-<sup>11</sup>

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 24 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [11\*] मा भूदफलंशङ्का<sup>12</sup> वः परदत्तेति  
 पार्थिवाः [1\*]  
 25 स्वदानात्फलमत्यन्तं परदानानुपालने [11\*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं  
 26 मोदति भूमिदः<sup>13</sup> [1\*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्<sup>14</sup>  
 [11\*] अग्नेरप[त्यं] प्र-  
 27 यम स्ववर्ण<sup>15</sup> भूर्वर्णवी <sup>16</sup>सूर्यसुताय गावः [1\*] यः कौश्वनं गां च महीं  
 च दद्यात्<sup>17</sup>  
 28 दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लाकाः<sup>18</sup> [11\*] आस्तीत्यन्ति<sup>19</sup> पितरः प्रवला(य)न्ति  
 पिताम-  
 29 हाः [1\*] भूमिदात्ता<sup>20</sup> कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति [11\*] भूमिं<sup>21</sup>  
 यः प्रतिगृह्णा-<sup>22</sup>  
 30 ति यश्च भूमिं<sup>23</sup> प्रयच्छति [1\*] उभौ तौ <sup>24</sup>पुन्यकर्माणी नियतं स्वर्गगामि-  
 31 नौ [11\*] तडागानां सहस्राणि<sup>25</sup> वाजपेयशतानि<sup>26</sup> च [1\*] गवां कीटिप्र-  
 दानेन भूमिहर्ता  
 32 न शुध्यति [11\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा<sup>27</sup> यो <sup>28</sup>हरेद्वसुधरां [1\*] स  
 विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा प-  
 33 च्यते पितृभिः सह [11\*] आदित्यो वरुणो विष्णुब्रह्मा<sup>29</sup> सोमो हुताशनः  
 [1\*] <sup>30</sup>शुलपा-  
 34 णिस्तु<sup>31</sup> भगवानभिनन्दन्ति भूमिदं [11\*] सामान्यीयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काल<sup>32</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read पुण्य

<sup>2</sup> The ग of भाग was inserted subsequently.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'स्निर्भवद्भिः'

<sup>4</sup> Read वहुभिः.

<sup>5</sup> Read भूदफलशङ्का.

<sup>6</sup> Read सुवर्ण भूर्वर्ण.

<sup>7</sup> Read लोकाः.

<sup>8</sup> Read भूमि.

<sup>9</sup> Read पुण्य.

<sup>10</sup> Read 'दत्ता वा

<sup>11</sup> Read शूल.

<sup>12</sup> Read ताम्र

<sup>13</sup> Read 'दीया

<sup>14</sup> Read 'भि. । यस्य

<sup>15</sup> Read भूमिदः.

<sup>16</sup> Read सूर्य.

<sup>17</sup> Read आस्तीत्यन्ति.

<sup>18</sup> Read 'गृह्णाति

<sup>19</sup> Read सहस्रेण.

<sup>20</sup> Read हरेत् वसु

<sup>21</sup> Read 'णिय.

<sup>22</sup> Read 'करीकृत्य

<sup>23</sup> Read 'हिरण्या.

<sup>24</sup> Read स्वदत्ति.

<sup>25</sup> Read भूमि.

<sup>26</sup> Read वसेत्.

<sup>27</sup> Read दद्याद्

<sup>28</sup> Read भूमिदाता

<sup>29</sup> Read भूमि.

<sup>30</sup> Read 'शतेन

<sup>31</sup> Read विष्णुब्रह्मा.

<sup>32</sup> Read काले.



## Third Plate

- 35 काले पालनियो<sup>1</sup> भवद्भिः [1\*] सर्वानितान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्  
 36 भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः [1\*] इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलो<sup>2</sup>  
 37 [ल]<sup>3</sup> श्रीयमनुचिन्य<sup>4</sup> मनुष्यजीवितं<sup>5</sup> [1\*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतं<sup>6</sup>  
 38 बुद्धा<sup>7</sup> न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः [1\*] परमभट्टरकमहा-  
 39 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरसोमकुल[ति]लकतृकलिङ्गाधिपति-<sup>8</sup>  
 40 श्रीजनमेजयदेवस्य विजयरान्ये सम्बच्छरे<sup>9</sup> षष्ठमे कार्तिकमा-  
 41 सहितोयपक्ष<sup>10</sup> तिथौ द्वादश्यां यत्राष्टतोपि सम्बत्<sup>11</sup> ८ कार्तिक शुदि १२  
 [1\*] द्यो<sup>12</sup>  
 42 तत्कश्च<sup>13</sup> महामहत्तमभट्टश्रीसाधारणः[1\*] श्रीभनसुतः [1\*] लिखितमिदं शासन  
 43 महासान्निविग्रहिराणकश्रीमल्लादत्तधारदत्तसुतप्रतिवर्षेन<sup>14</sup> का[य]स्थथा-  
 44 ज्ञवेन कै(वि)लाससुतेनः<sup>15</sup> उल्लिरित<sup>16</sup> संग्रामेन<sup>17</sup> (॥) रयणाञ्चोक्तासुतेनः<sup>18</sup>

## No 12 — BRITISH MUSEUM PLATES OF CHARUDEVI

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D , HALLE (SAALE)

This inscription was first edited 25 years ago by Dr Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol IX p 100 ff. On account of its archaic alphabet and of its language, which is not only Sanskrit verse (plate III. lines 12-15), but chiefly Prākṛit prose, it has attracted much attention. Bühler succeeded in deciphering some additional portions of it,<sup>19</sup> and a few corrections were suggested by M Senart and myself<sup>20</sup> At my request, Dr Fleet was good enough to send me a set of ink-impressions of the plates, with the help of which it has been possible to make out with some probability those portions of lines 3 to 7 which Bühler considered 'utterly unintelligible' The only item which appears to be irretrievably lost is the figure of the regnal year at the end of the first line

The original copper-plates, which were secured by Sir Walter Elliot, are now in the British Museum. For their finding-place and for a detailed description of them see the prefatory

<sup>1</sup> Read पालनियो<sup>2</sup> Read 'दलाम्बुविन्दु'<sup>3</sup> Read 'लां श्रिय'.<sup>4</sup> The two *akṣharas* चिन्य are engraved over an erasure.<sup>5</sup> Cancel the *anusvāra*.<sup>6</sup> Read बुद्धा<sup>7</sup> Read 'महारक'<sup>8</sup> Read 'चिकलिङ्गा'.<sup>9</sup> Read संवत्सरे ऽष्टमे<sup>10</sup> Read 'पक्षे'<sup>11</sup> Read सवत्<sup>12</sup> Read दृतकश्च<sup>13</sup> Read 'मह'<sup>14</sup> Read 'प्रतिवर्षेन'<sup>15</sup> The *visarga* is meant for a sign of punctuation, compare *South-Ind Inscr.* Vol II p 111, note 1, and above, Vol VII p. 193, note 3<sup>16</sup> Read चरकोर्च<sup>17</sup> Read 'नेय'<sup>18</sup> See note 15 above<sup>19</sup> *Ep Ind* Vol. I. p 2, note 2<sup>20</sup> Above, Vol. VI. p. 88, note 10; Vol. VII. pp 67 and 69

remarks of Dr Fleet's article, which was accompanied by photo-lithographs of the inscription (on the back of the Plate) and of the seal (on the front of the Plate) The present facsimile of the inscription has been prepared, under Dr Fleet's superintendence, from fresh ink-impressions made for him, in 1903, in the British Museum The seal has been reproduced from a plaster cast taken by Mr Griggs from a sealing-wax impression which was made at the same time in the British Museum The sealing wax impression shows, in the centre of the seal, a standing animal which faces the proper right and looks like a deer, but must be meant for a bull,<sup>1</sup> the crest of the Pallavas, and over the back of the bull, a few indistinct symbols which may be taken for the sun, a crescent, and perhaps one or more stars

The characters of the inscription resemble those of the Hīrahadagallī plates of Śīva-Skandavarman,<sup>2</sup> but are less ornamental and more irregular. This seems to be due to the fact that the engraver mechanically copied a draft which had been written in a pronounced running hand Instances are the *vā* in line 14 and the *vām* of *gavām* (l 15), the subscribed *v* of *savva*<sup>3</sup> (l 11) and the subscribed *ch* of *bahubhīsch[ā]*<sup>4</sup> (l 12), the vowel *i* of *gāmeyikā* (l 10) and of *pibatī* (l 15)<sup>5</sup> The group *tta*, while in most cases resembling *nna*,<sup>6</sup> has two other shapes in *uttare* (l 6) the upper *t* has a fully developed loop, as in Tamil, and in *chhettam* (l 7) and *dattā* (l 12) the lower *t* is fashioned in the same manner The initial *ā* of *āyu* (l 8) differs from that of *Ātukassa* (l 6), *āyuttā* (l 10) and *ānattī* (l 16) In the *nā* of *nivattanā* (l 9) the *n* is placed in a slanting position, and the *ā* fills up the right upper corner Another peculiar letter is the *tha* of *pariharatha* and *pariharāpe[tha]* (l 11) A rude final form of *m* occurs at the end of ll 13, 14, 15 Marks of punctuation are used after *siddha* on the left margin of plate 1 and at the end of the inscription In ll 12-15 every odd *pāda* of the two *ślōkas* is divided from the next by a blank space Plates 11 *a* and 11. *b* are marked like the pages of a book by the numerical symbols '2' and '3' on the left margin, and the numerical symbol '4' occurs in l 9

While in the Andhra inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of Chārudēvi's grant is in accordance with that of the literary Prakṛit<sup>7</sup> In the word *samvachchhara* (l 1), *v* is doubled after *anusāra*. As to the language of the inscription, noteworthy words are *Bhāradāyā*<sup>8</sup> (l 2) for *Bhāradvāja*, *talāka*, *heṣ[ṭh]a*, *pānyā* (l 5) and *chhetta* (l 7)<sup>9</sup> Instances of the nom plur neutr are the three words *nivattanā chhattāri sampadattā* (l 9 f) The abl sing. [*kā*]pāt (l 5 f) is due to a relapse into Sanskrit. Pronominal forms are *amham* (l 8) and *amhehim* (l 9), the genitive and instrumental of *asmad*, and *tam* (l 10), the acc sing neutr of *tad* Verbal forms are the gerunds *kātūna* (l. 9) and *nātūna* (l 10) and the imperatives *pariharatha pariharāpe[tha]* (l 11)

The inscription is dated in some year of the reign of the Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman, the figure or figures of the date being illegible It contains an order by the queen of the heir-apparent (*Yuvamahārāja*) Vijaya-Buddhavarman, who was one of the Pallavas and, as such, a Bhāradvāja or member of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* I read the queen's name as Chārudēvi, and that of the prince whose mother she claims to have been as [*Bu*]ddhi[*yam*]kura or, in Sanskrit, Buddhyanakura In favour of my restoration of this damaged word it may be stated that *ankura*, 'a sprout,' is synonymous with *pallava*, and that other Pallavas bore the similar surnames

<sup>1</sup> Compare Dr Fleet's *Dyr Kan Distr* p. 319, note 5

<sup>2</sup> *Ep Ind* Vol I p 2 ff

<sup>3</sup> These two words were already noted by Buhler, *ibid* p 2, note 2

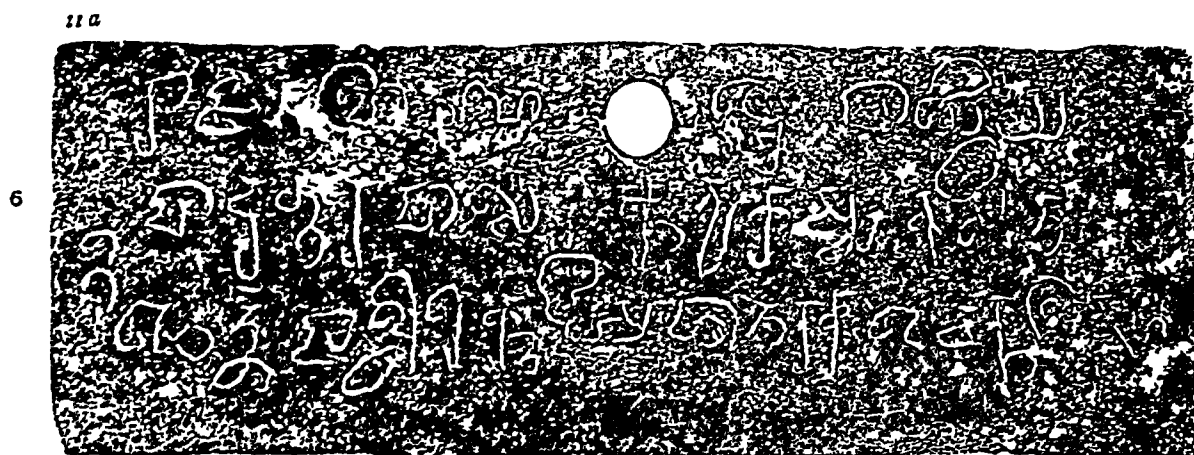
<sup>4</sup> Compare *g* *nivattanā* (l 9) with *bhagavanna*<sup>5</sup> (l 8)

<sup>5</sup> In this respect the two grants of Śīva Skandavarman (*Ep Ind* Vol. I p 4, and Vol VI p 86) occupy an intermediate position

<sup>6</sup> The same form occurs in the two grants of Śīva Skandavarman

<sup>7</sup> On the four last words see Prof Fische's edition of Hēmachandra's Prakṛit grammar, I 202; II. 141, I. 101; II 17

Plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman



J F FLEET

FULL-SIZE

W GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS MADE BY MR HENRY OLDLAND

8

10

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥ २ ॥  
 अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ३ ॥

12

14

16

अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ४ ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ५ ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ६ ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ ७ ॥

Nayānkura, Taranānkura and Lalitānkura<sup>1</sup> Thus the first plate of the inscription supplies the following short Pallava genealogy —

Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman  
|  
Yuamahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman, married Chārudēvi  
|  
Buddhyānkura

The syllables which follow the word *Chārudēvi* at the end of the first plate can be read and restored with the help of the corresponding portions of four cognate inscriptions

Nasik, No 3, l 11 (p 65 above), and No 4, l 2 (p 71 above)—*ānapayati Govadhane amacha[m\*]*

Mayidavolu plates, l 3 f (above, Vol VI p 86)—*Dhamñakade vāpatam ānapayati*  
Kondamudi plates, l 6 f (*ibid* p 316 f)—*ānapayati Kūdūre vāpatam*

On the strength of these analogous cases I propose to read at the end of line 4—*Ka[dake]* *vīya* . . ., to correct the second word to *vīya* , and to restore *vīyāpatam*, which is another possible Prakrit form of *vāpatam* in the Mayidavolu and Kondamudi plates It is true that the verb *ānapayati* is missing in our inscription, but the same is the case in the first sentence of the Hirahadagalli plates<sup>2</sup> As in that document, we seem to have here a sort of official preamble, corresponding to the address of a modern letter—‘Chārudēvi to the official at Ka[daka]’ As regards this Prakrit word, its Sanskrit equivalent is *Kataka*, but the name cannot refer to the town of Cuttack in Orissa, which is far to the north of the Pallava territory Besides, it must be borne in mind that the second and third syllables of *Ka[dake]* are injured, and that the true reading of the word may after all be a different one

The remainder of the inscription refers to a gift of land made by Chārudēvi This land must have been situated in Ka[taka], to the officer in charge of which place the order was addressed The grant consisted of a field near the ‘King’s Tank’ The recipient was a temple of Narāyana (Vishnu) at Dalūra (l 7), a place which I am unable to trace The *Ājñapti* (or *Dātāla*) was Rōhinigupta (l 16)

#### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

##### First Plate.

##### Siddha ||<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Sini-Vijaya-Khandava[m]ma-mahārājassa samvachchhar[ā] . . . [I\*]
- 2 yuamaharājassa Bharaddāyassa Pal[ī]avā-
- 3 nam si[r]i-Vijaya-Buddhavammasa devī [Bu]ddhi<sup>5</sup>
- 4 kura-janavi<sup>6</sup> Chārudēvi Ka[dake] vīya . . .<sup>7</sup> [I\*]

##### Second Plate, First Side

- 5 Rajatalāka-het[th]e paṇiya<sup>8</sup>
- 6 pād=uttare pase Ātukassa kasita<sup>9</sup>
- 7 chhettam Dālūra Kulī-Mahataraka-<sup>10</sup>devakula[ssā]

<sup>1</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. I pp 3 and 5, Vol II p 341, above, Vol VI p 320

<sup>2</sup> *Ep Ind* Vol I p 5, text lines 1 6

<sup>3</sup> From ink impressions received from Dr Fleet

<sup>4</sup> On the left margin of the plate

<sup>5</sup> The subscribed *l* of the second syllable of *Pallavā-* in line 2 has obliged the engraver to place the syllable *ddhi* too low, the top of the *s* being on a level with the top of the broken syllable *du* — Restore *Buddhiyamkura-*

<sup>6</sup> Read *-janani*

<sup>7</sup> Read *vīyāpatam*

<sup>8</sup> Restore *paṇiya kupad=*

<sup>9</sup> Restore *kasitavram*

<sup>10</sup> Read *-Maṭatāraka-*, *Mahāsaraka*, which is another possible reading, would be a very unusual name for a temple.

## Second Plate; Second Side.

- 8 bhagavan-Nārāyaṇassa amham āyu-bala-vaddhanī-  
 9 yam kâtūpa bhūmi-nivattanaḥ chattiāri 4 amhehim<sup>1</sup>  
 10 sampadattā [i\*] tam nātūna gāmeṃ(ya)kā āyuttā  
 11 savva-parihārehi pariharatha pariharāpe[tha] [i\*]

## Third Plate.

- 12 Bahubhur-vva[s]udhā dattā bahubhūś=ch=[ā]nnpālītā [i\*]  
 13 yasya yasya yadā bhūmih<sup>2</sup> tasya tasya tadā phalam [ii\*]  
 14 Sva-dattam<sup>3</sup> para-dattam<sup>3</sup> vā yē<sup>4</sup> haratta vasa[n]dharām [i\*]  
 15 gavām śata-sahasrasya hantuh pibata duṣkṛitam [ii\*]  
 16 Ānatti Rohaṇ[i]gu[tt]ā=tti<sup>5</sup> ||

## TRANSLATION.

Success! (Line 1.) The years . . (of the reign) of the glorious Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman.

(L 2) Chārudēvi, the queen of the Yuvamahārāja, the Bhāradvāja, the glorious Vijaya-Buddhavarman (of the family) of the Pallavas, (and) mother of [Buddhyan]kura, (addresses the following order) [to the official at] Ka[taka] :—

(L. 5.) "The field to be ploughed by Ātuka on the northern side of the drinking-well below the King's Tank (*Bājataḍḍaka*), (containing) four—4—*nivartanas* of land, has been given by Us, making (it) a means for increasing Our length of life and power,<sup>6</sup> to the god Nārāyaṇa or the Kālī-Mahāt[ā]raka temple at Dālūra.

(L 10) "Knowing this, ye, the villagers (and) officials, exempt (this field) with all immunities, (and) cause (it) to be exempted!"

[Lines 12-15 contain two of the customary verses.]

(L. 16) "The *Āṅgapti*<sup>8</sup> (is) Rōhinigupta."<sup>9</sup>

## No 13 — NILAMBUR PLATES OF RAVIVARMAN.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M. A. (MADRAS), AND G. VENKOBΑ RAO (OOTACAMUND).

This set of copper-plates was discovered by a Kurumban, while he was washing for gold, on the banks of the Chāliyār stream adjacent to Nilambūr.<sup>10</sup> The exact spot where they were

<sup>1</sup> The *anusvāra* is distinctly visible after the *ni* at the end of the preceding line

<sup>2</sup> Read *bhūmis=tasya*

<sup>3</sup> Read *-dattām*

<sup>4</sup> Read *yō harāta*

<sup>5</sup> Read *\*guttā=tti*.—The *t* of *Rohaṇi*<sup>6</sup> has an unusual shape, perhaps the *ra* of *sahasrasya* in the preceding line interfered with its proper execution. The *ttā* of *\*guttā* looks almost like *vā*

<sup>6</sup> The Sanskrit equivalent of the words *amham āyu-bala-vaddhanīyam* occurs in the Uruvupalli grant; *Ind Ant* Vol V p 52, text line 27 f. Instead of *vaddhanīyam*, the corresponding portions of the Hiraṇyagalli, Mayidavālu and Konḍamudi plates have *vaddhanīke*

<sup>7</sup> The corresponding Sanskrit phrase *sarva-parihārāṇi pariharata parihārayata cha* occurs in the Māṅgalūr grant; *Ind Ant* Vol V p 156, text line 30

<sup>8</sup> On *dyatti*; see above, Vol VII p 185 and notes 4 and 5.

<sup>9</sup> In *Rohaṇigutta*, *Rōhaṇi* is a vulgar form of *Rōhiṇī*, which occurs above, Vol IV p 295, text line 5; the usual form in Tamil inscriptions is *Urdāṇi*

<sup>10</sup> [This picturesque place belongs to the Ernad (Ēranādu) taluka of the Malabar district and is situated at the foot of the Kārūr Ghāt on the road from Ootacamund to Calicut. Near it are the teak plantations started by Mr. Conolly, Collector of Malabar, in 1840, see Mr. Logan's *Malabar*, Vol II. p 368 ff.—E. H.]

found is popularly known as "Grāmam Kaḍavu." The plates were made over by the discoverer to the Raja of Nilambūr, Mr Tachcharakkāvil Mānavikraman Tirumalpād, who very kindly presented them to us for publication.

The plates are three in number, the first and last of them are engraved on one side only. The average length and breadth of the plates are  $7\frac{3}{8}$ " and  $2\frac{3}{8}$ " respectively, and each plate is about  $\frac{1}{16}$ " thick. The edges of the plates are neither thickened nor raised into rims. The weight of these three plates is nearly  $10\frac{5}{8}$  oz, including the ring, which alone weighs  $1\frac{3}{8}$  oz. The oval ring is about  $\frac{1}{16}$ " thick, with  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " and  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " for diameters. When the plates were discovered by the Kurumban, the ring bore a seal with distinct writing on it. He broke it open in the hope of finding gold encased in it, but threw it away in disgust when finding none. Thus the seal has been lost.

Though the letters are cut deeply and very distinctly, they do not show through on the back of the plates. The water of the stream, in which the plates had lain apparently for a long time, has corroded them on the margin and caused the loss of several inscribed portions, which are now broken away. The characters are similar to those of the Kūdgere plates of Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātīvarman (above, Vol. VI p 12), of the plates of Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛṅgēsavarman (*Ind Ant* Vol VII p 37), and also to those of the Halsi plates belonging to the reigns of Ravivarman and Harivarman (*Ind Ant* Vol VI [pp 25-32]). On the first side of the second plate, between lines 7 and 8, there is an addition in somewhat more modern characters, which reads *paschimatas=cha Na[nda]ra[sa]*. Probably this clause was added at a later period, when the existing specification was found insufficient for describing the spot, compare the *pa, ma, na* of this addition with the corresponding letters in the body of the inscription. As regards individual letters in the record itself, attention may be drawn to the Dravidian *r* and *l*. The former occurs once, in the word *Kṛupāsāni* (l 6), and the latter twice, in the words *Muḷtagi* (l 7) and *Maḷkāvu* (l 8). As noticed by Prof Kielhorn (above, Vol VI p 13), the subscript *t* of the conjuncts *kta, tta* occurring in the words *uktañ=cha* (l 14) and *Kārttika* (l 6) has the common curvilinear form, whereas in *nta* and *stya* of the words *°kulābhyanantara°* and *stasty=astu* (ll. 11 and 16 respectively) it is represented by a looped sign. The language of the record, excepting one benedictory verse in l 14 f, is Sanskrit prose.

The inscription belongs to the fifth year of the reign of the *Dharmamahārāja* Ravivarman of the Kadamba family. While at Varjayanti (i.e. Banavāsi), the king made a grant, on the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Kārttika, of two hamlets (*palli*) named *Muḷtagi* and *Maḷkāvu* to a Brahmana named Gōvīndasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who had mastered the Yajurveda. The two hamlets were situated on the east of the village named *Kṛupāsāni* in the Mogalūr district (*viśhaya*).

As regards the places mentioned in the inscription, it may be noticed that *Muḷtagi* is represented in the Merkara plates of Kongani-mahādhirāja<sup>1</sup> as forming the eastern boundary of the village Badaneguppe, granted to the *Śrī-vijaya-Jindlaya* of Talavanaganagara. Talavanaganagara is the modern Talakād on the Kāvêri, and Badaneguppe is 5 or 6 miles south of Talakād on the other side of the river. Mogalūr is perhaps identical with either Mugūr or Mujjūr, also near Talakād.

#### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

##### First Plate

1 ख[स्ति] श्रीविजयवैजयन्त्यां स्वामिमाहासे]नमातृगणानुध्या[ता]-

2 भिषि[क्त]ानाम्मानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितीपुत्राणां प्रतिकृतखा

<sup>1</sup> See Mr Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, p 233

<sup>2</sup> From the original copper plates

- 3 ध्यायचर्चापाराणामश्वमेधावभूयस्त्रानपवित्रीकृता-  
4 [न]घानामाश्रितजनांबानां कदंबानां श्रीरविवर्ममधर्ममहा-

*Second Plate, First Side.*

- 5 [रा]ज[ः]<sup>1</sup> आत्मनः प्रवर्धमानविजयसवत्सरे पंचमे  
6 कार्तिकपौर्णमास्यां मोगलूव्विषये कि०७पासाणिनाम-  
7 वेययामस्य पूर्वदिग्विभागे सु०३गिनामधेयप-  
8 [ली]म०७वुसहितां काश्यपसगोत्राय यजुर्वेद[पा]-

*Second Plate, Second Side.*

- 9 [रगा]य गोविन्दस्वामिने स्वपुण्याभिवृद्धये सहि[रण्यं]  
10 [स]पानीयपातं सर्वपरिहृतपरिहारं सप्र[दत्त]-  
11 [वान्] [१\*] तदवधार्य यः कदंबकुलाभ्यन्तरगतो न्यो वा [राग]-  
12 [द्वे]लोभादिभिरभिभूतो हरे[त स पञ्चमहापातक]-

*Third Plate*

- 13 [सं]यु[क्तो] भवति [१\*] योभिरचेत् तत्पुण्यफलभाग[वति] [१\*]  
14 उक्तञ्च ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [१\*]  
15 [य]स्य यस्य यदा भूमिः<sup>2</sup> तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति [॥\*]  
16 [स्व]स्त्यस्तु गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रजा[भ्यो मङ्गल] [॥\*]

#### TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Hail! The glorious Ravivarman, the virtuous (and) mighty king of the Kadambas,— who were anointed after meditating on the lord Mahāsena and the group of the Mothers,<sup>3</sup> who belonged to the lineage of the Mānavyas, who were the sons of Hāritī, who were well versed in repeating the sacred writings one by one,<sup>4</sup> who were sinless (on account of) being purified by the bath after (the ceremony of) the horse-sacrifice, and who were (like unto) mothers to people (who were) dependent (on them),— at the prosperous (and) victorious (city of) Vajrayanti, on the full-moon *tithi* of (the month of) Kārttika in the increasingly victorious fifth year of his (reign), gave to Gōvindasvāmin, belonging to the lineage of Kāśyapa (and) well versed in the Yajur-vēda, the hamlet named Muṭtagi along with Maḷkāvu, (situated) on the eastern side of the village named Kīrupāsāni in the Mogalūr district, with all exemptions, with the pouring of water, (and) with (a present of) gold, towards the increase of his own merit

<sup>1</sup> Cancel the *visarga*

<sup>2</sup> Read भूमिस्तस्य

<sup>3</sup> This epithet, met with in almost all the Kadamba grants, has been adopted by all the kings of this dynasty from Mayūrasarman (i. e. Mayūravarman), the founder of the dynasty. Compare above, p. 32, v. 22 — *Shaddānanah yam=abhisikṭavān=anudhyāya śāndpatim mātṛibhis=saha.*

<sup>4</sup> This passage has been translated in various ways. Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI p. 15) translates it by 'studying the requital (of good or evil) as their sacred text'. As the passage might as well apply to any student of the sacred writings, it is taken in its general sense thus — *prati pratyakam kṛtā anusṭhita yā siddhyasya, charchā uktyanantaram ukṭhā idm parayanti ity.*

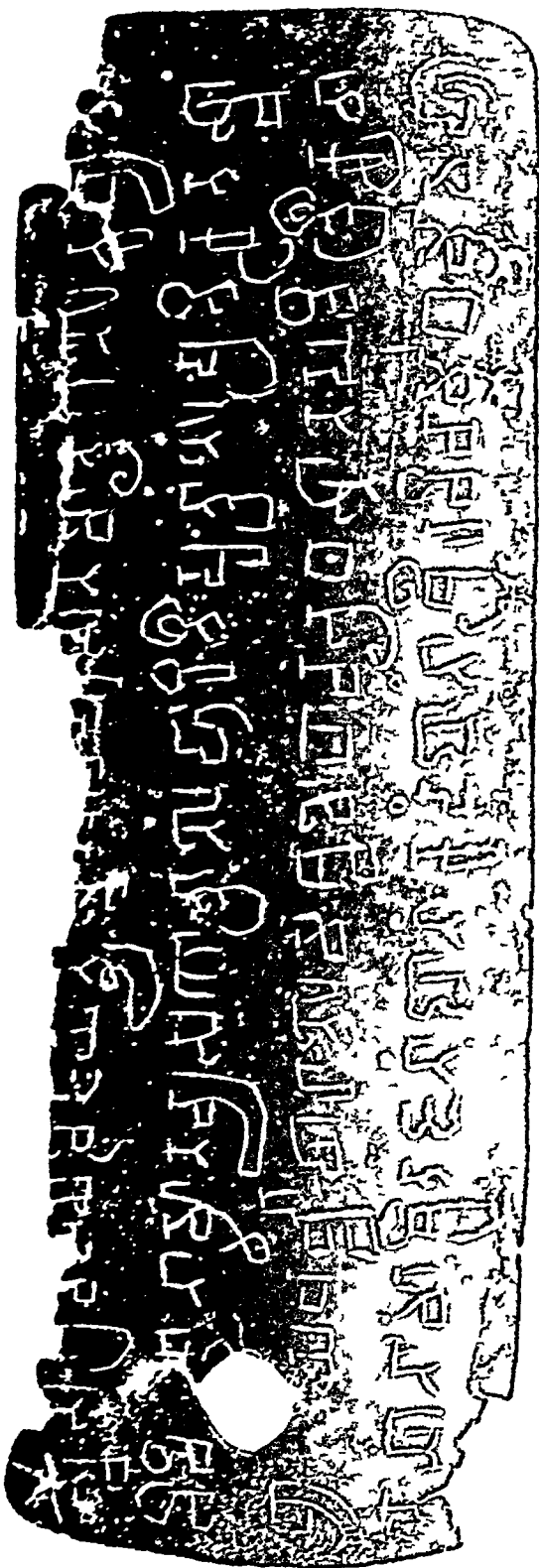


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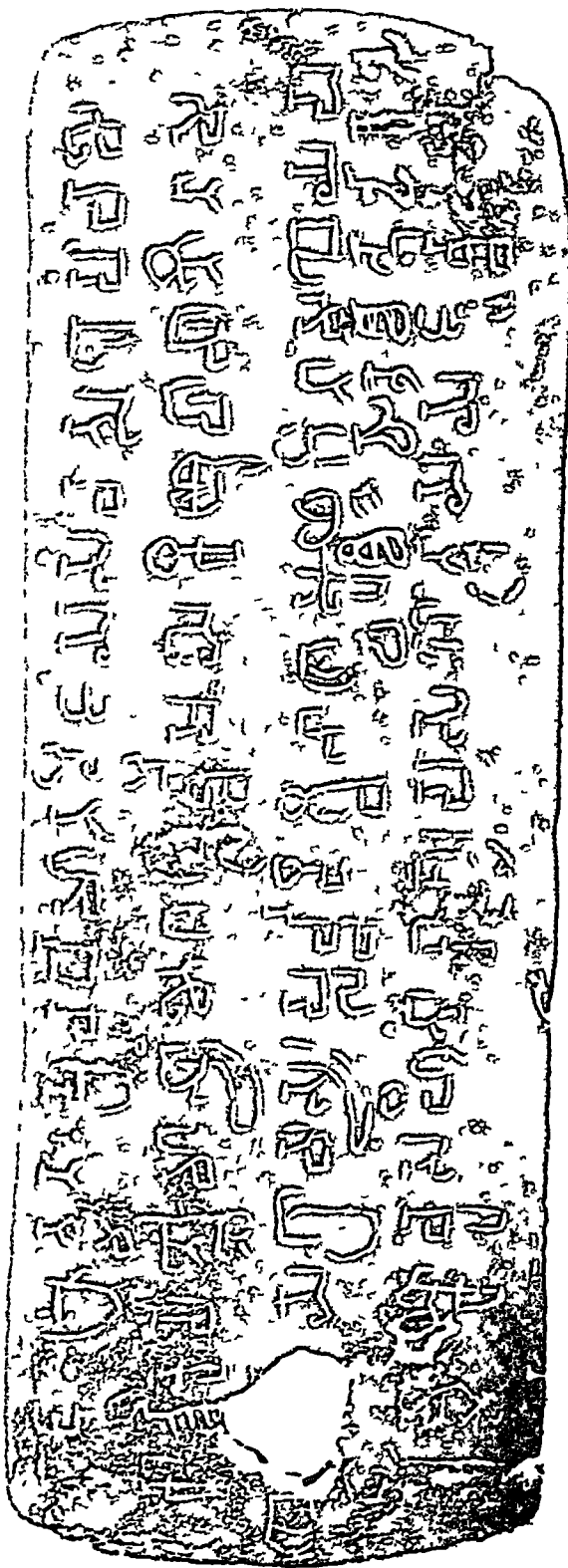
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E HULTZSCH

FULL-SIZE

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ii b.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
सर्वभूतहितं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वपापहर्त्रं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वदुःखहर्त्रं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वकलहहर्त्रं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्ववैद्यं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वशक्तिं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्ववैभवं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वशान्तिं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसुखं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसौख्यं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसम्पत्तिं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसिद्धिं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसुखं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसौख्यं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसम्पत्तिं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसिद्धिं कुरु सर्वदा ॥

10

12

10

12

iii

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
सर्वभूतहितं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वपापहर्त्रं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वदुःखहर्त्रं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वकलहहर्त्रं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्ववैद्यं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वशक्तिं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्ववैभवं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वशान्तिं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसुखं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसौख्यं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसम्पत्तिं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसिद्धिं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसुखं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसौख्यं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसम्पत्तिं कुरु सर्वदा ॥  
सर्वसिद्धिं कुरु सर्वदा ॥

14

16

14

16

(L. 11.) He who,— whether he be a member of the Kadamba family or an alien,— knowing this, influenced by passion, hatred, greed, *etc*, takes away (*this grant*), is saddled with (*the guilt of having committed*) the five great sins He who protects (*it*), shares the reward of its merit

(L 14) And it has been said — “The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; to whomsoever, at any time, the earth belongs, to him for the time being belongs the reward (*of the grant*)” May blessings rest upon cows and Brāhmanas<sup>1</sup> (*And let*) prosperity (*rest*) upon the subjects<sup>1</sup>

## NO 14—FIVE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAUJ

BY PROFESSOR F KIELHOEN, C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN

At Professor Hultzsch's request I shall give an account here of five more<sup>1</sup> copper-plate inscriptions of the Gāhadavāla king Gōvīndachandrādēva of Kanauj, the originals of which are now<sup>2</sup> in the Provincial Museum of Lucknow, and of which ink-impressions were supplied by the Government Epigraphist Before doing so, I take the opportunity of submitting a few general remarks

While only three stone-inscriptions, of very small importance, have been hitherto discovered of the Gāhadavāla kings of Kanauj, the number of their known copper-plates amounts to no less than fifty-five.<sup>3</sup> The details are as follows —

One plate of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Madanapāla, recording a grant that was made by his father, the *Mahārājādhirāja* Chandradēva

One plate of Madanapāla and his queen Prathvisīrikā(?).

Three plates of Gōvīndachandra, of the reign of his father Madanapāla

Twenty-six plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Gōvīndachandra

Two plates of Gōvīndachandra and his mother Rālhana (Ralha)-dēvi.

One plate of Gōvīndachandra and his queen Nayanakēlidēvi.

One plate of Govīndachandra and his queen Gōsaladēvi.

One plate of Gōvīndachandra and his son, the *Yuvarāja* Āsphōtachandra (below, C)

Two plates of Gōvīndachandra and his son Rājyapāla (*Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 21, and below, D)

One plate of the reign of Gōvīndachandra, recording a grant made by the Singara prince Vatsarāja

Two plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vijayachandra and his son, the *Yuvarāja* Jayachandra

Fourteen plates of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayachandra

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol IV p 97 ff, Vol V p 112 ff, and Vol VII p 98 ff

<sup>2</sup> The plates were “found by a contractor at Benares near the Bhadani temple at a depth of about 5 feet from the surface in the course of excavations for the water-works conducted on the spot in April 1893” See Mr Venkayya's *Annual Report* for the year ending with May 1905, p 6

<sup>3</sup> There can hardly be any doubt that of a royal family of which we possess 55 copper-plates, there must have existed also a considerable number of stone-inscriptions. The stones on which these inscriptions were engraved have been probably used for building purposes or lie buried in the ground The same may be said regarding the records of *eg* the Mastrakas of Valabhi, of whom we have 40 plates and only a single, most insignificant stone-inscription, and of the E Chalukyas of Vengi, of whom 29 copper-plate inscriptions have been published, and not a single stone-inscription

All these plates were issued during the ninety years from A.D. 1097 to A.D. 1187 Excepting the genealogy of the family and dates for each king from Chandradêva to Jayachandra, there is in them no historical information of any particular value.<sup>1</sup> But the plates are of great interest on account of the very large number of districts and villages mentioned in them Nearly all these localities remain to be identified, and it is with the view of perhaps inducing others, especially residents of the United Provinces, to help in the work of identification, that I give here an alphabetical list of all names of districts that occur in the plates. So far as I can judge, most of these districts would have been called after larger villages or towns, some of which undoubtedly are still in existence

List of districts mentioned in the plates.

Amvu(mbu)âli-pattalâ, *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p. 138, line 20 (The inscription grants the village of Dêûpâli on the banks of the D[ai]vahâ Daivahâ apparently is the modern 'Deoha' which according to Thornton's *Gazetteer*, p 333, is another name of the river Gogra.)

Antarâla pattalâ, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng* Vol XXXI p 123.

Asurêsa-pattalâ, *Ind Ant.* Vol. XV. p 11, line 20.

Bhailavata-pattala(?), *Jour. Roy As Soc* 1896, p 787.

Bhimamayûtâsa . . -pattalâ; above, Vol V. p. 117, line 13

Dayadâmi-pattalâ, *Ind Ant.* Vol XVIII. p 140, line 18.

Dêva[ha]li-pattalâ, *ibid* Vol XV. p. 7, line 14

Dhanêsarama-pattalâ, *ibid* Vol XVIII. p 11, line 8.

Gôyara-pattalâ (in Ônavala-pathaka), above, Vol V p 114, line 15. (Gôyara perhaps is the 'Gowra' in *Indian Atlas*, sheet No 102, long. 83° 20', lat 26° 47')

Haladôya-pattalâ, above, Vol. IV. p. 101, line 14, and *Jour As Soc Beng.* Vol XXVII. p. 243.

[Ha?]thaunda-pattalâ, *Ind Ant* Vol. XVIII p. 21

Jâru[tîha]-pattalâ, *ibid.* p 141, line 18, and p. 142, line 16.

Jiâvai-pattalâ, above, Vol. IV. p. 119, line 14, or, which is the same,—

Jiâvatî-pattalâ (in Pañchâla-dêsa), *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 103, line 10; and *Ep. Ind.* Vol II p. 360, line 8

Kachchhôha-pattalâ, above, Vol IV. p. 116, line 12, and p 129, line 19

Kangali-pattalâ, *ibid* p. 127, line 17.

Kâti-pattalâ, *ibid.* p 102, line 13.

[Kêsâurê?]pattalâ, *ibid* p 105, line 12

Kôsamva(mba)-pattalâ, *Ind Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p 137, line 18.

Kô[thô]takôtiâvarahôttâ[ra], above, Vol IV p 108, line 11.

Mahasô pattalâ, *ibid* p. 122, line 18, or, which is the same,—

Mahasôya-pattalâ, above, Vol. V. p. 115, line 12

Mâ[na]ra-pattalâ, *Ind Ant* Vol. XVIII. p. 131, line 20

Nandini-pattalâ, below, p. 155, line 13.

Nandivâra-pattalâ, below, p. 154, line 12.

Navagâma-pattalâ; *Jour As Soc Beng.* Vol. LVI P. I p. 109, line 14, and above, Vol IV. p. 113, line 13.

Nêulasatâvisikâ, <sup>2</sup> above, Vol IV p 110, line 9

<sup>1</sup> The plates generally state that Yasôvigraha, the reputed founder of the Gâhadavâla family, came when 'the lines of the protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven' The kings thus referred to are the Pratihâras of Kanauj who, as we now know, derived their descent from the Sun. The Gâhadavâla king who first took possession of Kanauj was Yasôvigraha's grandson Chandradêva, for whom we have a date in A.D. 1097.

<sup>2</sup> The *sattâvisikâ* of this name is derived from the Prâkrit *sattâvisam* or Sanskrit *saptavîṃśati*, 'twenty-seven.'—Compare, in other plates, names of districts like *Nakshisapura chaturâṣṭikâ*, etc

Pāndala-pattalā (in Gōvisālaka that belonged to Dudhāh in Saruvāra), above, Vol. VII p. 99, line 15

Paśchimachchhapana-pattalā<sup>1</sup> (in Antaryēdī), *Ind. Ant.* Vol XVIII. p. 135, line 20.

Purōha-pattalā, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI. P. I p 120, line 11

[Rāna ?]-pattalā, *Ep. Ind.* Vol II p 362, line 13.

Rūdamanavayālśī-pattalā,<sup>2</sup> above, Vol IV p 112, line 12

Sigurōdha-pattalā, *Ind. Ant.* Vol XVIII p 16, line 12.

Sirasi-pattalā (in Ōnavaḷa-pathaka in Saruvāra), above, Vol V. p 114, note 4, and Vol. VII. p 99 (Sirasi probably is the 'Sirsī' in *Indian Atlas*, sheet No 87, S. E, long. 83° 9', lat 26° 32').

Tēmishapachōttara-pattalā, above, Vol. IV p 115, line 14

Ughanatērahōttara-pattalā,<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p 106, line 12.

Umva(mba)rāla-pattalā; below, p 159, line 11

Unāvisa-pattalā, above, Vol. IV. p 124, line 20

Vajambhāchchhāsathi-pattalā,<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* p 125, line 17

Valanra-pattalā, below, p 157, line 13.

Vri(bri)hadgrihokamusāra-pattalā, above, Vol IV p 121, line 19.

Vri(bri)hagrihē[yē?]varaṭha-pattalā, *ibid.* p 104, line 13.

[Ya ?]vaala-pattalā; *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol LVI P I p 115, line 13.

I may add that, besides the villages granted and the districts in which they were situated, the plates also mention a fair number of places where the donations recorded in the plates were made. In no less than 33 instances this was done after bathing in the Ganges at Benares. Other places on the Ganges, mentioned in a similar way, are —

Īsapratiśthāna (?), *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol XXVII. p. 243

Khayarā, above, Vol. IV p 108, line 16.

Madapratihāra (?), *ibid.* p 101, line 18

Mudgagiri (i.e. Monghyr on the southern bank of the Ganges), above, Vol VII. p 99, line 21

Rājyapālapura, below, p 158, line 18

Raṇḍavai, *Ind. Ant.* Vol XVIII. p 140, line 22, p. 141, line 22, and p 143, line 20

Vishnupura, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 360, line 6.

Two donations were made after bathing in the Yamunā at—

Āsatikā (or Asatikā), *Ind. Ant.* Vol XIV p 103, line 9, and *ibid.* Vol. XVIII. p. 16, line 17 (where the king is stated to have bathed at the Muraitha(?)-ghatta), and one was made after bathing in the Vēni (i.e. at the confluence of the rivers) at—

Prayāga (i.e. Allahabād), above, Vol. IV p 122, line 22

Other places where donations were made, not connected with any rivers, are:—

Dēvasthāna (?), above, Vol IV p 105, line 15, and Vadaviha, *ibid.* p. 121, line 23.

And of rivers, in addition to those already given, in which the king had bathed when making a donation, the plates mention the Satī (with the Svapnēśvara ghatta), above, Vol. V. p. 114, line 23.

Of Benares the following specific localities are referred to in the plates —

The Ādikēśava-ghatta; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.* 1896, p 787, and *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LVI P I p 109, line 19, and (the) Ādikēśava (temple); *Ind. Ant.* Vol XIX p 252, above, Vol IV p. 119, line 18, and p. 124, line 24.

<sup>1</sup> Chhapana in this name probably is the Prākṛit *chhappanna* or Sanskrit *śatpañcāśat*, 'fifty six.'

<sup>2</sup> Vayālist would be the Prākṛit *bhāyālistam* or Sanskrit *dvācatvāśat*, 'forty two'

<sup>3</sup> Tēraha in this name probably is the Prākṛit *tera*ha or Sanskrit *trayōdaśan*, 'thirteen.'

<sup>4</sup> Chhāsathi; apparently is the Sanskrit *śatśasāthi*, 'sixty-six.'—Prof Hultzsch suggests that the *varaha* of Kō[thō]takōpāvalōtta[ra]- may be the Prākṛit *bārāha* or Sanskrit *dvadāśan*, 'twelve', and *pañcha* of Tēmishapachōttara- the Sanskrit *pañchan*, 'five.'

The Kapālamôchana-ghatta, above, Vol. IV p 110, line 18

The Trilôchana-ghatta, *Ind. Ant* Vol XVIII p. 11, line 12

The Vâdêśvara-ghatta, above, Vol. IV p 114, L

The Avimukta-kshêtra, *ibid* p 114, L, and p 113, line 18.

The Kôti-tîrtha, below, p 159, line 15

(The temples of) Aghôrêśvara, Indramâdhava, Laudêśvara and Pañchôm-kâra (below, p 153, lines 18 and 19), Krittivâsas (above, Vol IV p 126, line 22), and Lôlâika (above, Vol. V p 118, line 18)

Of Prayâga (the temple of) Gangâditya is mentioned, above, Vol. IV. p 122, line 22.

\* \* \*

Of the new inscriptions the most interesting is C, because it records a grant by Gôvindachandra's son, the Yuvarâja Âsphôtachandra, who was unknown to us before. And the inscription A is peculiar in recording the gift of a house at Benares, not the grant of a village. The three grants recorded in C, D and E were made in favour of one and the same Brâhman, a sun-worshipper and student of the *Jyôtihsûtra* — The taxes specified are the *bhûgabhûgakara* (mentioned in 50 plates of this family), the *pravanîkara* (mentioned in 44 plates), the *turushkadanda* (mentioned in 23 plates, but not in any of the plates of Jayachandria), the *kumaragadânaka* (mentioned in 10 plates), the *hiranya* (mentioned in 9 plates), and the *jalakara* and *gôkara* (mentioned together in 1 plate only)

#### A —PLATE OF GÔVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1171

This is a single plate, which measures about 1' 3½" broad by 1' ½" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ¾" in diameter, and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2½" in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, the legend *śrīmad-Gôvinda-cha[n]dradêva[h\*]*, in Nâgarî letters about ⅓" high, above the legend, the figure of a Garuda, squatting down and facing to the proper right, and below the legend, a conch-shell. The plate contains 21 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ⅓ and ½". The characters are Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, the dental sibilant is often employed for the palatal, and the palatal occasionally (as in *raśika*, l 3) for the dental, and the words *vamsa* and *tâmraka* are written *vansa* and *tâmuraka*, ll. 2 and 21. I may also point out that the sign of *avagraha* is used in *snâtva śmâbhîr=*, l 18

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhîrâja Paramêśvara Gôvinda-chandradêva*, who records that, on Monday, the full-moon tithi of Mâgha of the year 1171 (given both in words and in figures), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted a dwelling-place (*âvâsa*<sup>1</sup>) to the *Maṇattaka Dâymîsarman*,<sup>2</sup> son of the *Thakkura Mahûkara* and son's son of the *Thakkura Kâkû*, [a Brâhman] of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, whose three *pravaras* were Bhâradvâja, Ângirasa and Bârhaspatya. The dwelling-place so granted was at Benares itself, and lay to the east of (the) Aghôrêśvara and Pañchôm-kâra, and to the west of (the) Indramâdhava and Laudêśvara (temples) — The grant (*tâmraka*) was written by the *Karanîka Jalhana*<sup>3</sup>. It contains no imprecatory verses

<sup>1</sup> The original has *avâsa* and treats this word as a neuter noun. Compare *avâsanîkâ* for *avâsanîkâ*, frequently used in the Siyâdônî inscription, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 168

<sup>2</sup> Compare the name *Dâyi* (*Dâyika*), above, Vol IV p 171

<sup>3</sup> The same Jalhana wrote the grant of [Vikrama-]samvat 1172, published above, Vol IV p 104, where he is described as *śrī-Vâstavyakul ôbhûta-kâyastha-thakkura*. The term *karanîkâ-bhûta* of the present grant describes him literally as 'descended from a *Karanîka*,' Chitrâgupta, with whom he is compared, is 'one of Yama's attendants (recorder of every man's good and evil deeds)'

The date appears to be slightly irregular. In Vikrama-samvat 1171 current the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha ended on Thursday, the 22nd January A D 1114, and in Vikrama-samvat 1171 expired the same *tithi* commenced 10 h 12 m after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January A D. 1115. This Monday most probably is the day intended by the grant, but I should have expected it to be connected with the 14th *tithi* of the bright half, not with the full-moon *tithi*.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT

- 14 . . . . . <sup>1</sup>-śrīmad-Gōvindachandradevō vijayī ||<sup>2</sup> śrīmad-Vārāṇasyām  
nirvāsi-  
15 nō nikhīla-[janapa]dān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvārāja-mamtri-puṇḍita-  
pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapatalika-bhūsha-  
16 g-naumittī[k-ā]ntahpurika-duta-karituragapattanākarasthānagokulādhikāri-purushān-ājñā-  
payati vo(bō)dhayaty-ādīsan cha yathā |  
17 viditam=astu bhavatam=ēkasaptatyadhik-aikādeśa-<sup>3</sup>samvatsarē Māghē māsi  
śukla-pakṣhē paurṇamāsyām=amkē-pi samvat 1171 Māgha-su-  
18 di 15 Sōmē || śrī-Vārāṇasyām Gangāyām snātva śmābhūr-gōkaruṇa-kuśalatā-  
pūta-karatal-ōḍaka-pūrvam si-Vārāṇasyām=ēv-Āghorēśva-  
19 ra-Pamchōmkarayōh pūrvvē | tath=Ēmdramādhava-Laudēśvarayōh pāśchimē  
avāsam=īdam<sup>4</sup> Bhāradvāja=agotrāya Bhāradvāj-Āmṛasa-Vā(bā)-  
20 rhaspatya-trihpravaraya<sup>5</sup> tha<sup>6</sup> | śrī-Kākū-pantrāya | ta(tha)<sup>6</sup> | śrī-Mahākara-putrāya  
mahattaka-śrī-Dāyima(sa)rmanē pradattam<sup>7</sup> matvā sa[r]vvar=a-  
21 pi paṇpalayitavyam=iti | ‡ || <sup>8</sup>Karanik-ōdgatō vidvāms=Chitragupt-ōpamo  
gunaih | yasasē Jalhana[h\*] śrīmān=ah[kha\*]t=tāmvrakam<sup>9</sup> mud[ā] ||

## B — PLATE OF GŌVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1187

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 6½" broad by 1' 1" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole about 1½" in diameter, and to the plate belongs a circular seal which is similar to that of the inscription A. The plate contains 24 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ⅔ and ⅞". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is frequently employed instead of the palatal.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Gōvindachandradēva*, who records that, on Sunday, the Āgrahāyanī or full-moon *tithi* of Mārgaśīra of the year 1187 (given in figures only), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted the village of Palasaundi in the Nandivāra *pattalā* to the *Prānāchārya Bhaṭṭa Pandita Khōṇasārman*, son of the *P Bh P Ravidhara*, son's son of the *P. Bh P Gōhada* and son of the son's son of the *P Bh P Māngala*, a Brāhman of the *Parāvasa*<sup>10</sup> *gōtra* whose

<sup>1</sup> Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauli plate of Gōvindachandra, published above, Vol. IV p 100 f. The main differences are that the present plate adds the words *sa cha* before the word *paramabhaṭṭāraka* of line 11, and omits the passage *atvapati*. . . . *Vāchaspati* in lines 13 and 14 of the Kamauli plate

<sup>2</sup> This sign of punctuation and all the others in lines 15-20 are superfluous

<sup>3</sup> Read *-aikādaśasata*-

<sup>4</sup> Read *pāśchima avāsam=īdam* (or, correctly, *pāśchima avāsō=yam*) The construction of *nūrvē* and *pāśchimē* with the genitive case is contrary to the rules of grammar

<sup>5</sup> Read *-trihpravarāya*

<sup>6</sup> Le *thakkura*

<sup>7</sup> Read *pradattam=iti* (or, correctly, *pradatta iti*)

<sup>8</sup> Read *tāmvrakam*

<sup>9</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh), the first Pāda is faulty

<sup>10</sup> So the name is given in the plate, but I am not sure that it is correct

three *pravaras* were Kāṅkāyana, Kauśika and Dhaumya, and student of the Śāṅkhāyana-<sup>1</sup> Bahvricha<sup>2</sup> śākhā — The taxes specified (in line 20) are the *bhāgabhogakara*, *hiranya*, *pratamhara* and *tvrushkadanda*. The writer's name is not given.

The title *prānūchārya* which, with *bhaṭṭa* and *paṇḍita*, is prefixed to the names of the donee and his ancestors, I have not met elsewhere, and I cannot give its exact meaning.

The date, for Vikrama-samvat 1187 expired, corresponds to Sunday, the 16th November A.D. 1130, when the full-moon *tithi* of Mārgasīra commenced 3 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise.<sup>3</sup>

The localities I am unable to identify.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.

- 12 . . . . .<sup>4</sup> śrīmad-Gōvīndachandradēvō vijayī ||<sup>5</sup> Nandivāra-pattalāyām |<sup>6</sup>  
Palasaumdi-grāma-nivāsanō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=a[pi] [cha\*] rāja-rājñi-yuva-  
13 [lā]ja-mantri-purohita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāmdāgarīk-ākshapatalika-bhishaka(g)-na 1 m 1 -  
ttik-āntahpurika-dūta-karituragapattanākarasthāna[g]ōkulādhikāri-puru-  
14 [shā]n samājñīpayati vō(bō)dhayaty=ādīsa(śa)ti va(cha) yathā viditām=astu  
bhavatām yath=ōparīkṣita-grāmah sa-jala-sthalah sa-lōha-lavan ākarah sa-matsy-  
ākarah sa-gartī-ōsharah sa-ma-  
15 [dhū]ka chūta-vana-vātikā-vitapa-trīna-pū(yū)ti-gōchāra-paryantaś=va(cha)turāghāta-visu-  
(su)ddhah s[v\*]a-sīmā-paryantah s-ōiddh[v\*]-ādīhah samvat 1187  
Mārggasi(śi)ra-mā[sē]<sup>6</sup> Āgrahani-pūrnīmā-  
16 [sy]ām Ravi-dinē śrīmad-Vārānasyām Gamgāpi(yām) snātva vidhivan=  
mamta-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitri-gānāns=tarpayitva timira-patala-pātana-  
pa[t]u-mahasam=Ushnarōchisham=upasthā-  
17 y=Aushadhipati-sa(śa)kala-sō(śō)kharam samabhyarchchya tribhuvana-trītur=  
Vāsudēvasya pūjām=vidhāya<sup>7</sup> prachura-pāyasena havishā havirbhujam hutvā  
mātāpitṛbī=ātmanaś=cha punya-yasō(śō)-  
18 [bhī]vriddhayō Pūāvaya-<sup>8</sup>gōtrāya |<sup>9</sup> Kāṅkāyana-<sup>10</sup>Kauśi(śi)ka-Dhaumya-tripravārāya |  
Sikhyāvanavashthacha-sākhinō<sup>11</sup> prānūchārya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Māṅgala-  
praputāyā | prānūchā-  
19 ya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Gōhādā-pautrāya | prānūchārya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Ravidhara-  
putrāya | prānūchārya-bhaṭṭa-paṇḍita-śrī-Khōnasa(śa)rmmaṇō vrā(brā)hmanāy=  
āsmabhih<sup>12</sup> gōkarana-kuśala-  
20 tā-pūta-karatalōdaka-pūrvvām=ā-chandr-ārkkam yāvat<sup>13</sup> sāsānikṛityā pradattah<sup>14</sup> |  
iti matvā yathādīyamāna-bhāgabhogakara-hiranya-pravanīkara-turushkadanda-  
prabhṛti-samast-ā-

<sup>1</sup> The plate has *Sikhyayana*, apparently for *Samkhyāyana* which occurs (for *Śāṅkhāyana*) also in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 17, line 19.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* of the Rīgveda.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the date of Baijān plate of Gōvīndachandra (in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 372, No. 193), which apparently corresponds to Monday, the 17th November A.D. 1130, when the full-moon *tithi* of Mārgasīra ended 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>4</sup> Up to this text is practically identical with that of the Kamauḥ plate of Gōvīndachandra, published above, Vol. IV, p. 100 f. In verse 6, *vijayāt* has been erroneously engraved between *vijayāt* and *vija*, in verse 8 we have *-vaddh-* instead of *-vandh-*, and in the prose passage that follows the verses, *sa cha* was engraved before the first *paramabhaktaraka*, but seems to have been struck out again.

<sup>5</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>6</sup> Read *-māsa Āgrahāni-purnamāsyām*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *pujām vidhaya*.

<sup>8</sup> The reading is certain, but I am not sure that it is correct.

<sup>9</sup> The signs of punctuation in lines 18, 20 are superfluous.

<sup>10</sup> This name is quite clear in the impression.


<sup>11</sup> Read *Śāṅkhāyana bahvricha-śākhinō*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *ōbhīr-*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *yāvat-ōhāśa*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *ōdatta it-*.



21 dāyān=ājñāvidhēyibhūya dāsyath=ēth ||  || Bhavanti ch=ātra slo(ālo)kaḥ ||  
 . . . . .

C — PLATE OF GŌVINDACHANDRA AND THE YUVARĀJA MAHĀRĀJAPUTRA  
 ĀSPHŌTACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 1190

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ' broad by 1' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ' high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, and to the plate belongs a circular seal, about 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter, which bears in high relief, across the centre, in two lines, the legend

mahārājaputra-śrīma-  
 d-Āsph[ō]tacha[m]drad[ē]vaḥ ||

in Nāgarī letters between  $\frac{1}{16}$  and  $\frac{3}{8}$ " high, above the legend, a conch-shell, and below the legend, a spear or arrow pointed towards the proper right. The plate contains 28 lines of well preserved writing. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, except in the word *bhāḥramura*, and occasionally the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal, and the palatal for the dental.

The inscription is of the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramśīvara Gōvindahandradēva*. With his consent, the *Mahārājaputra* (or son of the *Mahārāja*) *Āsphōtachandradēva*, endowed with all royal prerogatives and anointed as *Yuvārāja* (or heir-apparent), records that, on Friday, the third tithi, the Akshaya-tritīyā and Yugadī, of the bright half of Vaiśākha of the year 1190 (given both in words and in figures), after bathing in the Ganges at Benares, he granted the village of Kanāuta in the Nandini pattalā to the *Pandita Dāmōdaraśarma*—son of the *Pandita Madanapāla*, son's son of Lokapāla and son of the son's son of Gunapāla—a Brāhman of the Kāśyapa gōtra, whose three *pravara*s were Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva, who was a student of the *Vajasanēya sūkhā* (of the Yajur-vēda) and a sun-worshipper (*saura*), and who knew the five *siddhantas* of the *Jyōtiḥśāstra*—The taxes specified (in line 22) are the *bhūgaḥḥāra*, *pravāṇāra*, *turushādanda* and *lumara-gadūnaka*. The grant was written by the *Thaklura Gāgeka*.<sup>2</sup>

The date, for the *Kārttikīdī* Vikrama-samvat 1190 expired, corresponds to Friday, the 30th March A. D. 1184, which was the proper day of the Akshaya-tritīyā and the (Trētā-) yugadī, because the third tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha ended on it 13 h 2 m after mean sunrise.<sup>3</sup>

The localities I am unable to identify.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT

- 12 . . . . . śrīmad-Gōvinda-  
 13 chamdradēvō vijayī || Tad-ētat-sammatyā samastarājaparakriyōpēta-yauvarājyā-  
 bhūshikta-mahārājaputra-śrīmad-Āsphōtachamdradēvō vijayī ||<sup>5</sup> Namdini-pattalā-  
 14 yām Kanāuta-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha raja-rajū-  
 ma[n\*]tri-purōhita-pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhāndagārik-ākshapatalika-

<sup>1</sup> Here follow the six verses commencing *Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihnati, Śaṅkham bhādr āsanam, Sarvaśētanā bhāvinah, Bahubhīra-vasudhā, Suvānam=śkam, and Tadaganam sahasrēna*

<sup>2</sup> Gāgeka most probably is identical with the Gāgūka who wrote the grants F, G, and H, treated on above, Vol. IV p. 107 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The proper time for the Akshaya tritīyā and the Trētayugadī is the forenoon, see *Ind. Art.* Vol. XXVI p. 179

<sup>4</sup> Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamauh plate of Gōvindahandradēva, published above, Vol. IV p. 100 f

<sup>5</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

- 18 mad-Rājyapālapurē Gamgāyām snātva vidhivan=mantia-dīva-muni-manuja-bhūta-  
pitṛ-gaṇāme=taṭpayitvā tūmra-patīla-pāṭana-pata-maha-sa[m=U]shṇaśchishā[m=]  
u]pasthā-
- 19 y=Anshadhīpati-rakala-śīha(pha)raṁ samabhyarchehya tūbhuvana-trātū=Vāśudhvasya  
pūjam vidhāya prachura-pāya śna haṛiḥā havibhujam hutvā mātāpī[ti]jor=  
ātmanas=cha
- 20 punya(ṇya)-yaśo-bhividdhaya<sup>1</sup> Kāśyapa-sagotrāya | Kāśyapa-Āvatsāra-Naidhiva-  
tripravāṇāya | Vājasanīya-śākhinō | paṇḍita-sī Guṇapāla-p[ī]apautiāya |  
pa[m\*]dita-śrī-Lokapāla-[pau]ṇāya | paṇḍita-srī-
- 21 Madanapala-putrāya | paṇḍita-srī-Dāmodhara[m\*]mānō<sup>2</sup> viś(ha)hmanāy=āsmabhu=  
ggokarṇa-kuśalata-pāta-karṇal-ōdya(da)ka-phūṇa(iva)m = a - c h a n d r - ā r k k a m  
yāvach=chhā-sunikṛtya prada[te]ḥ<sup>3</sup> [matva]
- 22 yathādīyamāna-bhāgabhōgakara-pravarika[ia\*]-jalakara-gōkara-turushkadanda-prahṛiti-  
sa[m]ast-ādayān=ājñavidhōyibhūya dāsyath=ōti<sup>4</sup> || Bhavanti ch-ātra dharm-  
ānu[śam(śā)]sinaḥ
- 23 ślōkāḥ ||<sup>5</sup>
- 30 . . . || ५ || Likhitaṁ ch=śdam tāmra-puttakam karṇika-thakkura-  
śrī-Vivikḥu=ōti || ||

### E.—PLATE OF GŌVINDACHANDRA OF [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1207.

This also is a single plate, which measures about 1' 5½" broad by 1' 1½" high, and is engraved on one side only. In the upper part it has a ring-hole, about ½" in diameter, and to the plate belongs a circular seal which is similar to that of the inscription A. The plate contains 26 lines of generally well preserved writing. The size of the letters is between ¼ and ½". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, except in the word *babhrum* =, occasionally the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal, and the palatal for the dental (as in *sahasra*, twice), and the word *hansō* is written *hansō*, in line 25.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Gōvindahandradeva*, who records that, on Monday, the 5th of the bright half of Pausa of the year 1207 (given in words and figures), on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-samkranti, after bathing at the Kōṭi-tirtha at Bonpres, he granted the village of Lōlirupādā,<sup>7</sup> together with Tivāyi-kshētra,<sup>8</sup> in the Umbarāla pattalā, to the Paṇḍita Damodharaśarma, known to us already as the donor of the grants C. and D.—The taxes specified (in lines 17) are the *bhāgabhōgakara*, *pravarikara* and *turushkadanda*. The grant (*tāmra*) was written by Vidyadhara, the son of (the *Karṇika*) Dhandhūka.<sup>9</sup>

The date, for Vikrama-samvat 1207 expired, corresponds to Monday, the 25th December A.D. 1150, when the 5th tithi of the bright half commenced 3 h. 33 m., and the Uttarāyana-samkranti took place 3 h. 48 m., after mean sunrise.

The localities I am unable to identify.

<sup>1</sup> This and the other signs of punctuation in lines 20 and 21 are superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> The *akshara* *vra* is engraved over *srī* which had been originally engraved.

<sup>3</sup> Read *pradatta it matva*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *dasyath=ōti*.

<sup>5</sup> Here follow the eleven verses commencing *Dhāmam yaḥ pratigrihyati, Saṅgham bhadr dānam, Bahubhīraśudhā, Sarvān-śān-bhāvanāḥ, Bhavānīṣa varsha-sahasrāṇi, Gama-śakāḥ, Tuddyaṇam sahasrēṇa, Śva dattāṁ para dattāṁ na, Vāri-kṛndhā-aranyēṣu, Yān-śha dattāṁ, and Vāt-ābhra vibhramam*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *tamra*.

<sup>7</sup> Or, perhaps, Lōlirupādā, see the note on the text.

<sup>8</sup> This was perhaps a *pataka* of Lōlirupādā.

<sup>9</sup> Dhandhūka wrote the grant of Vikrama samvat 1201, treated of above, Vol. V p. 116, and is most probably identical with the *Thakkura* Dhandhūka who wrote the grant of Vikrama-samvat 1197, noticed above, Vol. VI p. 114.

**EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT.**

- 11 . . . śrīmad-Gōvīndachandradēvō vijayī ||<sup>1</sup> Umvarāla-pattalāyām |<sup>2</sup>  
Tivāyī-kshētrēna saha <sup>3</sup>Lōlī[rū]pādā-grāma-nivāsīnō nikhīla-janapadān-upagatān=  
apī cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarā-
- 12 ja-mantri-puṣṭhita-pratibhāra-sēnāpati-bhāndāgārik-ākshapatalika-bhūṣag-naimittik-ānta h -  
purika-dūta-karituragapattanākara[sth]ānagokuladhukāri-purnyā(shā)n = a j n ā p a y a t i  
vō(bō)-
- 13 dhayaty-ādīśati cha yathā |<sup>4</sup> viditam=astu bhavatām |<sup>4</sup> yath=oparīkṣhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-  
sthilah sa-loha-lavan-ākarah sa-matsy-ākarah sa-gartī-ōsharah sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-  
vātikā-vitapa-tri-
- 14 na-[yū]n-gōchhara-paryantah s-orddhv-ādhas=chaturāghāta-vissuddhah sva-simā-paryantah  
samvatsarānām saptādhika-dvādaśasatēshu Paushe masī śukla-pakshe  
pamchamyām t[th]lau Sōma-dinē śuklē-pī samvata(t) 1207
- 15 Pausa-sudi 5 Sōmē(ma) uttarāyana-samkrāntāv=ady=ēha śrīmad-Vārāpasyām  
Kōti-ti[rthē]m|ātvā mātāpitrōr=atmanas=cha pu[nya]-yasō-bhuvriddhayē=smabhur=  
ggā(ggō)kaipua-kusalatā-pūta-karatul-ōdala-pu-<sup>5</sup>
- 16 rrvam Kasya(sya)pa-gotrāya |<sup>6</sup> Kāśya(śya)p-Āvatsāra-Naidhri(dhru)va-triḥpravarāya<sup>7</sup> |  
Vājasaneja-sā[kh]inē pandita-śrī-Lōkapala-pautrāya | pamdita-si-Madanapāla-  
puzāya | pandita-śrī-Dāmōdaraśarmma-
- 17 nē vra(brā)[hma]nay=[ā\*]-chandr-āikkam yāvach=chhāsānikṛitya pradatto<sup>8</sup> matvā  
yathādiyamāna-bhagabhōgākara-pravānikara-turushkadanda-prabhriti-sariv - ā d ā y ā n =  
ā[ū]āvīdhēyibhūya dāsyath=ēti || chha || Bhavanti ch=atra
- 18 slokāh ||<sup>9</sup> . . . . .
- 24 . . . . . || chha || <sup>10</sup>Bhū-bharttur=asya kaianē
- 25 sara=iva hano<sup>11</sup> Dhandhūka ity=aritam,ra-divākarō=bhūt | tasy=ātma-jēna guṇn=ēdam=  
alēkhī tā[m]ram Vidyādharēna dharanitala-bhūshanēna || Yāvad=guṇa Dhanapatēi=  
vvasati Smarārīr=yāvan=niśāpati-
- 26 r=amushya lālāta-pattē | krōdē kuranga-sisur=asya cha yāvad=ētat=tāvat=sthūbhavatu  
sāsānam=asta-vighnam || ✽ ||

No 15--PIKIRA GRANT OF SIMHAVARMAN

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH D , HALLE (SAALE)

Two sets of ink-impressions of this copper-plate grant were sent to me by Mr Venkayya who had received the original on loan from the Superintendent, Government Central Museum, Madras, to whom it had been despatched by the Collector of Nellore. It was 'originally sent by

<sup>1</sup> Up to this the text is practically identical with that of the Kamañi plate of Gōvindsachandra, published above, Vol IV p 100 f.

<sup>2</sup> These two signs of punctuation are superfluous, read *vjayy=Umbardla-*

\* This name may possibly have to be read *Lolikapīda*.

\* These two signs of punctuation are superfluous

• Pearl-ōdaka pū-

<sup>a</sup> The signs of punctuation in this line are superfluous

7 Pezd -tr:praturdyo

<sup>a</sup> Resd pradatta iti matva

<sup>a</sup> Here follow the twelve verses commencing *Bhūmim yāh pratigṛhṇāti, Śāntikāṃ bhadrāṃ dānam, Sūratāṃ*  
*śāntāṃ bhāgīṇāṃ, Bahubhīr=rasudhā, Gāṇḍakam, Taddagdnam sahasrēna, Svā dattam para dattam vā, Shashṭīm*  
*varsha-sahasrāni, Vāṛi hīnēṣṭ=aranyēṣṭu, Na visham, Yc=īha dattum and Vāt dāhira vibhramam*

<sup>10</sup> Metre here and below Vasantatilakā

<sup>11</sup> Read *hams* *o*

the village Munsiff of Nelatur, Ongole taluka, now part of the Guntur district, to the Deputy Tahsildar of Addanki and formed part of the unclaimed property of a dead Bairāgi."

Mr Venkayya furnished me with the following description — "There are five copper-plates on a ring, weighing together 70 tolas. The outer sides of the first and the last plates, which bear no letters, as well as the edges of the plates, are smooth. The plates measure almost 7" in length and  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in height. Plates ii to iv are a little thicker than i and v. Part of the writing on plate i shows through on the blank side of it. The ring was cut by me and rivetted subsequently. The diameter of the ring is  $2\frac{1}{4}$ " and its thickness  $\frac{3}{8}$ " on the average. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The seal is very much worn, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, an animal with mouth open and facing the proper left. It is represented sitting on a horizontal line which is in relief, and it resembles very closely the animal represented on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant (*Ind Ant.* Vol V p 50). The tail of the animal is not seen, neither are its forelegs."

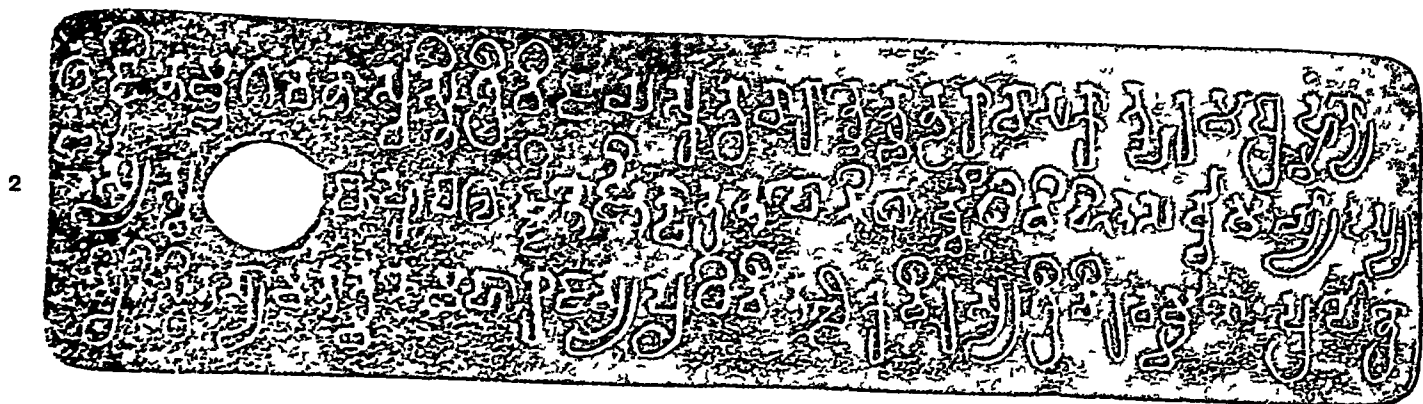
The engraving of the inscription is on the whole carefully done and well preserved. The language is Sanskrit prose, and three Sanskrit verses of the *Rishi* (Vyasa) are quoted at the end of the inscription. The alphabet closely resembles that of the Uruvupalli and Māngalūr grants<sup>1</sup>. But there is one point in which the three grants differ. In the Uruvupalli grant *ta* has a loop on the left, as in Tamil, and *na* has none. In the Māngalūr grant both the form with the loop and the one without it are used in the case of *ta*, while *na* has no loop except in *kratūndm* (l 16). In the new inscription the forms with and without loop are used for both *ta* and *na*, though in the majority of cases *ta* has a loop and *na* has none. A final form of *m* occurs five times (ll 13, 18, 23, and twice in l 24). Plates i, ii b and iv b are marked on the left margin with the numerical symbols 1, 2 and 4, while plates iii b and v are not numbered.

The inscription opens with the same invocation of Bhagavat (Vishnu) as the Uruvupalli and Māngalūr grants. It records the grant of the village of Pīkura in the district named Munda-rāshtra (l 14) in the fifth year of the reign (l 18) of the Pallava Mahārāja Simhavarman (l 14), who was the son of the Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa (l 9 f), the grandson of the Mahārāja Skandavarman (II) (l 7), and the great-grandson of the Mahārāja Viravarman (l 3). To the name of each of these four princes are prefixed a number of laudatory epithets which resemble those used in the Uruvupalli grant, where, however, they are differently arranged and applied to the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpavarman, his father Mahārāja Skandavarman (II), his grandfather Mahārāja Viravarman, and his great grandfather Mahārāja Skandavarman (I). In the Māngalūr grant the epithets differ, but the kings are, as in the Pīkura grant, the Pallava Mahārāja Simhavarman, his father Yuvārāja Vishnugōpa, his grandfather Mahārāja Skandavarman (II), and his great-grandfather Mahārāja Viravarman.

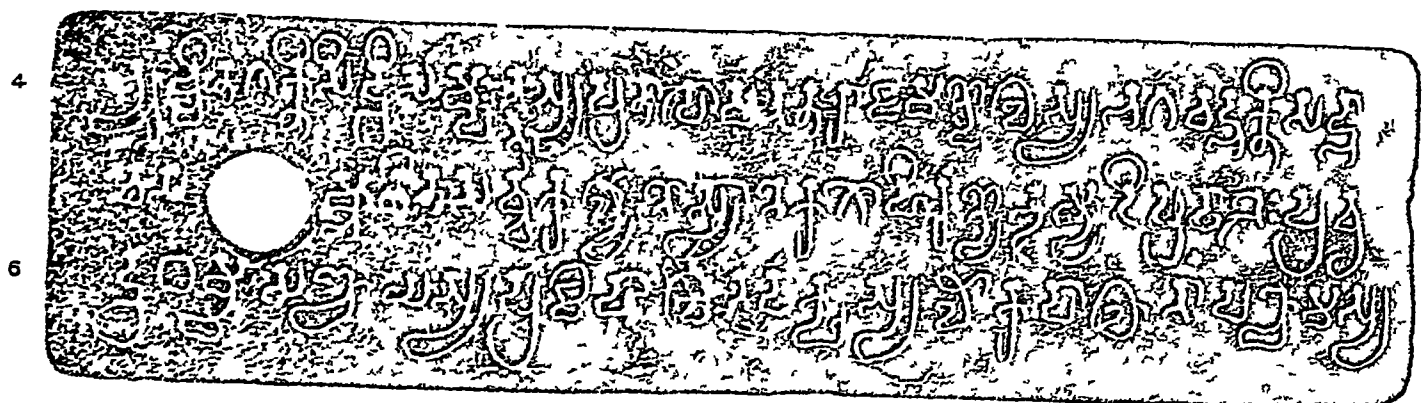
The date of the Pīkura grant is the fifth year, and that of the Māngalūr grant the eighth year, of Simhavarman's reign. The Uruvupalli grant was made by the Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpavarman, but is dated in the eleventh year of the Mahārāja Simhavarman, whose relation to the donor is not stated. Dr. Fleet concluded from this that the Simhavarman of the Uruvupalli plates was an otherwise unknown elder brother of Vishnugōpa. I would propose another solution of the difficulty. The term Yuvārāja or Yuvamahārāja, which is prefixed to Vishnugōpa not only in his Uruvupalli grant, but in the two grants of his son Simhavarman, suggests that he never ascended the throne, but that the succession passed from his father Skandavarman II to his son Simhavarman. The reason of this need not have been premature death. If it is assumed that Vishnugōpa declined to take up the reins of government or was prevented from doing so by some other reason unknown, he may well have been alive during the reign of his son Simha-

<sup>1</sup> Edited with photo lithographs by Dr Fleet in *Ind Ant.* Vol V. p 50 ff. and p 154 ff.

1



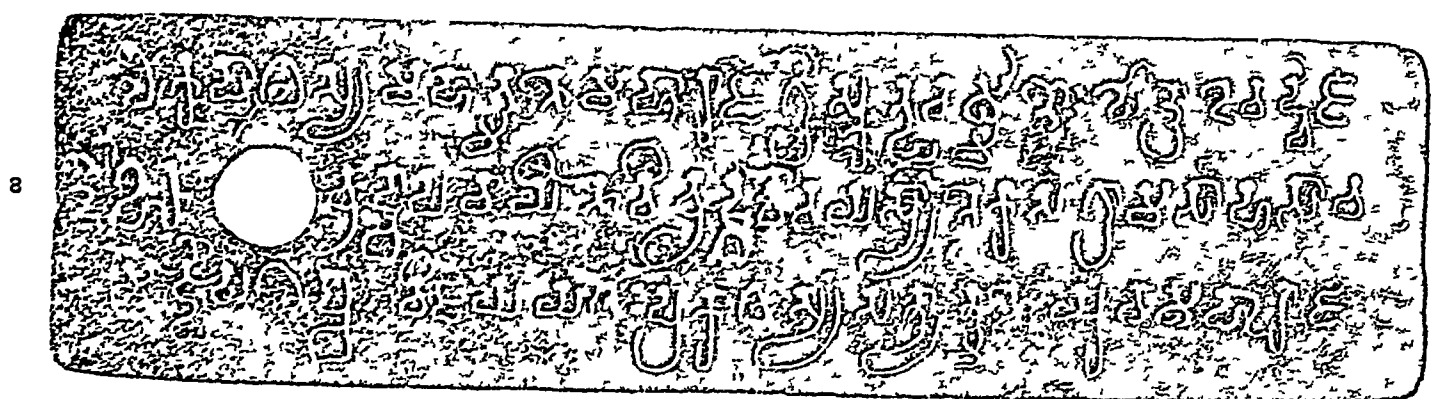
1a



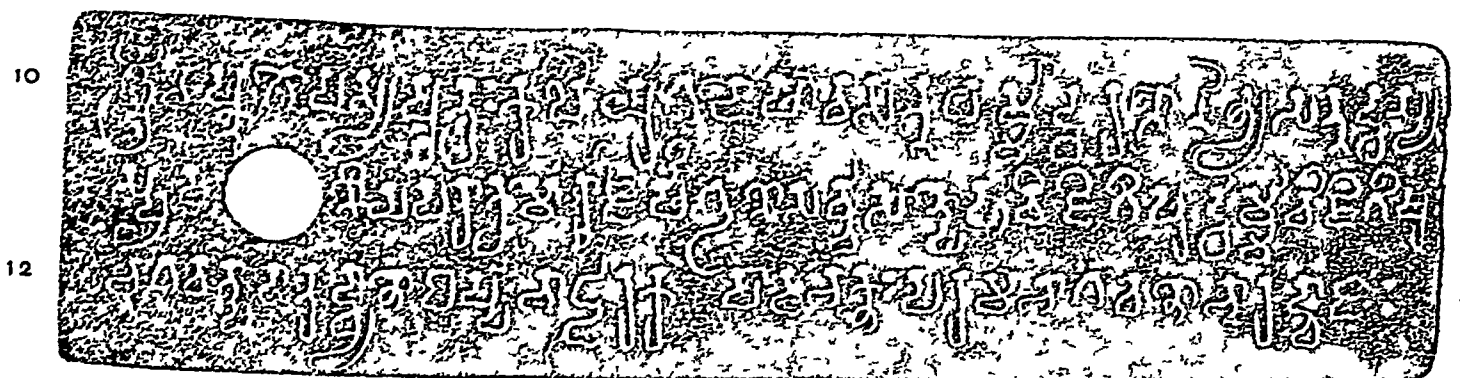
6

6

11b



1114



12

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[illegible]

16

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[illegible]

18

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20

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीगुरुदेवाय नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुदेवाय नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुदेवाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीगुरुदेवाय नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुदेवाय नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुदेवाय नमः ॥

**22**

22

24

24

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

varman, to whose eleventh year I would assign—*lāghavāt* as an Indian philosopher would say—the Uruvupalli grant.

The Pikira grant was issued from the camp at Mēnmātura (l 1), the Māngalūr grant from Daśanapura,<sup>1</sup> and the Uruvupalli grant from the residence (*sthāna*) Palakkada. I am unable to identify Mēnmātura. As regards the two other names, I have shown that Dr Burnell's identification of Palakkada with the modern Palcat is untenable.<sup>2</sup> Dr Burnell was further inclined to consider Palakkada the Telugu equivalent of the Sanskrit name Daśanapura.<sup>3</sup> As stated by Dr Fleet,<sup>4</sup> this derivation is equally unsound. For the Telugu word for 'a tooth' is not *pala*, but *pallu* (genitive *panṭi*), and *kada* does not mean 'a town,' but 'a place, a side.' Nor is it safe to connect Daśanapura with its synonym Dantapura which, according to the *Jātaka*<sup>5</sup> and the *Dāthāvaṃsa*,<sup>6</sup> was the capital of Kalinga and may be meant for Kalinganagara, the modern Mukhalingam in the Gañjam district,<sup>7</sup>—far to the north of the Pallava territory. Thus the three ancient local names Mēnmātura, Daśanapura and Palakkada are still awaiting identification. In his *Annual Report* for 1904-05, p 47, Mr Venkayya has shown that they may have to be looked for in the present Nellore district.

### TEXT<sup>8</sup>

#### First Plate

- 1 Om<sup>9</sup> [1\*] Jitam=bhagavatā [1\*] Svasti [1\*] Śrī-vijaya-skandhāvārān=  
Mēnmātura-āvāsakāt=parama-brahmanya-
- 2 sya sva-bahu-bal-ārjūt-ōrjita-kshātra-tapō-midh[ē\*]r=vvidhu-vihita-sarvva-  
maryyādasya
- 3 sthiti-sthitasya=ām[1]tātmanō mahārājasya prithivī-tal-aika-vīrasya śrī-  
Viravarmmanah prapautrō=

#### Second Plate, First Side

- 4 bhyuchchita-<sup>10</sup>śakti-siddhu-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-<sup>11</sup>rāja-mandalasya  
bhagavad-bhakti-sadbhā-
- 5 va-sambhāvita-sarvva-kalyānasya=ānēka-gō-huranya-bhūmy-ādi-pradānaiah  
pravri-
- 6 ddha-dharmma-saṅchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya lōkapālānām pañchamasya

#### Second Plate, Second Side

- 7 lōkapālasya mahātmanō mahārāja-śr[i]-Skandavarmmanah pautrō dēva-dvija-
- 8 guru-vriddh-āpachayinō<sup>12</sup> vivriddha-vinayasya=ānēka samgrāma-sāhas-āva-
- 9 mardd-ōpalabdhā-<sup>13</sup>vijaya-yaśah-prakāśasya satyātmanō yuvamahārāja-

<sup>1</sup> In the Darśi fragment, Daśanapura is called a residence (*adhyāsthāna*), *Ep Ind* Vol. I p. 398

<sup>2</sup> *Loc cit* note 4

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind. Pal* sec ed. p 38, note

<sup>4</sup> *Dyn Kan Distr* p 318, note 12

<sup>5</sup> Vol. VII, p 66, s v Dantapura

<sup>6</sup> Edited by Prof Rhys Davids (*Journal of the Pāl. Text Society*, 1884), II 57, 98, 100, III 2

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol IV p 187 ff

<sup>8</sup> From ink impressions supplied by Mr Venkayya

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by the same symbol as in the Māngalūr grant

<sup>10</sup> The photo-lithograph of the Uruvupalli grant (l 4) reads *prapautrasya=āchchita*, which may be meant for *āchchita*.

<sup>11</sup> Corrected by the engraver from *-ōpanata-*

<sup>12</sup> Read *-ōpachayinō*, as in l 6 of the Uruvupalli grant

<sup>13</sup> A superfluous hook is attached to the right of the *ma* and of the *rd*.

*Third Plate, First Side.*

- 10 śr[ī]-V[ī]śhṇugōpasya putraḥ kaliyuga-dōsh-āvasanna dharmam dddharaṇa-  
n[ī]tya-sannaddhasya  
11 sprīhapīya-parākramō rājārshi-guṇa-sarvva-sandōha-vijigishur-ddharmma-  
vijigishuh<sup>1</sup>  
12 bhagavat-pād-ānuddhyātō bappa-bhāttaraka<sup>2</sup> pāda-bhaktah parama bhāgavatō  
Bhādvājah

*Third Plate; Second Side*

- 13 sva-vikram ākānt ānya nripa śrī-nīlayānām yathāvad āhṛit-ānēk-āśvamedhānām  
14 Pallavānān-dharmmamahārāja-śrī-Simhavarmanā Munḍa-rāshṭre Pīkīrō  
grāmō grā-  
15 mōyakān-atr-ādihikrītān=sarvvādhyaksha-vallava-<sup>3</sup>śāsanaśāchōrīpāś=ch=ā; ā-  
payaty=Ayam grāmah

*Fourth Plate; First Side*

- 16 Kāśyapāja Taittīyaya Vilāsaśarmmanō sarva-parihārōpātō dōva-  
17 bhōga kala varjyam=asmad-āyur-bala-vījay-abhivṛddhaya<sup>4</sup> samēdhamāna-  
18 vijaya-r[ā\*]jya-pāñchama-sa[th\*]vatsar-Āśvayuja-śukla-paksha-tṛtīyā-  
yām<sup>4</sup>

*Fourth Plate, Second Side.*

- 19 brahmadēyi k[rī]ty-[ā]smābhūis=samprattas=Tatas=sarva-parihārair=a[ya]m  
grāmah parihartta-  
20 vya[h\*] par[ī]burajitavyaś=cha [ī\*] Yaj=ch=ōdam=<sup>4</sup>asmach-chhānam-  
atīkrāmōt=sa pāpas=śa-  
21 āran=dandam=arhaty=<sup>5</sup>Apī ch=[ā\*]tr=ārshūh ślōkā bhavanti || Bhūmi-  
dana-saman=dānam=[ī]ha lōś na

*Fifth Plate*

- 22 vidyatō [ī\*] yah prayachchhatī bhūmim hi sarva-kāmān-dadātī  
sah [ī\*] Bahubhūi=vasudh[ā] dattā  
23 bahu[bh]iś=ch=[ā]nupālītā [ī\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya  
[tadā] phalam [ī\*]  
24 Sva-dattām para-dattā[m\*] vā y[ō] harō[ta] vasundharīm [ī\*]  
g[avā][m\*] [śata]-sahasrasya hantah pibati kulbīsham [ī\*]

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om* Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat<sup>7</sup> (Vishṇu) Hail! From the prosperous camp of victory pitched at Mēnmātura,

(L. 3) the great-grandson of the glorious Mahārāja Viravarman, the only hero on the surface of the earth,

(L. 7.) the grandson of the glorious Mahārāja Skandavarman (II.),

(L. 9) the son of the glorious Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa,

<sup>1</sup> Read *gishur*

<sup>2</sup> Read *-bhāt[draka]*

<sup>3</sup> Read *vallabha*, as in l. 18 of the Māngalār grant

<sup>4</sup> Here follows a symbol which I cannot make out. Perhaps it is a flourish which serves to fill up the vacant space at the end of the line

<sup>5</sup> Read *-ēdam*.

<sup>6</sup> Corrected by the engraver from *arhats*.

<sup>7</sup> On the expression *jītaḥ bhagavatā* see Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* p. 25, note 1.



(L 12) he who meditates at the feet of Bhagavat (Vishnu), who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father,<sup>1</sup> the fervent Bhāgavata, the Bhāradvāja, the glorious Simhavarman, the rightful Mahārāja (of the family) of the Pallavas,<sup>2</sup> who are the abodes of the fortunes of other kings overcome by their own valour, (and) who according to rule have performed many horse-sacrifices,— addresses (*the following*) order to the villagers in the village (*named*) Pīkīra in Munda-rāshṭra and to the general overseers (*sarvādhyakṣha*), the favourites (*vallabha*) and the official messengers (*śāsanasaṁhārīn*)<sup>3</sup> who are appointed to this (*district*).<sup>4</sup>

(L 15) "This village has been given by Us, having made (*it*) a *Brahmadēya*, to Vilasasarman of the Kāśyapa (*gōtra*) (and) of the Taittiriya (*śākhā*),—accompanied by all immunities, with the exception of the cultivated land enjoyed by temples (*dēvabhāga-hala*),<sup>5</sup> for the increase of Our length of life, power and victory, on the third (*tathī*) of the bright fortnight of Āśvayuja in the fifth year of (Our) reign of growing victory.

(L. 19.) "Therefore this village must be exempted and caused to be exempted with all immunities And that wicked man who will transgress against this Our edict, is liable to corporal punishment. And with reference to this there are also (*the following*) verses of the *Rishi* (viz Vyāsa) "

[Ll 21—24 contain three of the customary verses ]

## No 16—UNDIKAVATIKA GRANT OF ABHIMANYU.

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH.D ; HALLE (SAALE)

These copper-plates formed part of the collection of Dr Bhanu Dajī, but there is no information as to where they came from. The inscription on them was already published by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Journ Bombay Branch, R As Soc*, Vol XVI p. 88 ff, and was critically examined by Dr. Fleet in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXX p 509 ff. At his desire I here re-edit the text, to accompany the Plate now published, from excellent ink-impressions supplied by him. Dr Fleet contributes the following remarks —

"The present facsimile of the plates has been prepared, under my superintendence, from ink-impressions made by me in 1886, when I obtained the original plates on loan, for that purpose, through Major F H Jackson, Baroda. The seal has been done from a photograph of it which was made on the same occasion.

"The copper-plates are three in number, each measuring about  $5\frac{3}{8}$ " by  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are quite smooth, without any rims either fashioned or raised. They are fairly thick, and consequently the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse sides at all. The engraving is good, except in a few letters, where the strokes were not firm and deep enough to finish them off properly. The interiors of some of the letters shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. At several places on plates ii b and iii the surface has split and broken away, so that the writing is damaged there, the remainder of the record is in good order.

<sup>1</sup> On *bappa-bhātīdraka-pāda-bhaktā* see above, Vol. IV p 143 and note 7

<sup>2</sup> Compare above, Vol. VI p 88 and note 3

<sup>3</sup> The synonymous term *ājñāsamchārīn* occurs in *Gupta Inscr* p 237, text line 21, p 246, text line 24, and above, Vol III p 261, text line 13

<sup>4</sup> I supply this word from the Uruvupallī grant which reads (l. 28 f)—*tasmin-vishaye sarvāyuktakāḥ sarvaṇaṣyāḥ* (!) *rājavallabhah sañcharantakāś-cha*. In both cases the district of Munda-rashtra is meant

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V p. 157, note 1, and above, Vol. VII p 66.

"The ring is oval, about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and 1" to  $1\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter. It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands. The seal is not of the customary kind. It was formed by flattening out part of the ring to a thickness of only about  $\frac{1}{8}$ ", thus producing a six-sided surface, about  $\frac{5}{8}$ " by  $1\frac{1}{8}$ ", curved like the opposite part of the ring. The emblem on it,—which I take to be a *simha*, couchant to the left (proper right), with jaws open and tongue protruding between them,—was done in outline, rather roughly, in that surface. The weight of the three plates is  $10\frac{1}{2}$  oz., and of the ring and seal,  $\frac{7}{8}$  oz. total,  $11\frac{1}{8}$  oz."

Dr Fleet assigns the inscription, on palæographical grounds, to approximately the seventh century A D.<sup>1</sup> The *upadhmānīya* occurs thrice (ll 5, 7 and 13). A horizontal dash is used as a mark of punctuation in four cases.<sup>2</sup> The language is Sanskrit. The genealogical portion contains  $2\frac{1}{2}$  verses, and two other verses are quoted at the end. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The Sandhi rules are neglected before *u* in ll 15 and 16. The vowel *rī* and the syllable *ri* are mixed up in *drishṭā* (l. 6) and *trivarggā* (l. 8). Other irregularities are *vamśa* for *vamśa* (l. 5), *punya* for *punya* (l. 7), and *Jayasingha* for *Jayasimha* (l. 18).

The inscription is of historical importance because it contains the earliest mention of Rāshtrakūṭa kings. These princes seem to have belonged to a branch distinct from that of the Mākhêd family, whose crest was the Garuda, while the seal of this grant bears a lion. The genealogical portion opens with the statement that "there was a king named Mānānka, who was the ornament of the Rāshtrakūṭas, whose glory is adorned with a multitude of many virtues." His son was Dēvarāja (l. 3 f). He had three sons (v. 2),—among them Bhavishya, whose son was Abhimanyu (l. 11). While the latter resided at Mānapuram (l. 12 f), he granted a small village (*grāmaka*) named Uṇḍikavāṭikā (l. 15).

If we look for the name of the donee, we are confronted by two genitives *Dakshina-Śivasya* (l. 14 f.) and *Jatābhāra-pravrajāṭasya* (l. 15 f). Dr Fleet connected the first with the following word *Uṇḍikavāṭikā* and translated the second by "(the god) who has left his home (at the place belonging to him as Dakshina-Śiva) and has gone abroad to (and settled at) Jatābhāra," which he identified with a temple called 'Jutta Shunkur,' i.e. Jatā-Śamkara.<sup>3</sup> To this may be objected that the time-hallowed technical meaning of *pravrajāṭa* is 'one who has left home to become a religious mendicant,' and that this word would hardly be used with reference to an idol instead of the ordinary *pratiṣṭhāpita*. The two genitives can be explained by taking the first as the name of the donee and the second, as was done by Dr Bhagwanlal Indrap,<sup>4</sup> as the name of a Pāsupata ascetic in charge of the temple, to whom the grant was made over on behalf of the temple by pouring water into his hand. Hence I would translate l. 12 ff as follows—

"He who was adorning Mānapuram by residing at (it), gave, in order to increase the religious merit of (his) mother and father, the small village named Uṇḍikavāṭikā to (the temple of) Dakshina-Śiva belonging to [Pētha]-Pangarakā,<sup>5</sup> by pouring water (into the hands) of the ascetic Jatābhāra. Towards this (grant) nobody should practise deceit."

According to l. 18 the grant was made "in the presence of Jayasimha, the commander<sup>6</sup> (of the fort) of Harivatsakōṭṭa." The inscription ends with two of the customary verses.

As regards the localities mentioned in this record, the 'Dakshina-Śiva (temple) belonging to [Pētha]-Pangarakā' had been identified in the *Bombay Gazetteer* with the Mahādēva temple

<sup>1</sup> *Dyn Kan Distr* p 386

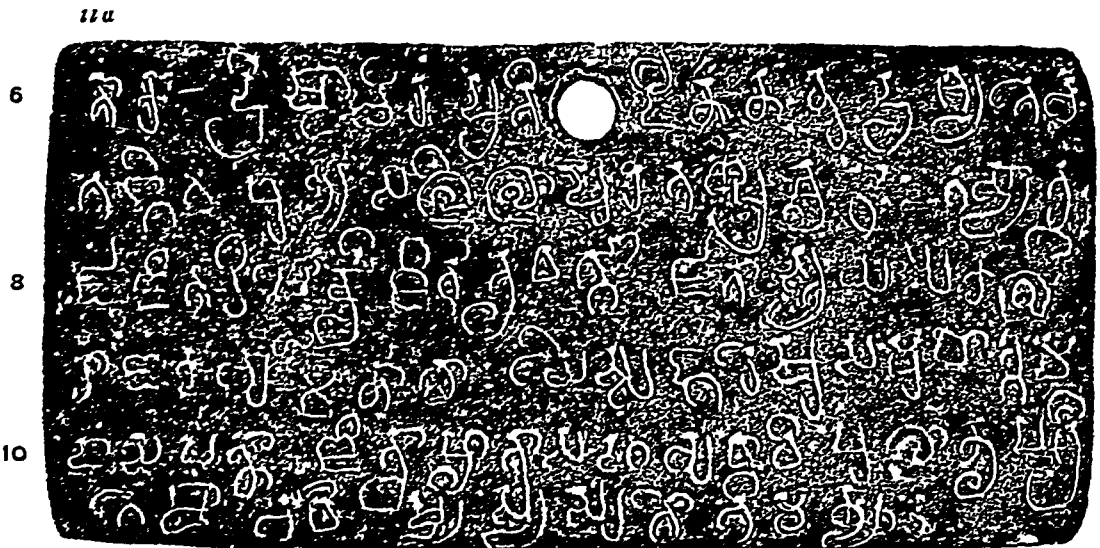
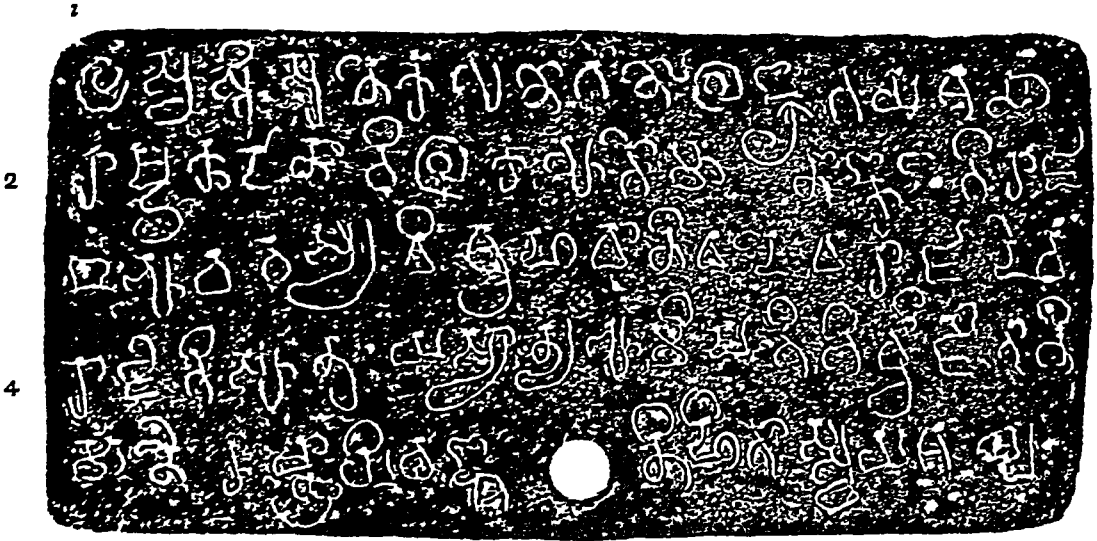
<sup>2</sup> After *paṭākā*, l. 6, *pravṛddhāh*, l. 7, *bhūmināthāh*, l. 9, and at the end of l. 19

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant Vol XXX* pp 510, 511, 513

<sup>4</sup> *Journ Bombay Branch R As Soc*, Vol XVI pp 88 and 92

<sup>5</sup> If the reading *pētha* is correct, the word may be the Hindi *pēth*, *pēnth*, Kannada *pēle*, and Tamil *pēṭai*, 'a market-town'. Dr Fleet (*Ind Ant Vol XXX* p 513) would prefer to take it as a territorial term, but in this case it ought to stand after the word *Pangarakā*.

<sup>6</sup> As stated by Dr. Fleet (*ibid* p 510), *kōṭṭa nīgraha* has to be taken here in the sense of *kōṭṭaḥ āla*



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near Pagāra, which is about four miles north of Pachmarh<sup>1</sup> In endorsing this identification, Dr Fleet suggested that Undikavātikā, the village granted, may be one of two villages named 'Oontiya' in the same neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup> He was inclined to identify Mānapuram with Mānpur near 'Bandhogarh' in Rēwa, provided that the Mānapuram of the inscription was to be understood as the capital of Abhimanyu, not as a temporary camp of his That the former alternative is correct, may perhaps be concluded from the name Mānapuram itself, which seems to be derived from Mānānka, the name of Abhimanyu's great-grandfather, and to mean 'the town or capital of Māna or Mānānka'

TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

## First Plate.

- 1 Om<sup>4</sup> svasti [I\*] Anēka-guna-gan-ālanakṛita-yasasām
- 2 Rāshṭrakūtānā[m] [t]ilaka-bhūtō Mānānka iti rājā
- 3 babhūva [I\*] tasya vīgrahavān=iva Dēvaiājā(jō) Dēva-
- 4 rāj=ēti sūnuh [I\*] Yasy=<sup>5</sup>ānya-bhūmpatibhur=vījūt-ā[bh]i-
- 5 manair-uchchhrāyi-vanśa-nihutās=sva-<sup>6</sup>yaśah-pa-

## Second Plate, First Side

- 6 takā | dṛi(dṛi)shtā chiram pratidinam nanu dṛiśyatē cha
- 7 Gang=ēva punya(nya)-sahā purataḥ=pravṛi[d]dhāh<sup>7</sup> |(II) [I\*]  
Tasy=ātma-
- 8 jā jita-rīpōr=vījūta-tri(tri)varggā jātās=trayas=sakala-
- 9 rājaka-bhūmināthāh | yais=sangarēshu samupātta-ma-
- 10 da[n=\*]sapatnā[ā=\*]jivā hritā saha bhuvā vipulā  
nripa-srī[h || 2\*]
- 11 Tēshām Bhaviśhyasya autō=Bhimanyuh

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 12 śauryy-ō[r\*]ja-rūpais=sadriśo-Bhimanyōh<sup>8</sup> [I\*] Tēna Māna-
- 13 puram=adhyasanēn=ālanakurvātā mātāpitṛōḥ-pu-
- 14 nya-nimitt-ābhivṛiddhaye<sup>9</sup> [Pētha]-<sup>10</sup>Paṅgarakiya-Dakṣiṇa-
- 15 Śiva[s]ya [U]ndikavātikā<sup>11</sup> nāma grāmako Jātābhāra-
- 16 pravra[ji]tasya udaka-pūrvvakō dattah [I\*] ā(a)tra na  
k[ē]na-
- 17 chiki<sup>12</sup> vyajah karttavyah [I\*]

## Third Plate

- 18 Harivatsakōtta-nigraha-Jayasīngha-<sup>13</sup>samaksham [I\*]
- 19 anyach=cha [I\*] Ba[h]ubhur=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhūh  
[Sa]gar-ā[d]ibhūh |

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XXX. p 511 and note 16<sup>2</sup> From Dr Fleet's ink-impressions<sup>3</sup> Metre of verses 1 and 2 Vasantatilakā.<sup>4</sup> Cancel the *visarga*<sup>5</sup> As pointed out by Dr Fleet (*Ind Ant* Vol. XXX p 509, note 1), the correct expression would be *punī adbhivṛiddhi-nimittam*<sup>6</sup> This word is much damaged<sup>7</sup> Dr Fleet (*Ind Ant* Vol XXX p 509, note 2) reads *Undikavātikā*; but the subscript *d* of the second syllable of *Undi* differs in shape from the *t* of *driśh* (l 6), *koṭṭa* (l 18) and *śaśh* (l 20 f)<sup>8</sup> Read *chit* or, more correctly, *chid*=<sup>9</sup> *Ibid* p 514<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol<sup>11</sup> Read *-vamsa-nihutā* *sva*-<sup>12</sup> The second half of this *Indravajrā* verse is missing<sup>13</sup> Read *Jayasīngha*

- 20 yasya yasya yadâ bhû[m]is=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [||\*]  
 Sha-  
 21 shñi-varsha-sahasrâni svarggê môdati bhûmi-dah [I\*]  
 22 âchchhêtâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasê[t] [||\*]

### No. 17.—EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AT SARNATH.

By J PH VOGEL, Lit D., LAHORE.

In the course of excavations carried on by Mr. F. O. Oertel in the winter of 1904-05 at Sârânâth near Benares, a considerable number of epigraphs, besides a wealth of other archæological materials, have come to light. Mr. Oertel intends giving a full account of his explorations in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey* for that year. But as it will be some time before this is published, it seems desirable to render the most important of his epigraphical discoveries at once available to European scholars. It is hoped that this early publication of the inscriptions will not only be welcome, but that it may attract a discussion of the new finds among experts and thus lead to a solution of the various problems which will be indicated in the course of the following pages.

#### I—INSCRIPTIONS ON THE ASOKA PILLAR.

a, b, c, d.—Inscription of Asôka.

Earliest in date is an inscription in Brâhmi of the Maurya period, cut on the shaft of a monolith of highly polished and fine-grained limestone. Its appearance agrees well with that of the pillar "bright as jade" which, according to Hsuen Tsiang,<sup>1</sup> marked the spot where Śâkyamuni began to "turn the wheel of the Law." Unfortunately only the lower portion of the shaft was found *in situ*. Evidently the pillar had been wilfully thrown down and mutilated, probably in that same "great final catastrophe," of which Major Kittere<sup>2</sup> received so vivid an impression in the course of his Sârânâth excavations. Besides large portions of the upper part of the shaft, a Persepolitan capital of excellent workmanship was unearthed. It bears four sitting lions, carrying a wheel,—another indication of the pillar being identical with that described by Hsuen Tsiang.

That its height cannot have reached the 70 feet of Hsuen Tsiang's pillar does not seem a serious objection, as the figure is only approximate, and it must be remembered that there is always a tendency to overestimate the height of monuments. What is more inexplicable is that Hsuen Tsiang neither connects its origin with Asôka nor mentions the fact of its being inscribed. As to the latter point, I agree with Mr. Oertel's explanation that at the time of Hsuen Tsiang's visit most of the inscribed part of the shaft must have been under ground. This was certainly the case at the moment of its destruction. For, in order to lay bare the inscription, Mr. Oertel had to cut through several concrete floors, superimposed one above the other, as the ground gradually rose above the original level. It is due, indeed, to this circumstance that most of the inscription has been preserved.

Mr. Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments, from which it may be inferred that the destroyed portion consisted only of the first three lines of the epigraph. It will be seen that of the uppermost line of the main portion still *in situ* (1a on the Plate), several of the letters are injured and the concluding part is broken off. This missing part of twelve *aksharas* is supplied by one of those three fragments (1.d), which also contains the end of the preceding

<sup>1</sup> *Si-yu-ki* (Beal), Vol II p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *A. S. E.* Vol I p 126.

line, consisting of two fragmentary and nine entire *aksharas*. Of the former we find the missing upper portions on another small fragment (1c), which contains one entire *akshara* besides, and thus adds three to the nine *aksharas* mentioned. It will, moreover, be noticed that between the two lines of fragment 1d there runs a dark line, which indicates where the uppermost floor met the shaft and left its mark upon it. There can be no doubt as to the original position of these two fragments, which fit exactly to the lower part of the shaft preserved *in situ*.

This is not the case with the third fragment (1b), which has the first two syllables of three lines. But below its third line we find the same traces of the floor as are found on fragment 1d. This shows that in this third line we have the two initial syllables of the same line, the end of which is preserved on fragments 1c and 1d. Above the first line of 1a enough open space remains to make it unlikely that there was another line above it. We see, moreover, that the two syllables preserved read *devā*, which, if continued *-nam-piye Piyadasī lājā*,<sup>1</sup> would form the well-known opening formula of several of the Aśoka edicts. We may, therefore, assume that fragment 1b contains the beginning of the first three lines of the original epigraph. It follows from this that the uppermost line *in situ* is the fourth line of the whole inscription which, consequently, consisted of eleven lines. Their average length is 60 cm., but the last line measures only 21.5 cm. The size of the letters varies from 1.3 to 2.8 cm. They are cut very clearly, and are legible throughout, except in portions of the third and fourth lines.

It is a question of primary importance whether we are justified in attributing the inscription to Aśoka. That the *Dharmarāja* would erect a memorial pillar on the spot where the Master preached his first sermon—as, indeed, we know he did on the place of his birth and on that of his *parinirvāna*—seems *à priori* most plausible. The fine monolith with its splendid capital and well-engraved inscription in the Maurya character would seem to point to no lesser founder than the great Buddhist emperor. But the epigraph itself affords a more positive proof. I need not quote as evidence my explanation of the first two *aksharas* of 1b, which, though plausible, is hypothetical itself. The same remark applies to a conjectural restoration of *pāta* in the third line of the same fragment to *Paṭalipute*—the only word of the Aśoka inscriptions beginning with those syllables.<sup>2</sup>

The following two points seem to me to be decisive. In the sixth line we read *Hevaṃ-devānam-piye-ūhā*—“Thus speaks His sacred Majesty.” And in the eighth line mention is made of the *Mahāmātas*, evidently no others than the *Dhammamahāmātas* or ‘superintendents of the sacred Law’ whom, according to the fifth rock edict,<sup>3</sup> Aśoka had appointed thirteen years after his anointment. In the seventh pillar edict<sup>4</sup> it is, moreover, stated that these officials would be occupied with the affairs of the Sangha also, and it is clear that to these the Sarnath inscription refers. We read in the fifth line *hevaṃ-iyam-sāsane bhikkhu-saṃghasī-cha bhikkhuni-saṃghasī-cha vinnapayataviye*—“Let thus this order be brought to notice in the congregation of the monks and in the congregation of the nuns.” And the monks themselves are evidently addressed in the following passage (l. 6 f.) “Not only has such an edict been laid down for you. But you must also lay down exactly such an edict for the lay-members.”

It would follow from the above that the Sarnath pillar was erected after the institution of the *Mahāmātas*, i.e. not before the fourteenth year of Aśoka's *abhiśhēka* (about B.C. 255). It seems not unlikely that its erection took place on the occasion of Aśoka's pilgrimage to the holy places of Buddhism in 249 B.C.<sup>5</sup> It may at first seem surprising that the epigraph—at least

<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, also possible that the Instrumental case was used, as in the Rumundel (or Padarnyā) and Nigilva pillar inscriptions. *Devānam-piyeṇa Piyadasīna lājina*, see above, Vol. V p. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Rock edict V. 7. The word is only found in the Gurnār inscription, while the other versions substitute *paṭaliputā*, *liddā*, *liddā*, ‘here,’ see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 453.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 453 and 487.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 269 ff.

<sup>5</sup> V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India* (Oxford 1904), p. 139.

its preserved portion— does not contain any reference to the event which, in all probability, it was meant to commemorate. But at the time of its erection such a reference must have appeared superfluous. It is noteworthy that, though the Rummindî inscription twice refers to the Buddha's birth, the reference is, in reality, incidental. The pillar was erected, not to commemorate this fact, but to record Aśoka's visit and his liberality on that occasion.

The language of the Sârnâth inscription presents the same characteristics, peculiar to the Mâgadhi dialect, as are found in the rock edicts of Kâlsî, Dhaurî and Jaugada, the pillar edicts of Radia, Mathia and Râmpûrva, the Rûpnâth, Bairât and Sahasrâm edicts, and in the Barâbar cave inscriptions. These characteristics are the Nominative Singular Masculine ending in *s*, the substitution of *l* for *r* and of *n* for *ṇ*, the exclusive use of the dental sibilant, and of forms like *hevam* for *ēvam* and *hedise* for *īdrisā*.

It will be seen that our epigraph contains several words not met with in any of the other Aśoka inscriptions — a point which, though adding to its interest, increases the difficulty of its interpretation. On the other hand, the fact that in the beginning we find a passage corresponding to the fragmentary Kôsambi-Sâñchi edict, and at the end one which recurs in the Rûpnâth edict, is important for the interpretation not only of the Sârnâth inscription, but also of the parallel passages quoted.

In publishing my version of the inscription I wish to acknowledge thankfully the great benefit derived from a number of explanatory notes which I owe to the kindness of Prof Kern, who has authorised me to give them publicity here. Dr T. Bloch has also favoured me with some valuable remarks to be noticed in the sequel. In my transcript I have followed Dr Buhler's system of joining by a hyphen such words as are written continuously in the original.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Devâ[nam-piye Piyadasî lājā\*]
- 2 ° [la'] .
- 3 Pāṭa[hpute\*] . . . . . ye-kena-pi samghe-bhetave-e-chum-kho
- 4 [bhikhū-vā-bhikhunī-vā] samgham-bh[1]khatī se-odātānī-dus[ā]nī samnamdhā-payīā-ānāvāsasī
- 5 āvāsaiye [1\*] Hevam-iyam-sāsane bhikhū-samghasī-cha bhikhunī-samghasī-cha vimnapayitaviye [1\*]
- 6 Hevam-devānam-piye-āhā [1\*] Hedisā-cha-ikā lpi tuphākamtakam-huvā-tī samsalanāsī-nikhitā [1\*]
- 7 Ikam-cha-lipim-hedisam=eva upāsakānamtakam-nikhīpātha [1\*] Te-pi-cha-upāsakā anuposatham-yāvu
- 8 etam=eva-sāsanam visvamsayitave [1\*] Anuposatham-cha-dhuvāye ikike-<sup>2</sup>mahāmāte-posathāye
- 9 yāti etam=eva sāsanam visvamsayitave ājānitave-cha [1\*] Āvatake-cha-tuphākam-āhāle
- 10 savata-vivāsaiyātha-tuphe etena-viyamjanena [1\*] Hem-eva-savesu-kota-visavesu etena
- 11 viyamjanena vivāsāpayāthā [11\*]

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this letter is doubtful. It resembles most the sign for *l*, but the stroke to the proper right is slanting downward, and not horizontal as in *samsalanāsī* (l. 6).

<sup>2</sup> It will be noticed that initial *i* is expressed here in another way than in *iyam* (l. 5), *ikā* (l. 6) and *ikam* (l. 7). In the latter two dots are beneath and the third above, in *ikike* (for *ikaska*) we have just the reverse. It is possible that in the second case *i* has to be read. We find post-consonantic *i* in *lipi* (l. 6).







## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) — [His sacred Majesty king Piyadasa] . . . . (l. 3) at Pāṭaliputta . . .

Whatsoever (L 4) monk or nun begs his food(?), let him be provided with clean (or white) cloths and reside in another residence (or monastery). (L 5) Thus should this order be made known in the congregation of the monks and in the congregation of the nuns (L 6.) Thus speaks His sacred Majesty Not only has such an edict been laid down (by me) for you so that you should remember "So be it!" (L 7) But you must also lay down exactly such an edict for the lay-members Let the lay-members also go on each sabbath (L 8) in order to familiarize themselves with this order Also on each sabbath regularly will each superintendent go to the sabbath (service) (L 9) in order to familiarize himself with this order and to understand it And as far as your district (reaches), (L 10) walk ye everywhere according to this proclamation. In like manner cause (others) in all towns and provinces (L 11) to walk according to this proclamation

## REMARKS

Line 3, *bhetare* — Dr Bloch remarks "I felt inclined at first to explain this word as *bhāttariyaḥ* or *bhāttum* from *bhinnati*, and I supposed that the order (*śāsanam*) in the beginning contained injunctions against quarrelsome monks or nuns, who tried to cause schisms in the Sangha (Pāli *saṅgham bhindituṃ*) I tried to get out of *bh[ī]khatī* some similar word of the same meaning, and to translate the sentence "A monk or nun who cause schisms in the Sangha, let them put on white cloths (instead of the ordinary yellow robe) and take their living in some other place" (*ānārāsasī=anyāyāsī*) This would enable us to translate the end of the edict, from *āvatake-cha-tuphāl am-āhāle* (l 9) thus "As far as your district (? *āhāle*) goes, everywhere turn ye out (*vināsayātha*) [a monk or nun creating disturbances] with this mark (*etena viyamjanena*, i.e. white cloths)" But I confess that I cannot see how *bhikkhatī*, or whatever the reading may be, can be made to convey a similar meaning"—*Chum-kho*, as Dr Bloch notes, "stands for *chu-kkho* (Skr *tu khalu*), the group *mkh* having taken the place of *kkh* (Prkt *kkho*), as we have *mna* for *nna* in *vinnapayitavye* (l 5)"

L 4, *bhikkhatī* — The vowel-stroke of the first syllable is broken, but from the little that remains I feel inclined to read rather *i* than *o* On the Allāhābād pillar the *akshara* is missing, but was restored by Bühler as *bho* on the strength of the Sāñchi inscription But in the latter also, judging from the facsimile, the vowel-stroke is far from certain and can as well be read *bhī* Another difficulty is presented by the word *saṅgham*, which Bühler took to be a Nominative used as an apposition with *bhikkhū-vā-bhikkhunī-vā*, "the community, both monk and nun" In the light of the Sarnāth inscription this interpretation can hardly be maintained It should be noticed that the word *saṅgham* is connected with the following *bhikkhatī*, and not with the preceding *bhikkhū-vā bhikkhunī-vā* — *Dusāni* is the Plural of *dusaṃ*, Pāli *dussam*, Skr *dūshya*

*Samnāṃdhāpayyā* (for which Kōsambi and Sāñchi have *saṃnāṃdhāpayitu*) belongs, according to Prof Kern, to the causative of *saṃnandhatī=*Skr *saṃnāhyatī* Compare Pāli *pilandhatī=*Skr *pināhyatī*, originally *pinādhyatī*, from the root *nadh* (past participle *naddha*, and Latin *nodus* from *noddhus*\*), causative *pilandhāpetī* "The difference in meaning," Prof Kern remarks, "between *pilandhāpetī* and *saṃnāṃdhāpetī* cannot be great We may, therefore, render it by 'to provide with' (cloths in the Accusative case)"

L 5, *vinnapayitavye* (Skr *viñāpayitavyam*), from *vinnapetī*, Pāli *viñāpetī* (Skr *viñāpayatī*), the causative of Sanskrit-Pāli *viñānāti* It should be noticed that Aśoka, in making his wishes known to the Sangha, uses the respectful term *vinnapetī*, and not *ānapetī* (compare *ānapitāni* in pillar edict VII) For the transition of *vyñā* to *vinna-* compare *chhamdāṃnāni* in pillar edict IV for Skr. *chhandōjñāni*

L. 6, *tuphākāntikam*, and *upāsakānamtikam* (l. 7) contain the Genitive Plural of *tuphe* (Nom. Plur.) and *upāsaka* combined with the postposition *antikam* (see Childers, s. v.), 'penes eos' and 'penes laicos' Prof Kern adds that we might assume an etymological spelling *tuphākānamtikam* in which the *anusvāra* became elided "For such an elision of *anusvāra* between two vowels is found in the Vedic metrical system, in the metrical portions of the Pāli texts, and in the Sanskritized Buddhist *gāthās*, just as e.g. in Latin *templum Apollinis* becomes *templāpollinis*. Roth has rightly remarked (s. v. *samana*) that *samanēva* (*Rigv.* VI. 75, 4 and elsewhere) represents *samanam va*. In the same way we have *dēvamānēva chitrām* (*Rigv.* X. 107, 10) for *dēvamānam va chitrām*, and not for *dēvamānā va chitrām* as explained in the *Padapāṭha*." Another interesting instance is pointed out by Prof Kern in *Rigv.* VIII 59, 2, "The traditional reading *indram tam sumbha puruhanmann āvuse* is metrically impossible, as the last four syllables must be — — — —. Now what has happened? The words of the poet were °*manāvase*, which stands for °*manam avase*. The diaskeuasts took *puruhanman*° for a Vocative, and as they did not understand the *ā* in °*avase*, they shortened it. In applying the Sandhi rule of Sanskrit grammar, they changed °*man* into °*mann* and omitted the accent of *puruhanmanam* which they took for a Vocative, but which in reality is an epithet of *indram*, meaning 'who has slain many' In this manner they gave birth to the *Rishi* *Puruhanman*!"

*Huvā* Prof Kern derives from the Skr. Conj. Aor. *bhuvat*, the *a* being lengthened on account of the following *t* — *Samsalanasi* is the Locative of *samsalanam*, which both Prof Kern and Dr. Bloch explain as the equivalent of Skr. *samsmarana*, 'remembrance.' The expression *samsalanasi nikhitā* (Skr. *samsmaranā nikshiptā*) would, therefore, mean — 'put to memory.' — In l. 7 *yāvu* is the 3rd Pers. Plur. Opt. of *yāti*.

L. 8, *visvaṁsayitave* — From the manner in which the words are connected it is evident that *visvaṁsayitave* (again in l. 9) is to be regarded as one word, and not as the adjective *visvam* (Skr. *visvam*) + a verb *savitave*. Prof Kern and Dr. Bloch agree in interpreting *visvaṁsayitave* as corresponding with Skr. *visvāsayitum*, to be taken in a reflexive sense, 'to make oneself familiar with' As instances of a similar use of a causative verb Prof. Kern quotes *darśayitum*, which sometimes has the meaning 'to show oneself' For °*ams*° instead of °*ās*° he compares the Jaina Prakrit *nyamse* and *nyamsāveri* = Skr. *nivṛṣayati*, whereas we have the reverse in *viśā* = Skr. *viśā*°, *tiśā* = Skr. *trīṁśat*, *chattālīśa* = Skr. *chatvāriṁśat*.

*Anuposatham-cha-dhuvāye* occurs also in pillar edict V. *dhuvāye-cha-anuposatham*, 'constantly on each fast-day,' where Buhler (*Ep. Ind.* Vol II p. 264) explains *dhuvāye* = Skr. *dhruvāya*. Compare also Kālsī rock edict I *no-dhuvē*, 'not regularly' (in the Shāhbāzgarhi version *no dhruvam*).

L. 9, *āhāle* — Prof Kern is of opinion that *āhāle* cannot correspond here with Skr. *āhāra*. "Childers," he says, "has *āhāro* = 'food, nourishment, cause' (more correctly 'ground, basis') But there are in reality two different words which have coincided in form, namely, *āhāro*, 'food' (= Skr. *āhāra*), and *āhāro*, 'ground' (= Skr. *ādihāra*). It seems to mean 'territory' in the compound *sāhāra* (*Mahāvagga*, VI. 30, 4), 'with all the territory.' In any case *āhāle* here equals *ādihāra*, and its meaning must be 'territory, field of business.'" In his rendering of the Rāpnāth edict M. Senart has adopted the meaning 'food' for *āhāle*, but the concluding sentence of the Sārnāth inscription leaves little doubt about the correctness of Prof. Kern's interpretation. It will be seen from the above that Dr. Bloch has arrived independently at the same conclusion. I may add that in later inscriptions also the word has the meaning of 'a territorial division' Compare Burgess, *Buddhist Cave Temples* (London 1883), p. 113, footnote 4.

L. 10, *savata*. — Compare rock edict II, (Kālsī) *savatā vyatasi*, 'everywhere in the empire.' — *Vyāmjana* (Skr. *vyāṁjana*) must here (and in l. 11) have a different meaning from that

assigned to it by Bühler in the expression *hetuvaitā-śā vyamjanate-cha* (rock edict III.), 'both according to the letter and according to the spirit' The sense attached to it by M. Senart in the Rāpnāth edict is evidently the one to be applied here also The Sarnāth inscription, moreover, places it beyond doubt that M. Senart's reading of the corresponding passage in that edict is correct<sup>1</sup> The original meaning of *vyajjana* is 'manifestation,' from which that of 'a royal proclamation' can be easily derived In connection with the Rāpnāth legend this interpretation seems to me preferable to that suggested above by Dr. Bloch

*Vivāsayātha* is the 2nd Plur Imper of *vivāseti* Compare *vivasetavaya* in the Rāpnāth edict, which M. Senart<sup>2</sup> translates — '*il vous faut partir en mission*' But as in the Sarnāth inscription apparently no reference is made to missionary duties, I feel inclined to assign to it a more general meaning, either 'to go about for inspecting purposes' as suggested by Prof. Kern, or 'to conduct oneself,' a meaning which could be derived from that of 'to spend one's time' attached to Skr *vinasati* That, in any case, *vivāsayātha*, though a causative in form, can hardly have a causative meaning, appears from the following *vivāsayāthā* (l. 11), the 2nd Pers Plur Imper of a verb *vivāśāpeti* which can be nothing but a causative of *vivāseti* This prevents me from accepting the interpretation suggested by Dr. Bloch

L 11, *koṭa-visavesu* — Prof. Kern agrees with me in explaining *visavesu* as the equivalent of Skr. *vishayēśhu* and quotes the following parallel cases *ussāva=avaśyāya*, *pavachchhati, v. l. pavechchhati=prayachchhati*, *tāvatiṃsa=trayastrīṃsa*, *kulāvaka=kulāyaka*, *kāsāva=kāśhāya*. In the Aśoka inscriptions we have *āvuti* (pillar edict IV)=Skr. *āyukti*, and the terminations of the 3rd Pers Sing. and Plur Opt *°va* (Skr. *°yāt*) and *°vu* (Skr. *°yur*), e.g. *pāpova* (pillar edict IV)=Skr. *prāpnuyāt*

It is more difficult to explain *koṭa*. Prof. Kern proposes to render the compound either by 'territory belonging to the resort of a capital' or by 'rural district,' as in Tamil *kōṭṭam* has the meaning of 'an agricultural town or village' I have translated it as a *dvandva* compound That *kōṭa*, 'a fort,' can be used to designate a fortified city, is evident from place-names like Nagar-kōt (i.e. Kāngrā city) and Pathān-kōt (for Pratishtāna-kōta)

#### e, f.— Additional inscriptions on the Aśoka pillar.

Besides the Aśoka edict, the Sarnāth pillar contains two records of a later date, each consisting of only one line The older of the two (i.e.) is incised partly beneath the Aśoka inscription, continuing, as it were, its last short line Though the engraving of the letters, which measure from 1 to 7 cm., is inferior to that of the principal record, there can be little doubt about the reading, with the exception of the first word which is partly destroyed. The length of the line, as far as preserved, is exactly 1 m. I read it as follows.<sup>3</sup>

. . . *rpārigeṃhe rājā Aśvaghōshasya chatariṣe savachhare hematapakhe prathamē divase dasame*

"[In the fortunate reign] of Rājan Aśvaghōsha, in the fortieth year, in the first fortnight of winter, on the tenth day"

It will be seen that the sign for *anusvāra* is omitted throughout (read *chatariṃse, savachhare, hematapakhe*), and that the long *ā* of *rājā* and *chatāri[n]ṣe* is not indicated, unless the very slight extension to the proper left of the top of *r* and *l* is meant to serve that purpose. It is probable that at the beginning there was some expression equivalent to the *vardhamāna-kalyāna-vijaya-rājyā* of later inscriptions<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (Paris, 1886), Vol. II pp. 169 ff. and 193 f. *Ibid.* p. 182 ff.

<sup>2</sup> [The beginning of this inscription is shown on the Plate containing the Aśoka edict, and the continuation of 1 on the second Plate of Sarnāth inscriptions. The first letter of *Aśvaghōshasya* appears on both Plates —E H.]

<sup>4</sup> For *geṃha* see Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 572.

The title *rājan* added to the name *Āsvaghōsha* forbids us from identifying him with the eighth Buddhist patriarch and author of the *Buddhacharita*. It is true that in later India worldly titles are not uncommonly applied to spiritual worthies. Thus the term *sangharājā* is the modern title of the principal ecclesiastical functionary in Burma<sup>1</sup> But it is doubtful whether that custom can be referred to the period to which our inscription belongs. Nor does it seem ever to have been the custom to date documents after the pontifical reign of the head of the church. It is more likely that the date refers to the era of Kanishka, and that the name of the local ruler of the time was added to the Genitive according to the established custom<sup>2</sup>

The characters well agree with this supposition. The angular *ga* and *sa* approach the forms of the Maurya Brāhmī. But on the whole the script resembles most closely that of the Kushana period. Compare e.g. the *akshara sya* with that of the Kanishka inscription beneath. Some of the letters, like *re*, *pa* and *sa*, show a somewhat later type. Thus the epigraph may be assigned to the reign of Huvishka. The language, a mixture of Prākṛit and Sanskrit, points to the same conclusion.

Another inscription (1 f) of a still later date is engraved to the proper left of the *Āśoka* inscription and above that of *Āsvaghōsha's* reign. It consists of one line, 52 cm long. The size of the letters varies from 1 to 5 cm. It is evidently not the work of a professional stone-cutter. Some of the characters are moreover injured, which makes their reading somewhat doubtful. My reading is as follows —

Â[châ]ryyanam Sa[mmi]tiyânâṃ paṅgraha Vâtsiputrikânâṃ.

"Homage of the masters of the Sammitiya (?) sect (and) of the Vâtsiputrika school"

On account of its characters, which resemble those of the early Gupta records, this epigraph may be attributed to the fourth century A.D. The language, it will be noticed, is more Sanskritic than that of the previous inscription. But the long *â* is not everywhere indicated (read. *âchâryyânâṃ Sammitiyânâṃ*). In *paṅgraha* the last syllable ought to be *ho*.

Unfortunately the second syllable of the second word is uncertain. If the proposed reading be correct, it would afford an interesting proof of the correctness of a Tibetan tradition, according to which the Vâtsiputriyas were a subdivision of the Sammitiya sect. As stated by Hiuen Tsiang, the large convent which once stood at Sârṇâth accommodated fifteen hundred monks of this sect. Vatsiputra was one of the fathers of the Buddhist church, who, according to a Tibetan source, collected the words of the Lord two hundred years after his *parinirvâna*<sup>3</sup>

## II — FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF ASVAGHOSHA'S REIGN

It is curious that the name of Râjan *Āsvaghōsha* occurs again on the fragment of a stone slab (height 16.5 cm), which Mr. Oertel discovered, almost at the surface, some 70 feet to the north-east by east of the *vihâra* which formed the centre of his explorations. It contains the first portions of two lines of a well engraved inscription, which I read

1 Râjño *Āsvaghosha*[sya]

2 Upala he[ma][ntapakhe\*?]

"[In the reign] of Râjan *Āsvaghōsha*, [Upala (?), [in the . . . fortnight of winter?]

The characters are the same as those of *Āsvaghōsha's* inscription on the *Āśoka* pillar

<sup>1</sup> See Childers, *Dictionary of the Pāl Language*, s v *sangho*.

<sup>2</sup> See Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, série 8, Vol. XV (1890), p. 127 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Prof. Kern's *Geschiedenis*, Vol. II. pp. 354 and 443 ff.

### III — INSCRIPTIONS OF THE THIRD YEAR OF KANISHKA

These inscriptions are incised on a colossal standing Bôdhisattva statue, and on an octagonal stone shaft which once carried an umbrella placed over the image. That the two objects belong together is evident from their epigraphs, both of which record the donation of a Bôdhisattva and of an umbrella with a shaft (*chhatra-yashî*) on the same date and by the same donors. The inscriptions are dated in the third year of Mahârâja Kanishka (spelled *Mahârâja Kanishka*), the third month of winter, the twenty-second day, and thus are the earliest records in which the name of the great Kushana ruler occurs<sup>1</sup>. They supply, however, no absolute proof that at that time Kanishka's rule extended as far as Benares, as there is no evidence that the donors were inhabitants of Kâśi. On the contrary, it will be seen in the sequel that the latter came more probably from Mathurâ and erected the image on the occasion of a pilgrimage to the sacred sites of Buddhism.

What adds considerably to the interest of these inscriptions is the fact that the chief donor, Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka and fellow of Friar Pushyavuddhi, must be identical with the donor of the Śrāvastî image in the Calcutta Museum, to which Dr Bloch devoted an excellent article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*<sup>2</sup>. If the identity of the names alone (that of the monk Pushyavuddhi is partly missing in the Śrāvastî inscription) were not considered sufficient proof, the striking similarity of the two images in style and workmanship and of their inscriptions in language and script cannot leave any doubt as to the correctness of my conclusion. It is not a little curious that we meet the name of Friar Bala for the third time on an inscribed Bôdhisattva image from Mathurâ,<sup>3</sup> preserved in the Lucknow Museum, as the spiritual preceptor of the nun Buddhāmitrā whose name is also found among the donors of the Sârṇāth image. The Mathurâ image is dated in the reign of Mahârâja Huviṣka in the year 33, which makes it exactly thirty years posterior to the Sârṇāth one.

Two names found in the Sârṇāth inscriptions, to which a considerable amount of interest attaches, are Kharapallāna and Vanaspara (or Vanashpara). On the umbrella shaft they are mentioned among the persons who took part in the donation, Vanaspara being mentioned first and bearing the title of *Kshatrapa*. But on the image it is distinctly stated that Kharapallāna, here called *Mahākshatrapa*, erected the Bôdhisattva together with the *Kshatrapa* Vanashpara. As, however, Friar Bala's name is connected with the image in a manner which would indicate him as the donor,<sup>4</sup> it is not altogether patent what part the two satraps took in the donation.

The question has been raised how mendicants, who have to beg for their food and are not allowed worldly possessions,<sup>5</sup> could make donations which would necessarily involve a considerable expenditure. Perhaps the Sârṇāth inscriptions afford an explanation. We may suppose that the two satraps supplied the necessary funds, but that the work was carried out under the supervision of Friar Bala, who thus was fully justified in calling the gift his own. Such guidance on the part of one well versed in the holy scriptures would be needed, to make sure that the works were completely orthodox. We need not go far afield to find parallels, or quote the case of Fra Angelico, who adorned San Marco at Florence with his famous frescoes. On the very

<sup>1</sup> The earliest inscription of Kanishka's reign hitherto found is that of his fifth year, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 381, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. LXVII Part I. (1898), p. 274. Compare Anderson's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> Growse, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI p. 217, No. 2 and Plate, and Lüders, *ibid.* Vol. XXXIII p. 39, No. 9. The exact find spot is stated to be the Chaubārā mound.

<sup>4</sup> The word *dānam*, though not used in the Sârṇāth inscriptions, is found on the Śrāvastî image.

<sup>5</sup> Kern, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 40. That the former practice was not strictly adhered to, has been pointed out by M. Foucher, *L'art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, Vol. I (Paris, 1905), p. 169, but the rule forbidding monks to touch money is still observed, at least in Burma.

borders of India the quaint paintings which cover the walls of the *dgon-pas* are executed up to the present day—so I was told in Lahul—by those of the lamas who possess the most accurate knowledge of their stupendous pantheon

This much, at any rate, is certain, that the Sârnâth and the Śrāvastī image were made by the same master, if not by the same workmen. The style is that of the Mathurā school; the material is the red sandstone of the Agra quarries. All this points to the conclusion, already referred to above, that the donors of these images had their home at Mathurā where, as early as the reign of the satraps Rajula (or Rañjubula) and Śodāsa, a school of sculpture flourished, which was strongly influenced by the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra. Seemingly this Mathurā school created a Bôdhisattva type, specimens of which found their way to other famous centres of Buddhism. And all evidence now available points to the fact that these were the very first images of the kind set up at those places<sup>1</sup>. For where else but at these sacred spots, hallowed by the presence of the Buddha himself, should we expect to find such images? And yet not a fragment of anything earlier than these has been found there. On the other hand, would Friar Bala and his companions have carried those gigantic statues from Mathurā to Śrāvastī and far-off Benares, if there had been local artists capable of converting a block of stone into a sacred image? Would he have thought it necessary to mention expressly that the image represented a Bôdhisattva, if such images had been familiar to the pious? Let us bear in mind the numberless images of Mediæval India, all evidently made locally,—those of Sârnâth in Chunâr sandstone, those of Gayâ in basalt,—among which we hardly ever find one marked with the name of the deity which it represents<sup>2</sup>. Among the numerous inscribed Buddhist images of the early Gupta period Dr. Bloch can quote only three examples in which the subject is mentioned.

Then, if Friar Bala was a monk of Mathurā, who were his patrons, the great satrap Kharapallāna and the satrap Vanaspara? That they were Buddhists is evident, and it may be inferred from their titles that the former was the latter's father, and from their names that they were of foreign extraction. As to the latter point, it is impossible at present to arrive at a definite conclusion. For though these two names have a distinct Iranian sound,<sup>3</sup> I need only refer to the instance of the Mughal rulers of later days, to demonstrate the unsoundness of inferring anything therefrom as to their ethnographic origin. Perhaps from their connection with Friar Bala we may hazard the conjecture that their seat of government was at Mathurā, where a line of foreign rulers is known to have existed only about a century before. It is true that on the Kshatrapa coins found in and round that city the names of Kharapallāna and Vanaspara do not occur. But this fact can easily be accounted for on the assumption that Kharapallāna, though possibly a descendant of the independent satraps of the 1st century B.C., now owed allegiance to Mahārāja Kanishka, in whose reign the inscriptions are dated, and consequently used the Kushana coinage. May we go a step further and assume that his son Vanaspara, who in the umbrella inscription is mentioned before Kharapallāna, resided at Benares and ruled the eastern portion of the province governed by his father?

The Sârnâth inscriptions partly confirm and partly modify Dr. Bloch's conclusions regarding the Śrāvastī epigraph. They show that he is undoubtedly correct in his interpretation of

<sup>1</sup> That statues already existed in India at an earlier period is proved by the Parkham image (*A. S. E.* Vol. XX p. 40 and Plate vi.) with its inscription in Maurya Brāhmī. But apparently it has no connection with Buddhism.

<sup>2</sup> A. Foucher, *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* (Paris, 1900), pp. 4 ff. and 7 ff. Regarding the Mathurā sculptures the author remarks "Elles sont tout de suite reconnaissables à la belle couleur rouge tachetée de jaune du grès des Vindhya."

<sup>3</sup> The ending *-dāna* is also found in Hagāna (Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 87) and in Naḥapāna (*A. S. E. Western India*, Vol. IV p. 99). For the first member of the name Kharapallāna we may compare Kharamosta and Kharaosta (Bühler, *J. R. A. S.* for 1894, p. 532, and Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9).



*chhātram dāndaś-cha* as meaning 'an umbrella and a stick.' It is curious that these objects were not recovered with the Śrāvastī image, which Cunningham found standing in a small temple, and not in the open. The name of Friar Bala's spiritual preceptor, which in the Śrāvastī inscription was only partly legible and had been restored by Dr. Bloch as *Pushyamitra*, appears from the epigraph on the umbrella post to be *Pushyavuddhi*, corresponding to Sanskrit *Pushya-vriddhi*. Finally, the Sarnāth inscriptions establish beyond doubt that the Śrāvastī image belongs to the early Kushana period.

Conversely the Śrāvastī inscription helps to elucidate some doubtful points in the Sarnāth legends. Thus we may safely assume that the *chhātra-yashti* of the Sarnāth inscriptions, which corresponds with the *chhātram dāndaś-cha* of the Śrāvastī epigraph, is to be taken as a *dvandva* and not as a *tatpurusha* compound, and to be rendered by 'an umbrella with a staff' and not by 'an umbrella staff'. Again we should be doubtful how to explain the connection between the Genitive *bhikṣhu-ya Balasya trepiṭakasya* and the following Nominative, if the Śrāvastī record did not give us the clue that the word *dānam* is to be supplied.

Dr. Bloch's remarks regarding the characteristic features of language and script of the Śrāvastī inscription apply equally to those of the Sarnāth ones. But in view of the date of the latter falling in Kanishka's reign, it is impossible to maintain for the peculiar script which both exhibit the designation of "Northern Kshatrapa" in contradistinction with the so-called Kushana script of a later period. Its more correct name would be "early Kushana," and it shows indeed a transition between the script of Śodāsa's epigraphs and those of the later Kushanas. The former<sup>1</sup> is marked by more archaic forms and stands nearer to the Maurya type. In it we find post-consonantic *a*, *e* and *o* commonly expressed by horizontal, and not by slanting strokes as are found in the Kushana inscriptions. The *ya* is still semi-circular at the bottom, and its middle vertical stroke sometimes exceeds the side ones in length. On the other hand, the similarity between the script of the Mathurā satraps and that of the early years of Kanishka is so striking, that the two can be hardly separated by more than one century. If the former are to be placed in the first century B.C., palaeographical evidence would point to the conclusion that the commencement of Kanishka's reign has been rightly supposed to fall in the first century A.D.

It is only natural that the later Kushana inscriptions, *e.g.* that on the Mathurā Bôdhisattva image of the year 33, above referred to, and still more that on the Kāman Buddha image dated in the year 74,<sup>2</sup> should exhibit a further development in respect alike of script and of language. Here we find the *ya* in *kya* and *sya* regularly expressed by a loop, and not by its full sign.<sup>3</sup> Thus it approaches visibly the form peculiar to the early Gupta period. The language of the later inscriptions, though not yet pure Sanskrit, is decidedly more Sanskritic than that of the early Kushana records. Compare, for instance, *mātāpītūnām* (Kāman) with *sahā mātāpītīhī* (Sarnāth-Mathurā), and *parigrahe* (Kāman) with *parigrahe* (Śrāvastī). On the other hand, we find *pratiṣṭhāpita* already in the Sarnāth inscription, whereas at an earlier period *pratiṣṭhāpita* is used.

The inscription is cut on three sides of the octagonal umbrella post, and consists of ten lines of 33 cm. in length, except the last line, which measures only 9 cm. The size of the *aksharas* varies from 1 to 6 cm. The letters are regular and clearly cut, but the disintegration of the surface of the stone has caused their shape to become indistinct in places, more especially towards the junction of the faces of the shaft. On the whole, however, the inscription is very well preserved, and wherever the reading appears at all doubtful, a comparison with contemporaneous epigraphs has enabled me to arrive at results which may be considered final.

<sup>1</sup> See Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 199, No. II.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler, *ibid.* p. 212, Plate, No. xlii. The image must belong to the reign of Vāsudēva. Compare V. A. Smith, *J. R. A. S.* for 1903, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> The looped *ya* is found already in the inscription of Kanishka's 5th year, referred to above.

## TEXT OF ii. a.

- 1 Mahārājasya Kanishkasya sam 3 he 3 di 22  
 2 etaye purvaye bhikshusya Pushyavuddhisya saddhyevi-  
 3 hāsiya bhikshusya Balasya trepitakasya  
 4 Bodhisatvo chhatrayashti cha pratishthāpito  
 5 Bārānāsiye Bhagavato chamkame sahā māt[ā]-  
 6 pītihi sahā upaddhyāyācherehi saddhyevihāri-  
 7 hi antevāsikehi cha sahā Buddhamitraye trepitaka-  
 8 ye sahā kshatrapena Vanasparena Kharapallā-  
 9 nena cha sahā cha[tu]hi parishāhi sarvasatvanam  
 10 hitasukhārttham

## REMARKS.

Line 1 — It is doubtful whether the depression at the top of the *ra* represents an *ā*-stroke or not. The form *mahārājasya*, however, is quite distinct in the Bōdhisattva inscription. The spelling *Kanishkasya* with lingual *n* has already been noticed above

L 2 f — There can be no doubt as to the reading *saddhyevihāri*, with *e* in the second syllable, here and also in line 6. At first I felt inclined to read *sarddhyavihāri*, which would yield an etymologically more intelligible form, but pre-consonantic *r* is expressed by a perpendicular and not by a slanting stroke. See *e.g.* *purvaye* (l 2) and *sarvasatvanam* (l 9). In the Śrāvastī image inscription also I should prefer to read *saddhyevihārisya*

L 3 — The third *akshara* of *trepitakasya* resembles *pha*, which is evidently due to the stone being worn. Compare *trepitakaye* (l 7 f.).

L 4 — The vowel-stroke of the last syllable of *pratishthāpito* is indistinct. In one of the Bōdhisattva inscriptions we have clearly *-to*

L 5 — The first letter of *Bārānāsiye* is open at the top and would, therefore, represent *pa*. But there can be little doubt that this is due either to the disintegration of the surface or to a clerical error. The vowel-stroke also cannot be said to be absolutely certain. For the ending compare *Sāvastīye* in the Śrāvastī inscription — It is doubtful whether the inscription has *chamkame* or *chamkame*. I have chosen the Prākṛit form which is found in the Śrāvastī inscription

L 6. — For the reading *upaddhyāyācherehi* I am indebted to Prof. Kern, who remarks that the form *āchera* for Skr *āchārya* occurs also in the *Jātaka* (ed. by Fausbøll), Vol IV p 248, l 9, in a verse, *i.e.* in a dialect different from Pāli.

L 8 — Is perhaps *Vanaspharena* to be read? The Bōdhisattva inscription has clearly *Vanashparena*

L 9. — The letter (or letters?) following the second *cha* is indistinct. At first I felt inclined to read *sahā cha sarvāhi parishāhi*, but finally chose the expression *sahā chatuhi parishāhi*, which occurs also in the Mathurā inscription of Dhanabhūti. Compare Cunningham, *A S R* Vol III, p 36, No 21, Plate xvi., and Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, série 8, Vol XV, p 119

## TRANSLATION.

In the 3rd year of Mahārāja Kanishka, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above,<sup>1</sup> was (this gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The Mathurā inscriptions afford many variants of this expression such as *etasya pūrvadyam*, *asyān purvadya* and the like. See Bühler, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 37 ff and Vol II p 195

<sup>2</sup> On the term *trepitaka* (Skr *tripitaka*), Fem *trepitakā*, compare Bloch, *l c* p 280





fellow<sup>1</sup> of Friar Pushyavuddhi, (namely an image of) the Bôdhisattva and an umbrella with a post, erected at Benares, at the place where the Lord<sup>2</sup> used to walk,— together with (his) parents, with (his) masters and teachers, (his) fellows and pupils,<sup>3</sup> and with (the nun) Buddhāmitrā versed in the Tripitaka, together with the satrap Vanaspara and Kharapallāna, and together with the four classes,<sup>4</sup> for the welfare and happiness of all creatures<sup>5</sup>

The image referred to in the inscription is 10' high and 3' wide across the shoulders. It was found in three pieces, the head and feet being broken off. The right arm is lost, presumably it was raised in the attitude of protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). The left hand rests on the hip and holds the upper garment, which leaves the right shoulder bare. A double flat girdle fastened round the loins keeps in the plain lower garment, which reaches beneath the knees. The head, which measures 3' in circumference, is unfortunately much mutilated. The top is broken, so that it is impossible to decide whether it had the protuberance of the skull (*ushnisha*). Nor is there any trace of the mark between the brows (*ūrṇā*), another characteristic of the Buddha. We can, however, be certain that the hair was neither arranged in the wavy locks peculiar to the Græco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra, nor in the schematic curls of mediæval images. It is treated in such a way as to present the aspect of a plain, close-fitting cap, which was probably meant to render the shaven head of the Buddhist monk. It is interesting to note that this treatment of the hair is very common in the Mathurā images which can be assigned to the Kushana period. Another point of similarity is the treatment of the halo. In the case of the Sarnāth image only the lower part of it remains on the back of the torso. Along its border runs a repeat of semicircles. In Gandhāra the haloes are plain, except in a few instances where we find a border showing a conventional development of the radiate nimbus<sup>6</sup>. Of this the Mathurā halo seems to be a later development, which thus forms a transition from the plain Gandhāra one to the highly ornamental halo of the Gupta period, of which Mr Oertel's excavations have revealed some very fine specimens<sup>7</sup>.

Between the feet of the Sarnāth image is a figure in relief of a lion facing, and on the side of the left foot a naturalistic representation of leaves, buds, flowers and fruits in bas-relief. Whether these are merely decorative or have some symbolical meaning, I cannot decide<sup>8</sup>. In later Buddhist art the lion, if meant as *vāhana* and not merely as an indication of the *simhāsana*, is peculiar to the Bôdhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Simhanāda-Lôkēśvara<sup>9</sup>. But it is questionable, whether at the period to which the Sarnāth image belongs it can have borne that signification. More probably it indicates that the statue represents Śākyasimha, 'the lion among the Śākya'

<sup>1</sup> On the meaning of *saddhyesiṃhāri* see Kern, *Manual*, p. 84, Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 379, Bloch, *l. c.* p. 279, I-tsing (Takakusu), p. 116; and Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, s. v. *saddhiṃsiṃhāri*.

<sup>2</sup> On the use and meaning of *Bhagavat* see Kern, *Manual*, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> The word *anteḍḍasiṃ* occurs also in the 2nd Siddhāpura edict (Bühler, above, Vol. III p. 138) *Hemava anteḍḍasiṃ dāhariye apacha[yi]tariye* ("moreover the pupil should honour his teacher"), and in a Mathurā inscription, 2nd series, No. I (Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 198). The feminine form *anteḍḍasiṃ* occurs in the Mathurā Bôdhisattva inscription (p. 182 below), where the *dhikshunt* Buddhāmitrā is called the *anteḍḍasiṃ* of Friar Bala. In another Mathura inscription, 2nd series, No. XXI (Bühler, *l. c.* p. 205), we find the form *anteḍḍasiṃ*.

<sup>4</sup> The four *parishads* are *dhikshus*, *dhikshunts*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*. Sometimes five or eight *parishads* are spoken of. Compare I-tsing (Takakusu) and Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, s. v. *parisā*.

<sup>5</sup> The same expression is also found in the Anyor Buddha inscription, Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XX p. 49 and Plate V No. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Grünwedel Burgess, *Buddhist Art*, fig. 143.

<sup>7</sup> That these are to be assigned to the Gupta period, may be inferred from the inscribed Buddha image in the Mathurā Municipal Museum. Compare Growse, *Mathura, a District Memoir*, p. 115.

<sup>8</sup> Mr Griessen, Superintendent of the Taj Garden at Agra, to whom I sent a photograph of the sculpture, is of opinion that the bas-relief possibly represents the flower, bud, leaves and seed-pods of "Rhododendron arboreum" (*Flora Br. Ind.* Vol. III p. 465), a plant that is used in Nepal as an offering at Buddhist temples.

<sup>9</sup> Foucher, *Iconographie Bouddhique* (Paris, 1900), p. 116, and Vol. II (Paris, 1905), p. 31.

I may add that in Mathurā we often find a cluster of lotus flowers between the feet of the image Dr. Bloch noticed between the feet of the Śrāvastī image "a peculiar object of uncertain meaning."

It has already been noted that the image is curved on the back. Unlike mediæval images it is in the round and not in relief. This circumstance makes it probable that it never stood in a temple, but was placed in the open, sheltered only by its umbrella,<sup>1</sup> a probability that is strengthened by the discovery of all the fragments of the image and of the umbrella in the open space between the Aśoka pillar and the *vihāra* excavated by Mr. Oertel.

The Sārnāth image, though an important addition to our materials, only complicates one of the problems of Buddhist iconography. Had it not been inscribed, no one would have hesitated to call it a Buddha image. Both the royal dress and ornaments which were hitherto thought to characterise the Bôdhisattva<sup>2</sup> are absent, and the figure wears only the plain attire of a Buddhist monk, such as is invariably associated with statues of the Buddha. But the inscriptions alike on the umbrella post and, as will be seen presently, on the image itself, are quite explicit in designating it a Bôdhisattva.

What then are the distinguishing features of the Bôdhisattva? Can it be, as Dr. Bloch holds, the bare right shoulder? Such a theory seems hardly tenable. For there are numerous bare-shouldered images which represent Śākyamuni at the moment of the Bôdhi, and we find among Gandhāra sculptures<sup>3</sup> the uncovered right shoulder regularly combined with that position of the hands which expresses 'the turning of the wheel of the Law' (*dharmaçakra-mudrā*), and which can only indicate an omniscient Buddha.

To decide on this point, it would be necessary first of all to compare the two images of Anyor and Kāman, which belong to the same period and are designated by their inscriptions as Buddha images<sup>4</sup>. That of Kāman (Bharatpur State, Rājputāna), as noted above, must be 71 years posterior to the Sārnāth statue, assuming that the date is expressed in Kanishka's era, which in the light of its palæographical evidence seems most plausible. The Anyor Buddha image must be nearly contemporaneous with the Bôdhisattvas of Sārnāth and Śrāvastī. This is evident from the similarity both in the script and language and in the wording of their inscriptions. Unfortunately no photographs of either of these two statues are at present available. Of the Kāman image I only find the statement that it represents Buddha seated.

Anyhow, these four are among the earliest Buddhist images hitherto found in India proper, or more correctly I should say that no image has been found, which on epigraphical evidence can be assigned to an earlier period. The fact that it was thought necessary to indicate the subject in the inscription makes it indeed highly probable, that at the beginning of Kanishka's reign statues of Śākyamuni—either as Buddha or Bôdhisattva—were a novelty, at least in Gangetic India. We noticed, however, in describing the Sārnāth Bôdhisattva certain features which seem to be borrowed from the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra. This fact not only confirms the theory that the practice of making Buddha images originated from the north-west, but also indicates that the flourishing period of the Gandhāra school must be anterior to Kanishka's reign. Thus we should be led to the conclusion that the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra flourished, not under the Kushana kings, but under the earlier Yavana and Śaka rulers. This conclusion,

<sup>1</sup> This practice was also known in Gandhāra. Compare Foucher, *L'art Gréco-bouddhique*, Vol. I p. 191. "*Il faut dire cependant, pour être tout-à-fait exact, que quelques-unes d'entre elles se contentaient, comme abri, d'un parasol*."

<sup>2</sup> Grunwedel Burgess, *Buddhist Art*, p. 182. "The Bôdhisattva representation of later art is that of a royally attired young man. . . . Thus we may claim these youthful figures in rich attire, so frequent among Gandhāra sculptures, as Bôdhisattvas."

<sup>3</sup> Compare *A S R* for 1902-03, p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> To the same period belongs the Sāñchi image of the year 70 in the reign of Vasushka, but from its inscription it is not evident what it represents.

in my opinion, would well agree with the evidence of the coins which, starting from purely Hellenistic types, manifest a constant deterioration ending in the barbarous issues of the Kushanas. And in like manner the sculptures which owed their origin to the same Hellenistic influence must have had a parallel history of gradual Indianisation.

The Sârṇāth image has two inscriptions — one, as in Gupta sculptures, carved on the front of the plain pedestal, the other on the back of the image between the feet. The former (iii b, c) is divided into two halves by a vertical, semi-circular groove. It consists of two lines, each half being nearly 24 cm. in length. The size of the letters varies between 1 and 5 cm. In the second half of the first line the sixth *akshara* is slightly damaged, and at the end one or two *aksharas* are lost. I read it

- 1 Bhikshusya Balasya trepitakasya Bodhisatvo prat[1]shthāpito . . .
- 2 mahākshatrapena Kharapallānena saḥā kshatrapena Vanashparena

“(This gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka, (namely an image of) the Bôdhisattva, has been erected by the great satrap Kharapallāna together with the satrap Vanashpara.”

The inscription on the back of the image (iii d) consists of three lines. The proper left side of the inscribed surface, which measures 40 by 17 cm., is defaced, and at the bottom a piece is broken, causing the loss of the concluding word. On an impression taken immediately after the discovery of the image, the upper parts of the *aksharas* of this word were plainly visible. But it seems that in removing it a piece of the stone has chipped off. The missing portion of the inscription can thus be restored with certainty. The size of the letters is 1 to 4.5 cm. The following is my reading —

- 1 Mahārājasya Kan[shkasya] sam 3 he 3 dī 2[2]
- 2 etāye purvāye bhikshusya Balasya trepitakasya
- 3 Bodhisatvo chhatrayashtā cha [pratishthāpito]

“In the 3rd year of Mahārāja Kanishka, the 3rd (month) of winter, the 22nd day, on this (date specified as) above has (this gift) of Friar Bala, a master of the Tripitaka, (namely an image of) the Bôdhisattva and an umbrella with a post, been erected.”

## NO 18 — TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON BUDDHIST IMAGES

By T. BLOCH, PH.D.

The first of these two inscriptions comes from Śrāvastī and has already been edited by me in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVIII, 1898, Part I pp. 274 to 290. I re-edit it here partly in order to publish a facsimile of it, and partly to correct the statement made by me (*loc. cit.* p. 278) in regard to its date. The second inscription comes from Mathurā and has recently been edited by Prof. Lüders (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII p. 39, No. 9) from the imperfect facsimile published by Growse (*ibid.* Vol. VI p. 217, No. 2 and Plate). If I edit it here again, it is because, having read the inscription from the original during a visit to Lucknow in October, 1904, and with the help of two paper impressions kindly supplied to me by Dr. Vogel, I have been able to supply the three proper names mentioned in the inscription, which in Prof. Lüders' transcript remained doubtful<sup>1</sup>. The first of these is the most important one. It is clearly *Balasya trepitakasya*, not [*Maha*]sya as Prof. Lüders proposed to read. This person cannot be separated from the *trepitaka Bala* of the Śrāvastī inscription, and of the recently discovered Sârṇāth inscriptions of the third year of Kanishka, of which Dr. Vogel has just

<sup>1</sup> Two of them have also been read by Dr. Vogel in his article on discoveries at Sârṇāth, p. 173 above.

published an edition. It thus appears that the date assigned to the Śrāvastī inscription in my previous paper was wrong, and that the missing name of the king should be restored either as Kanishka or as Huvishka, most probably the former one.

#### A.—SET-MAHET IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KANISHKA OR HUVISHKA.

This inscription is on the pedestal of a colossal standing figure of a Buddha or Bôdhisattva, which was found by General Cunningham inside a small masonry building at Set-Mahet. It has since been removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The pedestal measures 3 feet in length and 6 inches in height. Its right corner is broken, and about two-thirds of the first line of the inscription have become illegible.

The size of the letters varies between  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The writing is archaic and resembles more the type used in the Kshatrapa inscriptions than the Kushana type. The letter *ya* as part of a compound (*samyuktākshara*) is expressed by its full form, and only once, in *Pushya*<sup>o</sup> (l 1), by a cursive form. The upper cross-bar of *sha* fills only the right half of the letter and does not reach to the left vertical line. Further details of palæography will be found in my previous paper (p. 277) and need not be repeated here. The language is a mixed form of Sanskrit and Prākṛit of the same type as that employed in other Kushana inscriptions. Here again no details are required, as my previous paper contains a full statement of facts (p. 279).

The inscription records that the statue, on the pedestal of which it has been engraved, and which it describes as a Bôdhisattva, together with an umbrella and a stick (l 2 *bodhisatto chhātram dāndas=cha*) was put up at Śrāvastī, at the place where the Lord used to walk (l 2. *Bhagavato chamkame*), inside the Kosambakuṭī (l 3), as the gift of the monk Bala, who knew the Tripitaka and was a companion (*saddhy[e]vihārisya*, l 2) of the monk Pushya[vuddhi],<sup>1</sup> and that it was the property of some teachers of the Sarvāstivādin school of Buddhists.

As I have shown in my previous article (p. 286), the Kosambakuṭī was a building inside the Jetavana park near Śrāvastī. The term *Bhagavato chamkame* may either have been used as another name of the Jetavana, or more probably it may have denoted a separate place within the park, where Buddha used to take exercise, and which was kept up as such by tradition, like the 'Buddha's walk' north of the great temple of Budh-Gaya.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, likely that the place where Cunningham found the statue does not mark its original site, and that the ancient city of Śrāvastī lay further to the north, near the borders of Nepal.<sup>3</sup>

The date of the inscription is illegible, with the exception of the numerical figures 10 and 9, meaning the 19th day. As the missing space is too long for a mere enumeration of the numbers of the year and season, the date must have been determined by the name of the ruling king. From the second inscription and the Sārnāth inscriptions published by Dr. Vogel, which mention also a *trepitaka* Bala, who must have been identical with the person of the same name and title referred to in this inscription, we may confidently restore the beginning of the first line as [*Mahārājasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya* (or *Huvishkasya*?) *sam . . . di*] 10 9, and it is beyond doubt that the inscription belongs to the time of the Kushana kings, either of Kanishka or Huvishka, not of the Kshatrapas Rañjubala or Śodāsa, as I suggested in my previous article for palæographical reasons. As will be shown later on, the reign of Kanishka is more likely to be the true date of the inscription than the time of his successor Huvishka.

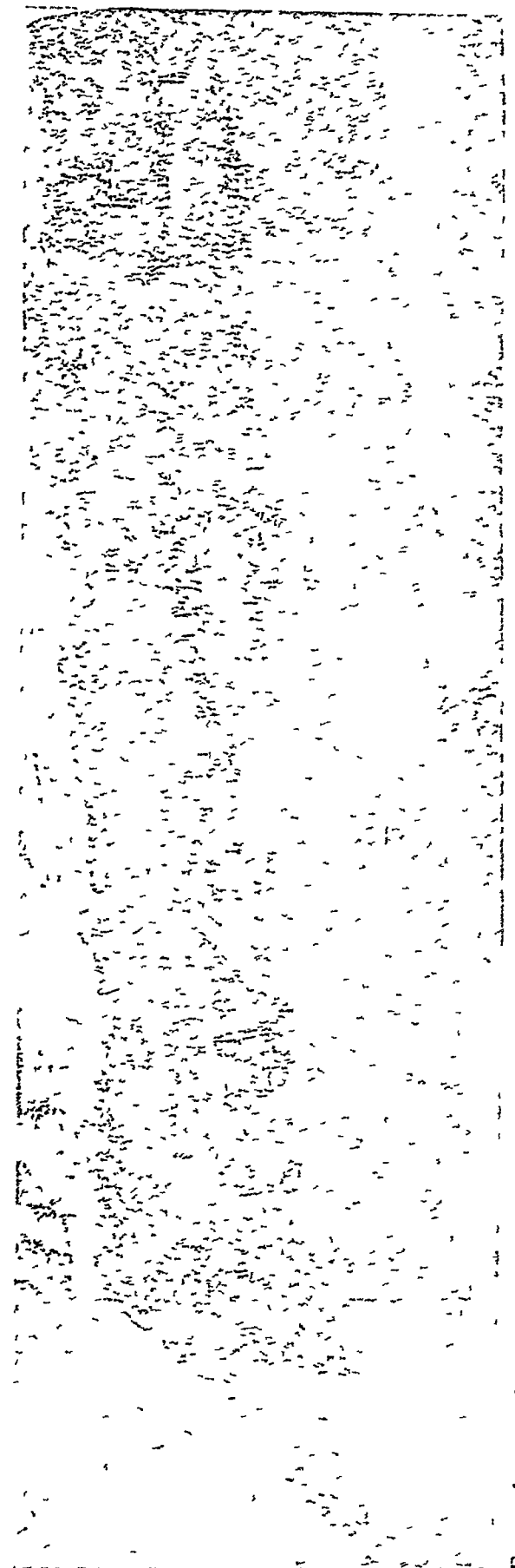
<sup>1</sup> That is *Pushyavuddhi*. Sārnāth No IIIa shows that the name should be restored thus, not as *Pushyamitra* as I proposed originally. See Dr. Vogel's article, p. 175 above.

<sup>2</sup> See Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, p. 8 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Vincent A. Smith, *J. R. A. S.* 1898, p. 520, and 1900, p. 1.



Inscribed Buddhist image from Set-Mahet





The statue to which the inscription belongs is shown on the accompanying Plate. It is called a Bôdhisattva. Unfortunately the head is broken, and it is impossible to say whether it wore some sort of a diadem, as the so-called 'Bôdhisattva' figures in the contemporaneous art of Gandhâra. There are, however, no necklace or other ornaments of the body, and the feet are naked. The left hand rests on the hip, and the broken right hand probably was uplifted in the act of granting protection (*abhaya-mudrâ*). The right shoulder is bare, and between the feet stands some indistinct round object, which I am unable to explain. The girdle around the waist is the only mark of difference between this statue and the ordinary type of a Buddha image. The term Bôdhisattva is likewise applied to the Mathurâ image to which the second inscription belongs, and which was a seated figure. Unfortunately it is broken, and not much can be said in regard to its general appearance.

From Dr Vogel's account it appears that the recently excavated Sârânâth image is very similar to that from Śrāvastī. He also suggests that all these three images were made at Mathurâ. The Śrāvastī image is 11 feet 8 inches high. Its material is the red sandstone from the quarries near Fathpur-Sikri.

#### TEXT.

- 1 [Mahārājasya devaputrasya Kanishkasya (or Huvishkasya) sam . . .  
 . . di] 10 9 etaye purvaye bhikshusya Pushya[vu]-
- 2 [ddhy]ya<sup>1</sup> saddhy[e]vihāmsya<sup>2</sup> bhikshusya Balasya trepitakasya dānam  
 B[o]ddhisatvo chhātram dāndaś-cha Śāvastīye Bhagavato chamkame
- 3 Kosambakutiye acharyyānām Sarvastivādinam<sup>3</sup> parigahe

#### TRANSLATION.

[In the . . . th year of the Mahārāja, the Dēvaputra Kanishka (or Huvishka?), in the . . . th month of . . . , on the] 10th [day], on the date specified above, a Bôdhisattva, an umbrella and a stick, the gift of the monk Bala, who knows the Tripitaka, a companion (*saddhy[e]vihāmsya*) of the monk Pushya[*vriddhi*], (*have been set up*) at Śrāvastī, at the place where the Lord (i.e. Buddha) used to walk, in the Kosambakuti, as the property of the teachers of the school of Sarvastivādins

#### B — MATHURA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 33 OF HUVISHKA.

This inscription is on the broken pedestal of a seated Buddha image from the Chaubârâ mound near Mathurâ. It is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. It measures 3 feet by 2½ inches. The size of the letters varies between ½ and 1½ inches. The end of the second line is damaged and cannot be restored completely.

The writing is of a later type than the Set-Mahet image inscription. The *ya* in the compound letter *syā* is expressed by the cursive form in *devaputrasya*, *Huvishkasya* and *trepitakasya* (l 1), and by the full form of the letter in *bhikshusya* *Balasya* (l 1), while an intermediate form, with a loop attached to the left-hand side of the central line, is found in *mahārājasya* (l 1). The old form of *sha* with a small upper cross-bar occurs only once, in *bhikshusya* (l 1), if the impression can be trusted. The later *sa* with a loop in the left-hand lower corner is found in *mahārājasya*, *devaputrasya*, *sañ* (l 1), as has been pointed out already by Prof. Luders (*loc cit* p. 40). The language is the ordinary mixed dialect of Sanskrit and Prākṛit employed in the

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 180, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> So with Sârânâth No. III a, lines 2 and 6. The surface of the stone above *ddhy* is damaged.

<sup>3</sup> The *et* is added in small letters at the top of the line.

Kushana period and calls for no particular remarks. But it may be noted that in *bhikhuniye* (1 2) we have the Prākṛt form instead of the usual *bhikṣhunī*, and that the gen. sing. of feminine nouns ending in *ī* retains the long *ī* in *bhikhuniye* (1 1), *bhāgineyye*, *bhikhuniye*, *Dhanavatiye* (1 2), the corresponding vowel of *antevāsiniye* (1. 1) is doubtful. The later Prākṛt form *prathāvitō* (1 2) seems certain.

The inscription records that a Bôdhisattva was set up by the nun Dhanavati, the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhāmītrā,<sup>1</sup> who knew the Tripiṭaka, a female disciple (*antevāsini*) of the monk Bala, who knew the Tripiṭaka. There can be no doubt as to the identity of this monk with the monk Bala mentioned in the Set-Mahet and Sārnāth inscriptions, and the three inscriptions thus cannot be far removed from each other in date. The Mathurā inscription refers itself to the reign of Huvishka, the year 33, the 8th day of the 1st month of summer. However, the Set-Mahet inscription, like that from Sārnāth, probably belongs to the reign of Kanishka and is somewhat earlier than the Mathurā inscription, which records a gift by the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhāmītrā, whose name occurs already in the third year of Kanishka in connection with the name of Bala, the donor of the Sārnāth statue.

The Mathurā statue, like those from Sārnāth and Set-Mahet, is called a Bôdhisattva. Unfortunately nothing but its lower part, showing the crossed legs of a seated figure, is preserved (see the accompanying Plate). The place where the statue was set up seems to have been [Mā]dh[u]ravanaka, the first part of which may have been derived from Madhurā or Mathurā, the name of the town where the statue actually has been found.

#### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Mahārājasya devaputrasya Huv[ī]shkasya sam 30 3 grī 1 dī 8  
bhikṣhusya Balasya tripiṭakasya antev[ā]s[ī]n[ī]ye<sup>3</sup> bhikhuniye tre[piṭikā]ye  
Buddhāmītrāyo  
2 bhāgineyye bhikhuniye Dhanavatiye Bodhisatvo prathāvitō [Mā]dh[u]ravanake  
sahā mātāpitṛihī . . . . .

#### TRANSLATION.

In the year 33 of the Mahārāja, the Dēvaputra Huvishka, on the 8th day of the 1st summer (month), a Bôdhisattva was set up at [Mā]dh[u]ravanaka by the nun Dhanavati, the sister's daughter of the nun Buddhāmītrā, who knows the Tripiṭaka, a female pupil of the monk Bala, who knows the Tripiṭaka, together with her mother and father . . . . .

#### No 19 — DHULIA PLATES OF KARKARAJA, SAKA-SAMVAT 701.

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A.

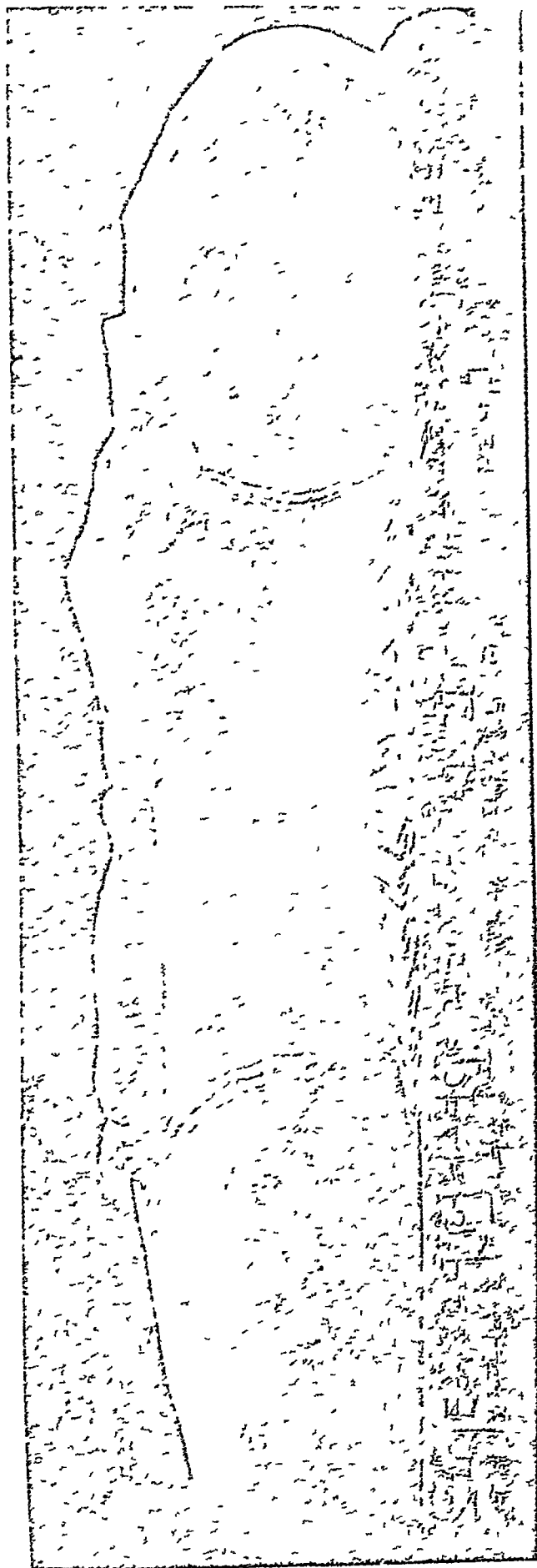
The plates which bear the subjoined grant were found deposited in the record room of the Collector's *kachēri* at Dhulia, Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency. They were sent for inspection to Mr H Cousens, who has kindly asked me to publish a paper on the inscription. A summary of it has already appeared in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the year ending 30th June 1904*, p 60

<sup>1</sup> She occurs again in Sarnath No III a, l 7.

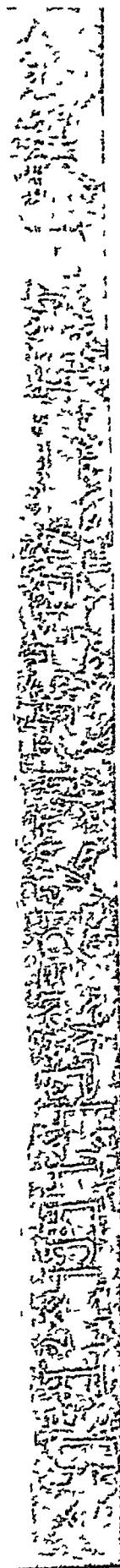
<sup>2</sup> From the original stone and from paper-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. Vogel.

<sup>3</sup> The quantity of the last *i* is uncertain.

# Inscribed pedestal of Buddhist image from Mathura



From a photograph supplied by Mr G D Ganguli



E Hultsch

Scale one fourth

From a rubbing supplied by Dr J Ph Vogel

Collected by Gebr Pfeiffer Hilt - 5 nit



These are three copper-plates, the first and third of which bear writing on one side only, and the second on both sides. They measure each 1' 2" long by 7" broad. Their edges are slightly raised into rims for the protection of the inscription. On the left side of each plate there is a ring-hole, but the ring and the seal which must have accompanied the plates are both lost. A portion of the right side of the second, and of the lower corners of the first and third, plates have been broken off. The letters bear the usual marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout. Their size is about  $\frac{3}{8}$ " — The language is Sanskrit throughout. Excepting ll 24-26, the inscription is in verse up to line 28, and the rest is in prose, excluding ll 33-4 and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end (ll 42-8). All the verses of the genealogical part of this grant excepting five (vv. 6, 7, 9, 17 and 18) occur in other Rāshtrakūta records — The characters belong to the southern variety of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *kh*, one in *khadgam* (l 4) and the other in *śikharaṇi* (l 9), to the two forms of *g*, one in *mandalāgrō* (l 2) or *ganaiḥ* (l 13), and the other in *r=Ḡgōvīndarāja*° (l 3) or *kar-āgrā*° (l 5), to *n* in *Śubhatunga*° (l 20), to *j* in *tmajō ja*° (l 6) and *dvijānām* (l 8), to *t* in *kānt-ēndu*° (l 1), to *n* in *vaitāna*° and *nichayaiḥ* (l 8), to *ḥ* in *bhōgi*° (l 29), to *m* in *m=abhimukhiṃ* (l 3), to the two forms of initial *a* or *ā*, one in *āsī*° (l 2) or *asiamēdha*° (l 44), and the other in *aṃhān=āpi* (l 31), to the secondary *i* in *ma-linyāḥ* (l 14) and *nirddalita*° (l 25), to the subscript *ā* in *dhūma*° (l 8); to the two forms of the subscript *ri*, one in *krutam* (l 1), and the other in *krut-ānukrutiḥ* (l 7), and to the *visarga* expressed by three dots in *ushay-āntarggataḥ* (l 38), and by one dot and one short stroke in *grāmaḥ* (l 40) — As regards orthography, the sign for *v* throughout serves for both *v* and *b*. The consonants following *r* are, as a rule, doubled, though indifference in this respect is in some cases observable, thus *m* is doubled in *nirmatha*° (l 22), but not in *sūnur=maḥipatiḥ* (l 18). *Gha* is used instead of *h* in *rājasigha* (l 3), final *n* before a consonant is no less than five times wrongly changed to an *anusvāra*, e.g. in *yam-nābhi-kāntalam* (l 1) and *yasmim praśāsat* (l 8), *t* is doubled before *r*, e.g. in *gōttra*° (l 7), and *anusvāra* is changed once to the dental *ś* before *s* in *śikhit-ānsa-pīṭhaḥ* (l 11). The rules of Sandhi have been frequently disregarded, and in many a place *aksharas* have been omitted by the writer.

The inscription records a grant by the Rāshtrakūta chieftain Karkarāja or, as he is described in lines 28-29, "Suvarnavarsha Pratāpasila<sup>1</sup> śrī-Karkarāja who has obtained the five great sounds" Karkarāja is spoken of as a son of śrī-Dhruvarāja, younger brother of Gōvinda (II) or, as he is described in lines 25-6, "Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara śrī-Prabhūtavarsha" The inscription refers itself to the prosperous reign (*pravarddhamāna-rājya*) of Gōvinda (II) and is dated in the year 701 (in words and figures, l 31 f), expired, of the Śaka era, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Pushya. The charter was issued by Karkarāja while staying at Sindinagara, on the occasion of a *samhrānti*,<sup>2</sup> to a Brāhmana whose name is lost, son of Bhaṭṭa Chandrāditya, of the Kausika *gōtra*, and student of the Katha school. The grantee appears to have been a man of deep erudition, for he is represented to have mastered the *Vēda*, *Vēdāṅga*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāna*, *Vyākharana*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Tarka*, *Nirukta* and *Yajñavalkya*. The village granted to him was Rakkhulla-grāma situated in the province (*viśaya*) of Nāsikka. The boundaries specified are to the E Chābhastikā, to the S the Gōdāvari, to the W. Vaṭamukha, and to the N Vatapura. All the localities mentioned in this grant are to be found in the Nāsik district. That Nāsikka is Nāsik goes without saying. Sindinagara, where the royal grantor resided at the time of making the grant, is known to us from the records of the earlier Yādavas, and has been identified with Sunnar, the principal town of the *tāluka* of the same name. Rakkhulla-grāma, the village granted, is Lākhalgāmv to the north of the

<sup>1</sup> [The same surname occurs in l 48.—E. H.]

<sup>2</sup> [Prof. Kielhorn kindly informs me that "the date of this inscription, for Śaka-samvat 701 expired, regularly corresponds to the 22nd December A.D. 779. On this day the Makara- or Uttarāyana-samkranti took place 4 h. 30 m., and the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Pausa commenced 6 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise."—E. H.]

Gôdâvari, Chôbhatikâ Chêhdi, and Vatamukha probably Ôdhêm. Chêhdi is in the Nîphâd, and the rest in the Nâsik, *tâluks* of the Nâsik district

As the inscription expressly refers itself to the reign of the Râshtrakûta sovereign Gôvinda II., no doubt can now be reasonably entertained as to his having sat on the throne I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> adduced reasons why we should consider Gôvinda II. to have actually reigned Dr. Fleet based his different opinion on the words *jyêshth-ôllanghana* of a verse occurring in the Wani and Râdhanpur grants.<sup>2</sup> But these words, as Professor Kielhorn has remarked, by no means necessitate the conclusion that Dhruva immediately succeeded Kṛishna I. to the exclusion of his oldest brother Gôvinda II from the succession.<sup>3</sup> The new grant places it beyond all doubt that Gôvinda II did succeed Kṛishna I and did reign. Consequently Dr. Fleet's view has no grounds to stand upon, unless it can be conclusively shown that this grant is a forgery.

Although many Râshtrakûta records have so far been published, they have supplied us with but few dates prior to the time of Gôvinda III. We have Śaka 675 for Dantidurga, the founder of the dynasty, furnished by his Sāmāngad plates<sup>4</sup> The Alâs copper-plate charter,<sup>5</sup> issued by Gôvinda II. when *Yuvarâja* or prince-regent, gives the date Śaka 692 for his father Kṛishna I. And our plates give a third date, *viz.* Śaka 701, for Gôvinda II himself A fourth date is supplied by the Jaina *Harivamśa*,<sup>6</sup> which was completed in Śaka 705 when Śrîvallabha, son of Krishna, was ruling over the South. There can be no doubt that this Kṛishna is Kṛishna I. of the Râshtrakûta family But it is by no means easy to decide whether by Śrîvallabha is meant Gôvinda II. or his brother Dhruva,<sup>7</sup> as both had this epithet and were sons of Kṛishna I.

#### TEXT.<sup>8</sup>

##### *First Plate.*

- 1 श्री<sup>9</sup> [॥\*] स वोव्याद्देधसा धाम <sup>10</sup>यंनाभिकमलं कृतं । हरस्य<sup>11</sup> यस्य  
कांतेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतं ॥ [१\*]
- 2 <sup>12</sup>आसी[द्विषत्ति]मिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिं <sup>13</sup>नयनभिसुखो रणयर्ज्वरीषु ॥(1)  
भूपः शुचिर्वि[धु]रिवा-
- 3 मदि[ग]न्त[कीर्त्ति]र्गोविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसिच<sup>14</sup> ॥ [२\*] दृष्टा चमू-  
मभिसुखीं सुमटाट्टहा[सामुन्नामि]-
- 4 <sup>15</sup>मितं स[पदि येन] रणेषु नित्यं । दष्टाधरेण दधता भृकुटिं ललाटे खड्गं  
कुलं च हृदयं [च नि]-

<sup>1</sup> Journ Bo Br R As Soc Vol. XX pp 133 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p 393; above, Vol. VI. pp 171 and 172.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol VI pp 240 1

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 108 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol VI p 208 ff

<sup>6</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XV p 142

<sup>7</sup> *Early History of the Dekkan*, p 197, above, Vol. VI p 197

<sup>8</sup> From the original copper-plates — [A few emendations in the text and in the notes are due to Mr. H Krishna Sastri, B.A., who read the first proof sheets. Verse 17 remains unintelligible.—E H.]

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>10</sup> Read यनाभि°.

<sup>11</sup> Read हरय.

<sup>12</sup> Read आसीद्विष°.

<sup>13</sup> Read नयनभि°.

<sup>14</sup> Read चिह्न..

<sup>15</sup> This मि is superfluous.



- 5 ज च स[त्वं]<sup>1</sup> ।[1 ३\*] खङ्ग करान्धुखतश्च शोभा मानो 'मनस्त-  
ममेव यस्य [1\*] महाह्वे [नाम नि]-
- 6 ग्राम्य<sup>2</sup> सद्यः त्रयं रिपूणा विगलत्यक[1\*]खे ॥ [४\*] तस्यात्मजो  
जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकर्त्तिरार्त्तर्त्तिहा-<sup>3</sup>
- 7 रि[वि]क्रमधामधारी । 'भूपंस्तृविष्टपक्ततानुक्ततिः कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्कराज इति  
गोक्षम-
- 8 णिव्वभूव<sup>4</sup> ॥ [५\*] यस्मिं<sup>5</sup> प्रशासति महानरपे द्विजानां वैतानधूमनि-  
चयैः परिकर्षुराणि<sup>6</sup> । संध्या[सु सौ]-
- 9 धशिखराणि विलोक्य केका[1\*] कूजति वैश्वशिखिनी जलदागमीत्काः  
[॥ ६\*] यस्य द्विजजनाक्रान्तशान्ति-<sup>7</sup>
- 10 वाचनवारिणा [1\*] प्रत्यहं गुल्फदधेन य[श\*]श्चरति मंदिरे ।[1 ७\*] तस्य  
प्रभिन्नकरटच्युतदानदति[द]-
- 11 न्तप्रहारश्चिरोलिखितान्मपीठ<sup>8</sup> [1\*] क्षापः क्षिती क्षपितश्चतुरभूतनूजः  
सद्राद्रकूटकनका-
- 12 द्वि<sup>9</sup> द्वेन्द्रराजः [॥ ८\*] सेवासमायातवृहन्नेन्द्रवृन्दाभिवन्द्याघयुगस्य<sup>10</sup> तस्य ।  
अम्हा-

*Second Plate, First Side.*

- 13 नववन्नार्थिगणैः प्रवीणैः [स]सेव्यते श्री[1\*] स्वजनैरजस्र<sup>11</sup> ॥ [९\*] तस्योपा-  
र्जितत . . . . .
- 14 तुरदधिवलयमालिन्याः [1\*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजो  
भूत् [॥ १०\*] अ . . . . .
- 15 गृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमज्ञातमप्रणिहितार्थमपेतयत्नं [1\*] यो वल्लभं सपदि द . . . .
- 16 त्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ।[1 ११\*] काञ्चीशकेरलनराधिपचीलपांड-  
श्रीह[र्ष] . . . .
- 17 विभेदविधानदत्तं [1\*] कर्णार्णकं<sup>12</sup> 'वलमचित्यमजेयमन्यैभृत्यै<sup>13</sup> कियद्भिरपि यः  
सह .
- 18 जिगाय ।[1 १२\*] तस्मि<sup>14</sup> दिवं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे सति<sup>15</sup> [1\*] श्रीकर्कराजसूनु-  
मंहीपतिः क्षण-

<sup>1</sup> Read सच

<sup>2</sup> Read 'कौर्त्तिरार्त्तार्त्ति'

<sup>3</sup> Read यस्मिन्

<sup>4</sup> Read 'रोलिखितास'

<sup>5</sup> Read 'जस'

<sup>6</sup> Read तस्मिन्दिवं.

<sup>7</sup> Read मनस्तस्थम°.

<sup>8</sup> Read भूपस्त्रिविष्टप°.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'कर्षुराणि'

<sup>10</sup> Read 'द्विरिवे°.

<sup>11</sup> Read वलमचित्य°

<sup>12</sup> A few letters have been inadvertently omitted after सति.

<sup>13</sup> Read 'ग्राम्य सद्यस्त्रय'

<sup>14</sup> Read 'णिव्वभूव'

<sup>15</sup> Read 'क्रान्त°'

<sup>16</sup> Read 'वृह' and 'वन्द्याग्नि°'

<sup>17</sup> Read 'मन्यैभृत्यै .

- 19 राजीभूत् ।[ १३\*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिःशेषीत्वादितारिदिक्रान्तं । कृष्ण-  
स्त्रैवा<sup>१</sup> च[रि]तं  
20 श्रीकृष्णराजस्य ।[ १४\*] शुभतुङ्गतुंगतुरगप्रवृद्धरेणूर्ध्वरुद्धरविकिरणं [१\*]  
श्रीष्मेपि [न]-  
21 भीमण्डलं<sup>२</sup> प्रावृट्कालायते स्पष्टं ।[ १५\*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टमजस्रं<sup>३</sup>  
[१\*] तत्त्वणम-  
22 कालवर्षो वर्षति सर्वात्तिनिर्मथनः<sup>४</sup> [॥ १६\*] येन निजराज्यमूर्त्तितमशेष-  
भूपालपालित-  
23 मनन्तं [१\*] श्रीराष्ट्रकूटविश्रुतचरितं 'कृष्णराजस्य ॥ [१७\*] तस्य  
सुतः[१\*] सकलमहोमण्डलप-  
24 रिपालनक्षमः[१\*] शूरः[१\*] [१\*] जितवीरवैरिवर्गो नाम्ना गोविन्दराजोभूत्  
॥ [१८\*] यस्य प्रवलप्र-<sup>५</sup>

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 25 'वलप्रद्योतिताशासुखनिर्दलितवीरवैरिवर्गस्य पृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपर-  
26 मेश्वरश्रीप्रभूतवर्षस्य सकलमहोमण्डलैकतिलकस्य प्रवर्द्धमानराज्ये [१\*] तस्यानुजः  
27 श्रीध्रुवराजनान्ना<sup>६</sup> महाराजभावो विहितप्रतापः[१\*] [१\*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्र-  
चक्रः[१\*] चूडाम-  
28 णि<sup>७</sup> वालार्कवपुर्व्वभूव<sup>१०</sup> ।[ १९\*] तस्य सुतः समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दसुवर्ण-  
वर्षप्रतापशी-<sup>११</sup>  
29 लश्रीकर्कराजस्तदाज्ञया सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविष[य\*]पतिराष्ट्रग्राममह-  
30 त्तराधिकारिकां<sup>१२</sup> समान्नापयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं मातापित्तोः पुण्यशोभि-  
31 वृद्धार्थमार्मनश्च<sup>१३</sup> शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तस्त्रेकोत्तरेषु अंकेनापि  
32 सवत्सरशत ७०१ पुण्यमासे शकपक्षे दशम्यां संक्रान्तौ सिन्धीनगरावस्थितेन  
श्री-  
33 कर्कराजेन [१\*] तेनेदमध्रुवमसाश्वतमप्रतिष्ठ<sup>१४</sup> स्वप्रेन्द्रजालजलवीचिचलस्वभा-  
34 वं [१\*] मत्वा जगत्तरवि<sup>१५</sup> पञ्चवतोयतुच्छ संसारसागरसुखात्तरण<sup>१६</sup> विचिन्त्य  
॥ २०\*] श्रीश्च . .

<sup>१</sup> Read कृष्णस्त्रैवाकृष्ण.

<sup>२</sup> Read 'यन.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'वल'.

<sup>४</sup> Read वाला<sup>०</sup> and 'वर्षभूव.

<sup>५</sup> Read 'वृद्धार्थमार्मनश्च.

<sup>६</sup> Read 'सुखोत्त'.

<sup>७</sup> Read नमी निखिलं.

<sup>८</sup> Read श्रीकृष्ण.

<sup>९</sup> Read 'नामा.

<sup>१०</sup> Read 'शब्द'.

<sup>११</sup> Read 'मश्वत'.

<sup>१२</sup> Read 'चष्टं समीहितमजस्रं

<sup>१३</sup> Read प्रवल'.

<sup>१४</sup> For चूडामणि read क्रमेण.

<sup>१५</sup> Read 'कारिकान्.

<sup>१६</sup> Read जगत्तरवि.

zz b

26

28

30

32

34

36

**प्र[ति]-**

शिव[री] .

॥ एव

तथा च

वा पालनं

पठिं<sup>7</sup>

२५०० कोटि-

22 a

14

16

18

20

22

24

211

38

40

42

44

44

48

सिद्धः [१\*]

**निर्मात्य-**

**ध्या भुक्ता<sup>11</sup>**

या १३ श्लोक-

252

19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27

26  
28  
30  
32  
34  
36

[illegible]

- 35 मृवास्तव्यस्यानेकशास्त्रावगाधसंशुद्धवृद्धिप्रभावाभिभूताखिलवि<sup>1</sup> . . .  
 36 द वेदवेदांगेतिहासपुराणव्याकरणमीमांसातर्कनिरुक्तय[ज्ञ]विद्या . . .

## Third Plate.

- 37 पारगाय तत्रैविद्यसामान्यकौशिकसगोक्षकठसत्रज्ञचारिणः<sup>2</sup> भट्टज . . .  
 38 भट्टचन्द्रादित्यसुताय ॥ नासिक्विषयान्तर्गतः रक्खुल्लनान्ना<sup>3</sup> ग्राम[\*] प्र[ति]-  
 पादि . . .  
 39 दकपुरस्सरं दत्तः । यस्य पूर्वतो चेभटिकानामग्रामसीमा । दक्षिणतो गोदाव[री] .  
 40 क्षिमतो वटमुख नाम ग्राम[:\*] । उत्तरतो वटपुर नाम ग्राम[:] ॥ एव  
 चतुराघाटवि[शु] . . .  
 41 द्रं[ग]: सपरिकरः अचाटभटप्रवेश<sup>4</sup> भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन दत्तः । तथा च  
 व . . .  
 42 नोक्तं ॥ स्व<sup>5</sup> दातुं सुमहत्कथं<sup>6</sup> दु खमन्यस्य पालनं [1\*] दानं वा पालनं  
 वेत्ति दानाच्छे . . .  
 43 नुपा[लन] ।[1 २१\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरा । षष्ठि<sup>7</sup>  
 वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टा(?) . . .  
 44 जायते क्लमिः ॥ [२२\*] [तडागा]नां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां कोटि-  
 प्रदानेन भूमि[ ] . . .  
 45 न शुध्यति ॥ [२३\*] षष्ठि<sup>8</sup> वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1\*]  
 आच्छेत्ता चानुमता च तान्येव नर . . . . [॥ २४\*]  
 46 [दत्तानि] यानीह पुरा नरेन्द्रैः<sup>9</sup> दानानि धर्मार्थयज्ञस्कराणि । निर्माल्य-  
 वात(:)प्रति[मा] . . .  
 47 [नि] को नाम साधु. पुनराददीत ॥ [२५\*] बहुभिः<sup>10</sup> वसुधा भुक्ता<sup>11</sup>  
 राजभि[:\*] सगरादि[भि]: [1\*] . . .  
 48 यस्य यदा भूमिः<sup>12</sup> तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [२६\*] लिखित च मया <sup>13</sup>श्रीप-  
 तापशीलान्न[या] . . .  
 49 न दुग्गडिसुतेनोज्ज्वलशासनमालिलख<sup>14</sup> ॥

<sup>1</sup> Read 'गाढ' and 'वृद्धि'<sup>2</sup> Read 'प्रवेशी'<sup>3</sup> Read 'षष्ठि'.<sup>4</sup> Read 'बहुभिर्ब'.<sup>5</sup> Read 'श्रीप्रताप'<sup>6</sup> Read 'त्रय्य'<sup>7</sup> Read 'स्व'<sup>8</sup> Read 'षष्ठि'<sup>9</sup> Read 'भुक्ता'<sup>10</sup> Read 'नोज्ज्वलशासनम् and omit the letters following'<sup>11</sup> Read 'नाना'<sup>12</sup> Read 'हृच्छक्य'.<sup>13</sup> Read 'द्वेदा'<sup>14</sup> Read 'भूमिस्तस्य'

## No 20.—TWO GRANTS OF DHRUVASENA II.

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D., HALLE (SAALE).

These two sets of copper-plates belong to the Rutlam Darbar and were lent to Messrs. Marshall and Cousens in December 1902 by the Dewan of the Rutlam State in Central India. Mr Marshall has communicated to me a letter of the Dewan of Rutlam, from which it appears that the plates had been found in 1891 at Nôgâwâ,<sup>1</sup> a village 10 miles north of Rutlam, while a well near a Brâhman's house was being repaired. Each set consists of two copper-plates. To both sets is affixed a single seal, whose ring was found broken or cut, and of which it cannot be said to which set it belonged originally. The seal is elliptical, measures about 2½" by 2" in diameter, and bears, on a countersunk surface, in relief, a bull couchant which faces the proper right, and below the bull, the legend *Śrī-Bhaṭṭakka*.

In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1902-03, p. 232 ff., I have already published the second of the two grants (B), with facsimile. In now editing the first (A.), I reprint the text of the second as well, because the grant portions of both are closely connected and throw light on each other.

## A.—NOGAWA PLATES OF [GUPTA-]SAMVAT 320.

This inscription is edited from two sets of ink-impressions prepared by Mr Cousens in 1905, and from rubbings supplied by Mr Marshall in the same year. It is engraved on two copper-plates which bear writing only on their inner side. There are two ring holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of that of the second plate. To judge from the impressions, each of the two plates measures about 9 inches in height and about 11½" in breadth.

The alphabet resembles that of other Maṭṭraka inscriptions of the same period. The *jhiāmāliya* occurs once (l 37), and the *upadhmanīya* also once (l 38). The numerical symbols for 300, 20 and 5 are used in the date portion (l 52). The secondary form of *ā* is very often omitted. The *anusvāra* is represented by guttural *n* before *s* and *h*<sup>2</sup> (ll 3, 5, 22, 45, 48), and by dental *n* before *s* in three cases (ll 14, 28, 32), while the *anusvāra* is employed in three others (*samsakṭa*, ll 1, 5, and *samskāra*, l 34).

The language is Sanskrit. Almost the whole of the inscription is in prose, but three of the customary verses are quoted in ll 49-51. The rules of Sandhi are often disregarded—even in compound words.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription records a grant of land to two Brâhmanas by the Maṭṭraka king Dhruvasēna (II), who issued this edict from (his capital) Valabhi (l 1). His genealogy is described in the same words as in his grant of Samvat 310<sup>4</sup> and has been translated by me elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> The grant portion runs as follows.—

(L 36) 'The fervent worshipper of Mahâśvara (Śiva), the glorious Dhruvasēna (II.) whose second name was Bâlāditya, being in good health, issues (the following) command to all according as they are concerned'—

(L 37.) "Be it known to you that, for the increase of the spiritual merit of (My) mother and father, I have given in Mâlavaka, in the said district (*bhukti*), at the eastern boundary of

<sup>1</sup> Dr Fleet kindly informs me that this village is entered as 'Naugama' on the Indian Atlas sheet No 36, N. E (1895).

<sup>2</sup> In *samhātā*, l 12, the *ha* is corrected from *nha*.

<sup>3</sup> See *nivāsa-ucchyamāna*, l. 38 f and l. 40, and *brâhmana-Agnisvaminē*, l. 39 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol VI p 13 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p 89 ff.

the village Navagrāmaka, one hundred *bhaktis* (of land) to the Brāhmana Agnisvāmin, who has come from [U]dumbaragahvara, resides at Agastikāgrahāra, belongs to the *Chaturvēdins* of the said (place),<sup>1</sup> to the *gōtra* of the Pārāśaras and to the school of the Vājasanēyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmana Kumārasvāmin, and to the Brāhmana Sangaravi, who has come from Jambūsara, resides at Ayānakāgrahāra, belongs to the *Chaturvēdins* of the said (place),<sup>2</sup> to the *gōtra* of the Kausikas and to the school of the Vājasanēyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmana Mahēsvara.

(L 42.) "The boundaries of this (land are) —to the east, the boundary of the village Varāhōtaka; to the south, a river, to the west, La[k]shmana's *paṭṭikā*, (and) to the north, the boundary of the village Pulindānaka.

(L 43) " (I have given), as a meritorious gift, with libations of water, these one hundred *bhaktis*, thus defined by (their) four boundaries, with the *udranga*, *uparikara* (and) *bhūta-rūtapratyūya*, with the income in grain and in gold, with the *daśūparādha*, with (the right to) eventual forced labour, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, excluding gifts previously made to temples and to Brahmanas and the twentieth (share due) to Brāhmanas,<sup>3</sup> according to the maxim of *bhūmichchhīdra*, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers and the mountains, (and) to be enjoyed by the sons, grandsons and (further) descendants (of the two donees) "

Ll 46-51 contain the usual admonitions and imprecations

(L 51) " The messenger (*dūtaka*) for this (grant is) the *Rājaputra śri-Kharagraha*. This (edict) has been written by the chief secretary (*divirapati*) Skandabhāṭa, the son of the chief secretary Vatrabhāt[1], who is charged with peace and war The year 300 (and) 20, (the month) Bhādrapada, the dark (fortnight), the 5th (*tithi*) (This is) My own signature "

The two donees resided at Agastikāgrahāra and Ayānakāgrahāra<sup>4</sup> and had emigrated from Udumbaragahvara (l 35) and Jambūsara (l 40) Udumbaragahvara occurs also in B (l 41) and in a grant of Dharasēna IV.<sup>5</sup> Jambūsara is the modern Jambūsar between Kana and Broach.<sup>6</sup>

The expression 'in Mālavaka, in the said district' (*Mālavakē uchyamāna-bhuktāu*, l 41 f, and *Mālavak uchyamāna-vishayē* in B, l 41) is a little puzzling When publishing B alone, I suggested that the word *uchyamāna* may refer to Daśapura, which occurs three lines earlier in the description of the donees This idea has to be given up because A does not mention Daśapura at all In the description of the donees the word *uchyamāna* is used twice with reference to the immediately preceding village names Agastikāgrahāra (l 38) and Ayānakāgrahāra (l 40) Consequently the word *uchyamāna* before *bhuktāu* and *vishayē* can only refer to the preceding locative *Mālavakē*, and *Mālavakē uchyamāna-bhuktāu* or *-vishayē* comes to the same as *Mālavakā-bhuktāu* or *-vishayē*. At any rate the two grants prove that Dhruvasēna II was in possession of Mālavā, or at least of a portion of it

To this province belonged the land granted in Navagrāmaka, which was bounded in the east by Varāhōtaka, in the south by a river, and in the north by Pulindānaka In his letter to Mr Marshall, the Dewan of Rutlam identified Navagrāmaka with the modern Nōgāwā where the two grants were discovered, Varāhōtaka with Bhārōdā in the east, and Pulindānaka with Paldūnā in the north. On a map of the Rutlam State which he annexed to his letter, a small river is also marked on the south-east of Nōgāwā, as required by the description in the grant

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* of Agastikāgrahāra

<sup>2</sup> Compare Bühler's remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XV. p 337

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol XV p 336

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* of Ayānakāgrahāra

<sup>5</sup> See page 195 below

<sup>6</sup> Compare *ibid* Vol VII p 241

The *Dātaka* of this grant, prince (*rājaputra*) Kharagraha<sup>1</sup> (l. 51) is perhaps the same person who later on ascended the throne as Kharagraha II. The writer of the inscription, the *Divanapati* Skandabhata, occurs again in other grants of Dhruvasēna II,<sup>2</sup> and Dhruvasēna IV.,<sup>3</sup> his father Vatrabhata in grants of Śīlāditya I and Dhruvasēna II,<sup>4</sup> and his son Anahila in grants of Dhruvasēna III, Kharagraha II and Śīlāditya II.<sup>5</sup>

The year of this inscription, [Gupta-]Samvat 320 (i. e. A.D. 639-40), is the same as that of the Bhaunagar plates published by Mr. Jackson.<sup>6</sup>

### TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

#### First Plate

- 1 श्री<sup>8</sup> स्वस्ति - [॥\*] वलभितः प्रसभप्रणतामित्र[१\*]णां मैत्रकाण[१]मतुलबल-  
सम्पन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहा[र]-
- 2 शतलब्धप्रतापाग्रतापोपनतदानम[१]नार्ज्वोपार्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबला-  
वासरान्य-
- 3 श्रियः परममाहेश्वरः(ः)श्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवङ्गान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणति-  
प्रविधौताशेषकल्मष[ः]
- 4 शैशवाग्रभृति खल्वद्वितीयबाहुरिव समदपरगजघटास्तौटनप्रकाशितसत्त्वनिकपः<sup>10</sup>  
तत्प्रभावप्रणता-
- 5 रातिचूडार(१)नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसङ्गतिः<sup>11</sup> सकलस्रुतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्चरि-  
पालनप्रजाहृदयर-<sup>12</sup>
- 6 जनान्वर्त्यराजशब्दो <sup>13</sup>रूपरान्तिस्त्रैर्यगाभिर्यवुद्धिसम्पन्निः<sup>14</sup> स्मरशशाङ्काद्विराजोदधि-  
त्रिदशगुरुधनेशानति-<sup>15</sup>
- 7 शयान[ः] शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतय[१\*] दृणवदपास्त[१\*]शेषस्वक[१\*]र्थफल-  
प्र[१\*]र्थनाधिकार्य(१)प्रदानानन्दित-
- 8 विद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वर-  
श्रीगुहसेन-
- 9 स्वस्य सुतस्वत्पादनखमयूखसन्त[१\*]न[वि]सृतजाङ्ग[वी]जलौघप्रक्ष[१\*]लिताशेष-  
कल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्य-

<sup>1</sup> The same prince is mentioned in B below, l. 53 f, and in *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XX p. 9, text line 21.

<sup>2</sup> B below, l. 51, and *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XX p. 9, text line 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p. 75, and Vol. XV p. 340

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. VI p. 16, Vol. IX p. 239, and Vol. XIV. p. 328

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. VII p. 79, and Vol. XI p. 309, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 85, and Vol. IV. p. 75.

<sup>6</sup> *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XX p. 9

<sup>7</sup> From ink impressions and rubbing.

<sup>8</sup> Read °वशा°

<sup>9</sup> Read °सम्यक्परि°

<sup>10</sup> Read °गुरु°

<sup>11</sup> Read °सत्त्व°

<sup>12</sup> Read रूपकान्ति°

<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>14</sup> Read °सङ्गति°

<sup>15</sup> Read °गाभिर्य°



- 10 मानसम्यद्रूपलोभादिवाञ्छितः सरभसम[1\*]भिगामिकैर्गुणैस्त्वहजशक्तिशि[क्षा]विशेष-  
विस्मापिताखिलधनु-<sup>1</sup>
- 11 ईरः प्रथ(1)मनरपतिसमसिद्ध[1\*]नामनुप[1\*]लयिता <sup>2</sup>धम्मदायानामपाकर्त्ता  
प्रजोपघातकारि-
- 12 ण[1]मुपप्लव[1\*]नां दशयिता<sup>3</sup> श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिपासस्य<sup>4</sup> सहतारातिपक्ष-  
लक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपस-
- 13 प्राप्तविमलपार्विवन्धीः परममाहेश्वर. श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुध्य[1\*]तः  
सकलज[गदा]नन्दन[1\*]त्यङ्गुत(1)-
- 14 गुणसमुदयस्य गितसमग्रदिग्मण्डल[ः]<sup>5</sup> समरशतविजय[शो]भासन[1\*]यमण्डलाग्र-  
द्युतिभासुरतरान्सपीठोदूढ-<sup>6</sup>
- 15 'गुरुमनोरथमहाभ[1\*]रः सर्वविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व-  
तस्मभ[1\*]पितलवेनापि सुखोपपा-
- 16 दनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरम-  
कल्या[1\*]णस्वभावः खिली-
- 17 भूतकृतयुगन्तुपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतीदयकी[त्तिङ्]मनानुपरोधोज्ज्वल[त]रिक्त[1\*]-  
त्यसुखसम्यद्रूपसेवानिरू-<sup>8</sup>
- 18 ढधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वर. श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्य[1\*]द[1\*]-  
नुध्य[1\*]तः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणैव गुरुण[1]-
- 19 त्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मि<sup>9</sup> स्कन्ध[1\*]स[क्त][1\*] परमभद्र इव  
धुर्यस्तदाज्ञ[1\*]सम्य[1\*]दनैक[र]सतयैवोद्वह-
- 20 <sup>10</sup>नखेदसुखररि[भ्य][1\*]मन[1\*]य[1\*]सितसत्त्वसम्पत्तिः<sup>11</sup> प्रभावसम्पद्शील[त]नृपति-  
शतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि
- 21 परावन्नाभिभ[1\*]नरसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्ति' प्रणतिमेका<sup>12</sup> परित्यज्य प्रख्यात-  
पौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभिरनासादित-
- 22 प्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवन[1\*]मोदविमलगुणसङ्घतिप्रसभविघटितसकलकलि-  
विल[सि]तगतिर्नीचजना-<sup>13</sup>
- 23 धिरोहिभिरशेषैर्होपैरन[1\*]मृष्टालुन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौ[र]पास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणतिय-  
विपक्षचित्तिपतिलक्ष्मी-<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read 'सैस्त्वहज'<sup>2</sup> Read 'धम्म', the *ha* of सहता<sup>3</sup> is corrected from *n/ta*<sup>3</sup> Read 'रास'<sup>4</sup> Read 'लक्ष्मी'<sup>5</sup> Read 'मेका'<sup>6</sup> Read 'धम्म'<sup>7</sup> Read 'गुरु'<sup>8</sup> Read 'रतिभ्या'<sup>9</sup> Read 'सङ्घति'<sup>10</sup> Read 'सङ्घति'<sup>11</sup> Read 'दशयिता'<sup>12</sup> Read 'दिग्मण्डल'<sup>13</sup> Read 'कौचिङ्गमा' and 'तरीलना'<sup>14</sup> Read 'सत्त्व'<sup>15</sup> Read 'चित्तिपति'

- 24 <sup>1</sup>स्वयग्रहप्रक[१\*]श्रितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगम[ः\*] परमम[१\*]हेखरः श्रीखर-  
ग्रहस्तस्य तनय-  
25 <sup>2</sup>तत्पादा[नुध्य][१\*]तः सकलवि[द्य][१\*]धिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरि-  
तोषातिशयः सत्वताम्पद[१\*]<sup>3</sup> त्व[१\*]गौदा[र्ये]-  
26 ए च विग[त][१\*]नु[स]न्धान[१\*][श]म[१हि]तार[१\*]तिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्य-  
गुपलक्षित[१\*]नेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरित-

*Second Plate*

- 27 गह्वर[वि]भागीपि प्ररमभद्रप्रकृतिरक्कचिमप्रसयवि[न]यशोभाविभूषणः<sup>4</sup> समरशतजय-  
पताकाह-  
28 रणप्रत्यलोदयबाहुदण्डविध्वंसितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदण्डोदयः<sup>5</sup> [स्व]धनुः[ः\*]प्रभावपरि-  
भुतास्त्रकौ[श]लाभिमा-<sup>6</sup>  
29 [न]सकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिन[न्दि]तशासना<sup>7</sup> परमम[१]हेखरः श्रीधरसेनस्तत्या-  
नुजस्तत्पाद[१\*]नुध्य[१\*]तः सच्चरितातिशयित-  
30 स[क]लपूर्व्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणां<sup>8</sup> मूर्त्तिमा[नि]व  
पुरु[ष]कारः <sup>10</sup>परिवृष्टगुणानुराग-  
31 [नि]र्व्वरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः  
क[१\*][न्ति]मा[निर्व्व]तिहेतुरकलङ्कः  
32 [कु]मुदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिग[न्त]रालप्रध्वंसितध्वा[न्त]राशिस्रततोदित-  
स्त्रविता<sup>11</sup> प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्र[त्य]यम-  
33 <sup>12</sup>[त्यवन्त]मतिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्धम[१\*]गमपरिपूर्ण<sup>13</sup> विदधानः <sup>14</sup>धन्विविग्रह-  
समासनस्थयनिपुणः [स्थ]ाननु-<sup>15</sup>  
34 <sup>16</sup>रूपमादेयं ददहुषवृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारस्त्र[१\*]धूना<sup>17</sup> राज्यसालातुरीय[त]न्त्र-  
योरुमयोरप<sup>18</sup> नि[ष्णा]तः  
35 प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि <sup>19</sup>किरुणाष्टदुहृदयः श्रुतवानप्यगर्व्वितः कान्तोपि प्रशमी  
स्त्रिसौहृदयोपि निरसिता दो-  
36 धवतामुदयसमयसमुपजनितजनतानुरागपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्त्थितप्रथितबालादित्यद्वि-

<sup>1</sup> Read °स्वयंग्रह°.

<sup>4</sup> Read °प्रसय°.

<sup>7</sup> Read °शासन°.

<sup>10</sup> Read °परिवृष्ट°.

<sup>13</sup> Read °पूर्ण°.

<sup>16</sup> Read °रूप°.

<sup>18</sup> Read °कुरुणा°.

<sup>2</sup> Read °स्त्या°.

<sup>5</sup> Read °विध्वंसित°.

<sup>8</sup> Read °संसाधन°.

<sup>11</sup> Read °प्रध्वंसित°.

<sup>14</sup> Read °सन्धि°.

<sup>17</sup> Read °धूना°.

<sup>3</sup> Read सत्वसम्पदा.

<sup>6</sup> Read °परिभूता°.

<sup>9</sup> Read विषयाणां.

<sup>12</sup> Read °त्यव°.

<sup>15</sup> Read स्थानेन°.

<sup>19</sup> Read °शालातुरीय° and °रपि°.

5

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, heavily obscured by noise and a large circular artifact near the top center. The text is arranged in approximately 25 horizontal lines, with the bottom half of the page being significantly more degraded and less legible than the top half.

28  
30  
32  
34  
36  
38  
40  
42  
44  
46  
48  
50  
52

- 37 तीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनकुशली सर्वानिव यथासम्बध्यमानकान्-  
म[1\*]ज्ञापयेत्यस्तु<sup>1</sup> व-
- 38 खंविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोऽपुण्याय[1]यनाय.<sup>2</sup> दुम्बरगह्वर[वि]निर्ग-  
तागस्तिकाग्र[1]हार[1][नि]वासिउ[च्य]-
- 39 मानचातुर्विध्यसामान्यपाराशरस[गो]त्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणकु[मा]रस्व[1]मि-  
पुत्रब्राह्मण-
- 40 अग्निस्वामिने तथा जम्बूसरविनिर्गतायानकाग्र[1]हारनिवासि[उ]च्यमान[चा]तु-  
र्विध्यसामान्यकौशिकस-
- 41 गोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणमहेश्वरपुत्रब्राह्मणसगरवये<sup>3</sup> मालवके उच्यमा-  
नभु-
- 42 कौ नवग्रामकग्रामपूर्व[दी]क्षि<sup>4</sup> भ[क्ती]शत यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः वराहो-  
टकग्रामकङ्कटः द[क्षि]णतो
- 43 नदी अपरतः <sup>5</sup>लक्षणपट्टिका उत्तरतः पुलिन्दानकग्रामकङ्कटः [ए]वमेतच्चतु-  
राघाटनविशुद्धं भक्तीशत
- 44 सोद्रङ्ग<sup>6</sup> सोपरिकर सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरण्यादेय<sup>7</sup> सदश[1\*]पराध  
सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक<sup>8</sup> सर्वराज-
- 45 कोयानामहस्तप्रक्षपणीय<sup>9</sup> पूर्वप्रक्षदे[व]ब्रह्मदेयव्र[1\*]ह्मणविह्वलिरहितं<sup>10</sup> भूमिच्छिद्र-  
न्य[1]येन[1\*]चन्द्र[1\*]कर्णर्ण[वक्षि]-
- 46 तिसरित्यर्ध्वतसमक[1\*]लीनं पुत्रपोचान्वयभीम्य<sup>11</sup> उ[द]कातिसर्गणे धर्मदायो  
निष्ठः यतोनयो(च)रुचितया
- 47 ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या गुञ्जतोः<sup>12</sup> क्षपतोः कफयतोः<sup>13</sup> प्रदिशतोर्वा न कैचिद्व[1\*]सेधे  
वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृप-
- 48 तिभिरव्यस्रहङ्गजैरण्वेर्वी<sup>14</sup> अनित्य[1\*]नैश्वर्याण्यस्थिरं म[1\*]नुय<sup>15</sup> स[1\*]-  
म[1\*]न्यच्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिर[य]-
- 49 मस्मद्[1\*]योनुमन्तव्यः परिप[1\*]लयितव्यश्चेत्युतच्च<sup>16</sup> ॥ बहुभिर्वसुध[1\*] भु-  
क्त[1\*] राजभिस्सगर[1\*]दिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यद[1\*] भूमस्त[स्य]<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read 'पयत्यस्तु'<sup>2</sup> Read 'यनायोदुम्बर' and compare B, text line 41<sup>3</sup> The name of the donee is spaced out. It may have been filled in subsequently, or substituted for an erased longer name<sup>4</sup> Read 'पूर्वसौमि'<sup>5</sup> Read 'लक्षण'.<sup>6</sup> Read 'सोद्रङ्ग'<sup>7</sup> Read 'देय'<sup>8</sup> Read 'विष्टिक'<sup>9</sup> Read 'प्रक्षपणीय पूर्व'<sup>10</sup> Read 'विशति'<sup>11</sup> Read 'पीचान्वयभीम्य'<sup>12</sup> Read 'गुञ्जतो'<sup>13</sup> Read 'कफयतोः'<sup>14</sup> Read 'रप्यस्रहङ्गजैरण्वेर्वी'<sup>15</sup> Read 'मानुय'.<sup>16</sup> Read 'त्युक्तच'<sup>17</sup> Read 'भूमिस्तस्य'

- 50 तस्य तद[१\*] फल<sup>१</sup> [॥\*] [य]ानीह 'द[१\*]रिद्रभय[१\*]नरे[न्द्रे]वनानि<sup>२</sup>  
धर्म[१\*]यतनीकृत[१\*]नि [१\*] निर्भुक्तम[१\*]ल्यप्रतिम[१\*]नि त[१\*]नि को  
नाम शाधुः<sup>३</sup> पु[न]-
- 51 रा[य]दीत<sup>४</sup> ॥ षष्टिवर्ष[सहस्र[१\*][णि] स्वर्गे तिष्ठति<sup>५</sup> भुमिदः [१\*] अच्चे-  
त[१\*]<sup>७</sup> च[१\*]नुम[त्त][१\*]<sup>८</sup> च त[१\*]न्य[व]<sup>९</sup> नरको व[से]दिति ॥ दूतकोत्र  
राजपुत्रश्रीखरग्रह[ः\*]
- 52 लिखितमिदं <sup>१०</sup>सन्धिविग्रह[१\*]धिगृह्यतद्विवरपतिवन्नभट्टपुत्रदिविरपतिस्कन्दभटेन<sup>११</sup> ॥  
स ३०० २० भ[१\*]द्रपद व ५ स्वहस्तो मम ॥

B.—NOGAWA PLATES OF [GUPTA]-SAMVAT 321.

The text of this inscription, which is here printed for the second time,<sup>12</sup> is based on two sets of ink-impressions and one set of estampages, prepared by Mr Cousens. The estampages are very excellent and show many letters which, owing to the corroded condition of the original, appear only imperfectly in the ink-impressions.

The copper-plates are two in number and bear writing only on their inner side. There are two ring holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of that of the second plate. To judge from the impressions, each of the two plates measures about 9" in height and 11½" in breadth.

The *ṛivāmāliya* occurs twice (ll. 34 and 40), and the *upadhāniya* once (l. 53). The date portion contains the numerical symbols for 300, 20, 1 and 3 (l. 54). As in A., the *anusvāra* is represented by guttural *n* before *ś* and *h* (ll. 3, 5, 12, 23, 48, 50), and by dental *n* before *s* in three cases (ll. 15, 29, 34), while in three others (ll. 2, 5, 36 f.) the *anusvāra* is employed.

The language is Sanskrit. Almost the whole of the inscription is in prose, but, as in A., three of the customary verses are quoted in ll. 51-53. The language of ll. 41-43 is incorrect. The name of the first donee, *Dattasvāmī* (l. 42), although it has no case-ending, is joined by the particle *tathā* to the following *Kumārasvāmī* (l. 43), to which the dual case-ending *bhānī* is affixed.

The text of the grant B is practically identical with that of A., excepting the place of issue, the names and the description of the two donees, the description of the granted land, and the date. The grant was issued "from the victorious camp pitched at Va[n]ditapalli" (l. 1), which I am unable to identify. The two donees were "the Brāhmana Dattasvāmī, who has come from Udumbaragahvara, resides at Ay[ā]nakāgrahāra, belongs to the *Tridīns* of Daśapura, to the *gōtra* of the Pārāśaras and to the school of the Mādhyandina-Vājasaneyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmana Budhasvāmī, and the Brāhmana Kumārasvāmī, who resides at Agastikāgrahāra, belongs to the *Ohaturvēdins* of the said (place),<sup>13</sup> to the *gōtra* of the Pārāśaras and to the school of the Vājasaneyas, (and is) the son of the Brāhmana

<sup>१</sup> Read फल

<sup>२</sup> Read साधु

<sup>३</sup> Read आच्छेत्ता.

<sup>४</sup> Read "धिगृह्यत".

<sup>५</sup> See page 188 above

<sup>६</sup> Read दारिद्र्य°.

<sup>७</sup> Read "राददीत°.

<sup>८</sup> Read "मन्ता

<sup>९</sup> Read "वचभट्टि° and see B, text line 54

<sup>१०</sup> Is of Agastikāgrahāra.

<sup>११</sup> Read "र्जनानि

<sup>१२</sup> Read तिष्ठति भूमिदः.

<sup>१३</sup> Read तान्येव.

Budhasvâmin" (ll 41-43) The grant consisted of "a field measuring one hundred *bhaktis* at the southern boundary of the village Chandraputraka in Mâlavaka, in the said district (*vishaya*)<sup>1</sup> The boundaries of this (field are) —to the east, the boundary of the village Dhammanahaddikâ, to the south, the boundary of the village Dêvakulapâtaka; to the west, the boundary of the field of the *Mahattara* Viratara-mandalin, at the north-western corner, the small tank (called) *Nirganđi*, (and) to the north, (the field of) Viratara-mandalin" (ll 44-46) The date of the grant was "the year 300 (and) 20 (and) 1; (the month) Chaitra, the dark (fortnight), the 3rd (*tithi*)" (l. 54).

Each of the two donees is called a son of Budhasvâmin, a student of the Vâjasanêya *śikhâ*, and a member of the Pârâsara *gôtra*. This suggests that they were sons of the same father, and that the epithet 'who has come from Udumbaragahvara,'<sup>2</sup> which is applied to the first donee (l 41), holds good for the second as well. The first donee is stated to have resided at Ayânakâgrahâra and to have belonged to the *Trivêdins* of Daśapura. From this I conclude that Ayânakâgrahâra was a quarter or suburb of Daśapura. The second donee, who was probably the brother of the first, resided at, and belonged to the *Chaturvêdins* of, Agastikâgrahâra, which may have been another hamlet of Daśapura. This town is the modern Dasôr or Mandasôr, the chief town of a district of the Scindia's dominions,<sup>3</sup> about 52 miles north of Rutlam.

As in the inscription A, the land granted belonged to the province of Mâlavaka. It consisted of a field in the south of Chandraputraka and was bounded in the east by Dhammanahaddikâ and in the south by Dêvakulapâtaka. In his letter to Mr Marshall, the Dewan of Rutlam thought of identifying these places, successively, with Chandodia, Dhamnod and Dival Khedi<sup>4</sup> — three villages in the south-west of Nôgâwâ where the two grants were discovered. But the phonetical correspondence of each of the three pairs of names is only superficial, besides, Dhamnod is not in the east, but in the south-west, and Dival Khedi not in the south, but in the north-west, of Chandodia. Hence the Dewan's identification must be rejected. Dr Fleet has very kindly searched the maps with the following result —

"Eleven miles south-south-east from Mandasôr, there is a large village which is shown as 'Dhamnar' in the Indian Atlas sheet No 35, S E (1891), and as 'Dhamnâr' in the Bhopal and Malwa Topographical Survey sheet No 38 (1882). I suspect that this is the Dhammanahaddikâ of the record. But neither of the maps shews anything answering to any of the other names, unless Dêvakulapâtaka may be found in the 'Dilanda' of the maps, four miles west-south-west from 'Dhamnâr,' and in quite the right position to be on the south of Chandraputraka,— 'Dhamnâr' being taken to be the village on its east.<sup>5</sup> And, of course, a possible identification of only one place is not sufficient to conclusively locate the record."

The date of this inscription, [Gupta]-Samvat 321 (i.e. A.D. 640-41), falls between that of the first Nôgâwâ grant—Samvat 320—and the earliest date of Dharasêna IV — Samvat 326<sup>6</sup>— and thus extends the known period of the reign of Dhruvasêna II by one year.

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks on page 189 above

<sup>2</sup> See above, p 189 and note 5

<sup>3</sup> See Dr Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 79 f, and above, Vol V p 38 f

<sup>4</sup> Dr Fleet informs me that these villages are given on the Indian Atlas sheet No 36, N E (189b), as Chandoria, Dhamnod, Dibal and Kheri

<sup>5</sup> "There is also another 'Dilanda,' which gives its name to a station on the Holkar and Neemuch State Railway, three and a half miles north north east from this one, and two and a half miles north west-by-west from 'Dhamnâr'."

<sup>6</sup> See Prof Kielhorn's *Northern List*, No 481.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate.

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> स्वस्ति [॥\*] विजयस्कन्धावाराह[न्दि]तपस्तीवासकाग्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां  
मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसम्पन्नमण्डलाभोग-
- 2 <sup>3</sup>संसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापाग्रतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृत-  
श्रेणी-
- 3 बलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटाक्षोदव्यवच्छिन्नराजवङ्गमातापितृचरणा-  
रविन्दप्रणति-<sup>4</sup>
- 4 प्रविधौताशेषकल्पायः शैशवाग्रभृति खङ्गद्वितीयवाहुरेव समदपरगजघट[।]-  
स्फोटनप्र[का]शि[त]-
- 5 <sup>5</sup>सत्वनिकषः तत्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसङ्कृतिः<sup>6</sup> सक[ल]-  
सृतिप्रणी-
- 6 तमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनान्वर्त्यराजशब्दे रूपकान्तिस्थैर्यगाभीर्यबुद्धि-  
सम्पन्नि[ः\*] स्मरश-
- 7 शाङ्खाद्विराजोदधिचिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया वृणवद-  
पास्ताशेषस्वकार्य-
- 8 फलप्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्रदानानन्दितविह्वलुह्वलप्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवन-  
मण्डला[भो]गप्रमोदः
- 9 परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानविस्तृतजाह्नवीजलोघ-  
प्रचालि[ता]शेष-<sup>7</sup>
- 10 कल्पायः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाञ्छितः सरभसमाभिगामि-  
कौर्गुणै[ः\*] [स]हज-
- 11 शक्तिशिखाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता  
धर्मदा[याना]-
- 12 मपाकर्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवाना<sup>8</sup> दर्शयिता श्रीसरखत्योरेकाधिवासस्य  
<sup>9</sup>सङ्कतारातिपक्षल[क्ष्मी]-
- 13 परिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसप्रसवि[म]लपार्थिवश्रीः<sup>10</sup> परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधर-  
सेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-

<sup>1</sup> From two ink impressions and an estampage.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol<sup>3</sup> An indistinct symbol is engraved above the line between पा and त्र of <sup>9</sup>प्रतापात्म<sup>4</sup> Read <sup>9</sup>वशा°.<sup>5</sup> Read <sup>9</sup>सत्त्व°<sup>6</sup> Read <sup>9</sup>सहति.<sup>7</sup> Read <sup>9</sup>जलोध°<sup>8</sup> Read <sup>9</sup>प्लवाना°.<sup>9</sup> Read <sup>9</sup>संहता°.<sup>10</sup> Read <sup>9</sup>समाप्त°.



- 14 ध्यातः <sup>1</sup>सकलजगदानन्दनात्यभुतगुणसमुदयस्य गितसमग्रदिङ्मण्डलः सम[र]शत-  
विजयशोभास-
- 15 नायमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरान्मपीठोद्[ढ]गु[र]मनोरथमहाभा[र]ः<sup>2</sup> सर्व्व[विद्या]-  
परावर[वि]भागाधिग-
- 16 मविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतस्सुभापितलवेनापि सुखोपपा[द]नीयपरि[तो]षः समग्र-  
लोकागाधगाम्भी-
- 17 र्य्यद्वयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्व[भा]वः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपति-  
पथ[वि]शोध-
- 18 नाधिगतोदयकीर्त्तिर्दम्भानुपरोधोज्ज्वल[त]रीकृतार्थसुखसम्पदुपसेवानिरुद्धधर्मा[दि]-  
त्यद्विती[य]नामा पर-
- 19 ममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः [स्त्र]यसुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गुरु-  
णात्यादरवत[र] समभिल-
- 20 षणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मी<sup>3</sup> स्कन्धासक्ता परमभद्र इव धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञासम्पादनैक-  
रसत[यै]वोद्वहन्मेदसुखरतिभ्या-<sup>4</sup>
- 21 मनायासितसत्त्वसपत्तिः<sup>5</sup> प्रभावसम्पद्वशीकृतनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि  
परावज्ञाभि-
- 22 मानरसाना[यङ्गित]मनोवृत्तिः<sup>6</sup> प्रणतिमेका<sup>7</sup> परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्य-  
रातिभिरनासादितप्र[ति]क्रि[यो]-
- 23 पायः <sup>8</sup>कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसङ्कृतिप्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगति-  
नी[च]जनाधि-
- 24 रो[हि]भिरशेषैर्होमैरनामृष्टात्युन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणतिथ-  
विदक्ष[त्ति]तिपाति-<sup>9</sup>
- 25 लक्ष्मीस्त्रयंग्रहप्रकाशितप्रविरपुरुषप्रथमसेम्याधिगमः<sup>10</sup> परममाहेश्वरः श्रीश्वरग्रह-  
स्तस्य तनयस्तत्पादा-
- 26 नुध्यातः स[क]लविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः <sup>11</sup>सत्त्व-  
सम्यदा त्यागौदार्य्येण च
- 27 विगतानुसन्धान[र]शमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षिताणकशा[स्त्र]-<sup>12</sup>
- 28 <sup>13</sup>[क]लाथोकचरितगद्गरविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृति[र]कृत्रिमप्रश्रयविनय]-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'त्यहुत'<sup>2</sup> Read 'वेद'<sup>3</sup> Read 'मेका'.<sup>4</sup> Read 'प्रवोरपुरुषप्रथमसेम्याधिगम'.<sup>5</sup> Read 'कलालोक'.<sup>6</sup> Read 'रास'<sup>7</sup> Read 'सत्त्वसपत्ति'.<sup>8</sup> Read 'संज्ञति'<sup>9</sup> Read 'सत्त्व'<sup>10</sup> Read 'लक्ष्मी'<sup>11</sup> Read 'नालित्रित'<sup>12</sup> Read 'विपक्षचितिपति'.<sup>13</sup> Read 'तानैक'.

## Second Plate

- 29 शोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्यलोदग्रबाहुदण्डविध्वंसित-<sup>1</sup>
- 30 निखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभृतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिम-
- 31 खलाभिनन्दितशासनः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेन[:<sup>4</sup>] तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्य[<sup>1\*</sup>]-  
त[:<sup>\*</sup>] सच्चरितातिशयितस-
- 32 कलपूर्व्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणा मूर्त्तिमानिव पुरुष-  
कारः परिवृषगु-
- 33 गानुरागनिर्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्भनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः  
कान्तिमा-
- 34 त्रिर्वृत्तिष्वेतुरकलङ्कसुदनाथः प्राज्यप्रतापस्त्र[गि]तदिगन्तरालप्रध्वंसितध्वान्तराशि-  
सततो-
- 35 दितस्त्रविता प्रकृतिभ्यः पर प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तमतिवहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्धमागम-  
परिपूरणं
- 36 विद्वधानः सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानेनुरूप[मादे]यं ददद्गुणहृदि-  
विधानजनितस-
- 37 स्कारस्त्राधूना <sup>3</sup>राज्यसालातुरियतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्ठातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि  
कक्षणाष्टदुहद-
- 38 यः श्रुतवान्धनवर्त्तितः कान्तोऽपि प्रशमो स्थिरसौहृदयोऽपि निरसिता दोष-  
वतामुदर्यन्नयसमुप-<sup>4</sup>
- 39 जनितजनतानुरागपरिपिहितभुवनसमर्थतप्रथितवा[ला]दित्यद्वितीयनामा<sup>5</sup> परम-  
माहेश्वरः श्री-
- 40 भुवसेनङ्कुशलोः सर्वानिव ययामन्वध्यमानकान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्त्रांविदित यथा  
नया ज्ञातापिन्नो.
- 41 पुण्याप्यायनाय <sup>6</sup>उदुम्बरगह्वरविनिर्गताय[<sup>1\*</sup>]नकाग्र(1)हारनिवासिदशमुखेविद्य  
स्त्रासान्यपाराशरस-
- 42 गोत्रमाव्यन्दिनवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणबुधस्त्रामिपुत्रब्राह्मणदत्तस्त्रामि तथागस्ति-  
ब्राह्मणहारनिवासि-
- 43 [उ]च्यमानचातुर्विद्यसामान्यपाराशरसगोत्रवाजसनेयसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणबुधस्त्रामपुत्रब्रा-  
ह्मणकुमारस्त्रामिभ्या<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read 'विध्वंसित°<sup>2</sup> Read 'प्रध्वंसित°<sup>3</sup> Read 'मालातुरीय°<sup>4</sup> Read 'मुदय°<sup>5</sup> Read 'समर्थित°.<sup>6</sup> 'नायानका° is the reading of A, text line 40<sup>7</sup> Read 'बुधस्त्रामिपुत्र°. The syllable भ्या is entered on the margin of the plate, read 'भ्या.

- 44 मालवके उच्यमानविप[वि] चन्द्रपुत्रकग्रामे दक्षिणसीन्नि भक्तीशतप्रमाणचेच  
यस्याघ[1\*]टनानि पूर्वतः धम्मणह-
- 45 डिडकाग्रामकड्डट दक्षिणतो देवकुलपाट[क]ग्रामकड्डटः अपरतः वीरतरम्मण्डति-  
महत्तरचेचमर्यादा उत्तरपश्चि-
- 46 मकीणे निर्गण्डीतडाकिका उत्तरतः वीरतरम्मण्डली एवमेतच्चतुरावाटनविशुद्ध  
भक्तीशतप्रमाणचेच शो-<sup>1</sup>
- 47 द्रङ्गं सोपरिकर<sup>2</sup> सभूतवातप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरण्यादेय सपशपराक्ष<sup>3</sup> नोत्वद्यमान  
विष्टिक सर्वराजकीयानामह-
- 48 स्तप्रचेपणीय<sup>4</sup> पूर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयब्राह्मणविद्धतिरहित<sup>5</sup> भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्का-  
र्णवचितिसरित्पर्व-
- 49 तसमकालान<sup>6</sup> पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य उदकातिसर्गेण धर्मदायी निसृष्ट[:\*] यतो-  
नयोरुचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुञ्जत<sup>7</sup>
- 50 क्लपत<sup>8</sup> कर्पयतः<sup>9</sup> प्रदिशतोर्वा न कैश्चिद्वासेषे वर्त्तितव्यमाणाभिभद्रनृपति-  
भिरयस्मद्भङ्गजैरन्यैर्वा<sup>10</sup> अनित्यान्यै[ख]र्याण्य-
- 51 स्थिरं मानुष्य सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छन्निरयमसहायीनुनन्तव्यः परि-  
पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तञ्च ॥ बहुभिर्बुधैः भु-
- 52 क्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य गदा भूमिस्तद तस्य तदा  
फल [॥\*] यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्वानि धर्मायतनीद्वयतानि [1\*]  
<sup>9</sup>निभुक्तमाख्यप्रति-
- 53 मानि तानि को नाम साधुपुनराददीत ॥ पट्टिर्वर्षसहस्र[1\*]णि स्वर्गे  
तिष्ठति भूमिद[: 1\*] आच्छेता<sup>11</sup> चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे-  
दिति । दूतकोच राज-
- 54 पुत्रयोखरग्रह[:\*] लिखितमिदं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवचभट्टिपुत्रदिविर-  
पतिस्कन्दभटेन ॥ सं ३०० २० १ चैत्र व ३ स्वहस्ती मम ॥

<sup>1</sup> Read सी०.<sup>2</sup> Read सीय<sup>3</sup> Read सी<sup>4</sup> Read आर्षं ना,<sup>5</sup> Read कर<sup>6</sup> Read विप्रति०<sup>7</sup> Read इय<sup>8</sup> Read सदशापराध<sup>9</sup> Read काली<sup>10</sup> Read निर्भुक्त

## No. 21 — JAINA INSCRIPTIONS AT THE TEMPLE OF NEMINATHA ON MOUNT ABU

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH D , ROSTOCK

Inked estampages of the numerous inscriptions in the various temples on Mount Âbû were prepared by Mr. H Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of the Bombay Presidency, in 1902, and sent by Professor Hultzsch to Professor Kielhorn, who made them over to me for publication. The 32 inscriptions edited below are from the temple of Nêminâtha and refer to the erection and endowment of that building by Têjahpâla, the minister of the Chaulukya king Viradhavala. At present this sanctuary seems to be known by the name of 'the temple of Vastupâla and Têjahpâla,' but as the inscriptions clearly show that appellation to be erroneous, the foundation being ascribed to Têjahpâla alone, I should prefer either to call it after the saint to whom it was dedicated, or to use the original name which, as again shown by the inscriptions, was Lûpasimhavasahikâ or Lûnavasahikâ<sup>1</sup>

No. I is engraved on a black slab built into a niche in the corridor of the temple. A translation of it was published as early as 1828 by H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol XVI p 302 ff. The text, together with a translation, was first edited in 1883 by Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate in his edition of Sômêśvaradêva's *Kîrtikaumudî*, Appendix A. And a second edition, again accompanied by a translation, appeared in the *Collection of Prâkrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* published by the Bhâvnagar Archaeological Department, p 174 ff

The writing covers a space of about 3' 1½" broad by 2' 7½" high. It is beautifully engraved and generally in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is ½". The characters are Jaina Nâgarî. As *ba* is distinguished from *va* only by a very minute dot in the centre, which easily disappears in the impression, it is in some cases almost impossible to decide which character was meant. The language is Sanskrit, and apart from the introductory syllable *ôm*, a few connecting phrases in ll. 17, 26 and 30, and the concluding remarks in ll 46 and 47, the whole inscription is in verse. The text was composed by Sômêśvaradêva, the well-known *purôhita* of the Chaulukya kings and author of the *Kîrtikaumudî*, but although some of the verses undoubtedly vie in elegance with those of the larger work of the poet, it cannot be denied that the poem as a whole is disfigured by rather tedious repetitions, and sometimes by a certain want of connection between single stanzas. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the architectural terms *balânaka* in l 37 and *khattaka* in l 40. The former apparently is identical with Marâthî *balânî*, which according to the *Dictionary* of Molesworth and Candy means 'a raised seat along the walls of the *gûbhârâ* or *sabhâmandapa* of a temple.' The word *khattaka* I cannot trace in any dictionary accessible to me; judging from the context, it seems to have the meaning of 'pedestal' or 'throne'. Proper names frequently appear in their Prâkrit form. Under the influence of the metre even the vulgar form *Têjapâla*, instead of *Têjahpâla*, is used in verse 56.

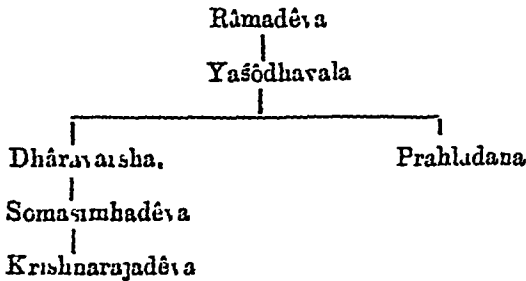
After an invocation of Sarasvatî (v. 1) and Ganêśa (v 2), the inscription gives first an account of the family of Têjahpâla. Their native town was Anahilapura, the residence of the Chulukya kings (v 3). The ancestor of the family was Chandapa (v. 4). His son was Chandaprasâda (v 5), who again had a son named Sôma (v 6). Sôma's son was Âśvâtthaja, whose wife was Kumâradêvi (v 7). They had eleven children (vv 8-24)—four sons Lûpiga,

<sup>1</sup> [On *vasahi*, 'a Jaina temple,' which is to be derived from \**vasathi*, another form of the Sanskrit *vasati*, see Prof Pischel's *Grammatik der Prâkrit-Sprachen*, § 207. The Kannada equivalent *basadi* or *basî* is a *taddhava* of *vasati* itself — E. H.]

who died when he was still a youth (v 8), Malladēva, Vastupāla and Tējapāla, and seven daughters Jālhū, Māū, Sāū, Dhanadēvi, Sōhagā, Vayajukā and Padamaladēvi. The family professed the Jaina faith (vv 7, 10) and belonged to the lineage of the Prāgvātas (v 4). The four brothers are all called ministers (*mantrin, sachiva*), and of Vastupāla it is expressly stated that he was in the service of the Chulukyas (v 14). Special praise is bestowed on Vastupāla and Tējapāla, who seem to have been connected by the ties of sincere brotherly affection (vv 19-24), but these verses contain no historical allusions.

The text then turns from the ministers to their lords, the Chaulukyas as they are called here (vv 25, 28). Only the members of the so called Vāghêlī line are mentioned here, viz Arnôrāja (v. 25), his successor Lavanaprasāda (v 26), and the son of the latter, Viradhavala (v 27). Two verses (v 28, 29) are added in praise of the services rendered to Viradhavala by the brothers Vastupāla and Tējapāla, and of the implicit confidence by which the king rewarded their attachment to his person.

Abruptly a description of the Arbuda mountain, the modern Mount Ābū, is introduced (v. 30, 31), after which follows, equally abruptly, a genealogy of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati (vv. 32-42). That these verses are inserted here because Tējapāla built a temple on Mount Ābū and this mountain was situated in the province governed by the Paramāras, can be gathered only from the contents of the last section of the inscription. The account of the Paramāras begins with the legend of their origin. Their ancestor, from whom they took their name, is said to have sprung from the altar of the sacrificial fire of Vāsishtha and to have received the appellation of Paramāra from that sage on account of the delight he took in killing his enemies (*para-māraṇa*) (v 32). In that family there arose first Dhūmarāja (v 33), who was followed by Dhandhuka, Dhruvabhata and others up to Rāmadēva (v 34). With Rāmadēva begins a coherent pedigree which may be tabulated as follows:



Besides the genealogy the inscription furnishes several items of historical value. Yaśōdhavala is said to have quickly killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla (v 35). From the wording of the verse we may conclude that Yaśōdhavala was a feudatory of Kumārapāla when he waged war against Ballāla, just as Yaśōdhavala's son Dhāravaisha appears as a feudatory of Kumārapāla's grand-nephew Bhīmadēva II in a Mount Ābū inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1265<sup>1</sup>. It is no wonder, therefore, that elsewhere we find the destruction of Ballāla attributed to Kumārapāla himself. In Sōmēśvaradēva's *Kīrtikaumudī* (II 48) Kumārapāla is said to have seized in battle, out of passion, the heads of the kings Ballāla and Mallikārajuna like the breasts of the goddess of victory. And in the Sōmūāthpattan inscription of Bhāva Brihaspati, dated in Valabhi Samvat 850 (A D 1169),<sup>2</sup> he is called 'a lion to jump on the heads of (those) elephants—Ballāla, king of Dhārā, and the illustrious ruler of Jāngala'. The latest epigraphical date for Kumārapāla's predecessor Jayasimhadēva is Vikrama-Samvat 1196<sup>3</sup>. The earliest inscription of the reign of

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 221

<sup>2</sup> *Vienna Or Journ* Vol III p 8

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol X p 159 ff

Kumāpāla himself is dated in Vikrama-Samvat 1202<sup>1</sup> According to Mārutunga's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* Jayasimhadēva reigned until Vikrama-Samvat 1199,<sup>2</sup> and in the same author's *Vichārasrēṇi* the date of his death is given as the third day of the bright half of Kārttika of Vikrama-Samvat 1199, and that of his successor's coronation as the fourth day of the bright half of Margasira of the same year<sup>3</sup> Ballāla, therefore, must have found his death between A D. 1142 and 1169, the date of the Sōmnāthpattan inscription. No king of that name, however, is found among the Paramāra rulers of Malaya of this or, in fact, of any other period, and it is altogether improbable that Ballāla belonged to this dynasty The question who he was and how he came to acquire the kingdom of Mālava cannot be answered at present, but I wish to draw attention to the fact discussed at length by Professor Kielhorn<sup>4</sup> that after the death of Yaśovarmān, which must have occurred between A D. 1135 and 1144,<sup>5</sup> the Mālava kingdom was for some time in a troubled state apt to rouse the ambitions of a conqueror or usurper.

Dhārāvareha, who seems to have been extraordinarily fond of hunting expeditions (v 37), was an enemy of the lord of Kaunkana or Konkan (v. 36), but no particulars are added I have quoted already above the Mount Ābū inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 1205 (A D 1209), where Dhārāvareha, 'the lord of Chandrāvati, the Śāmbhu to the Asuias—the provincial chiefs (*mūṇḍalika*),' is mentioned as the feudatory of Bhīmadēva II

His younger brother Prahādāna is called he 'whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gūrjara king, when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Sāmantasimha' (v 38) The Gūrjara king who was saved by Prahādāna from Sāmantasimha, of course, was Bhīmadēva II, but it is difficult to say who that Sāmantasimha was No further details being given and the name being not uncommon in this period, it is hardly possible to identify that prince with certainty The person who in my opinion has the best right of being considered the Sāmantasimha of the inscription is the Guhila chief of that name mentioned in two inscriptions on Mount Ābū<sup>6</sup> and at Sādadi<sup>7</sup> In the former inscription<sup>8</sup> he takes the fifth place after Vijayasimha, who must have flourished about A D 1125,<sup>9</sup> and the fifth place before Tējāsīmha, whose Chitōgadh inscription is dated in Vikrama-Samvat 1324 = A D 1257<sup>10</sup> He thus appears to have reigned about A D. 1200, which would well accord with the fact that his adversary Prahādāna was *yuvārāja* in A D 1209<sup>11</sup> Also from a geographical point of view there is no objection to my identification, as Mēdāpāṭa, the country of the Guhilas, bordered the district ruled by the Paramāras of Chandrāvati It would be quite natural therefore to find Prahādāna defending his suzerain against the attack of a Guhila chief That the relations between the Chaulukyas and the Guhilas were not always of a friendly nature is proved by a grant of Viśaladēva, the son of Vinadhavala, where the king is given the epithet *Mēdapāṭahudēsa-kalusha, ājya-vallī-kand-ūchchhēdāna-kuddala-kalpa*, 'he who resembled a hoe for rooting out the bulb of (*that*) creeper—the turbulent government of the Mēdapāṭa country'<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bhādnagar Inscr.* p 153 ff

<sup>2</sup> See the end of *sarga* 111

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol V p 162

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIX p 348

<sup>5</sup> The latest inscription of Yaśovarmān is the Ujjain plate of Vikrama Samvat 1192, and the earliest in script on of his son Lakshmiyarmān is the Ujjain plate of Vikrama Samvat 1200 See *Ind Ant* Vol XIX. p 349 and p 352 f

<sup>6</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XVI p 317 ff

<sup>7</sup> *Bhādnagar Inscr.* p 114 ff

<sup>8</sup> The Sādadi inscription, which is considerably later, slightly differs in its list of names

<sup>9</sup> Vijayasimha's daughter was the Kalachuri queen Alhagadēvi, whose Bhuia Ghat inscription is dated in the year 907 of the Kalachuri Chōdi era = A D 1155, see *Ep Ind* Vol. II p 7 ff

<sup>10</sup> *Tourn Beng As Soc* Vol LV Part I p 46 f

<sup>11</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI. p 222.

<sup>12</sup> *Ind. Ant* Vol VI p 210

Besides his military achievements Prahládana's learning is repeatedly alluded to (vv 39, 43) This praise appears to be not unfounded. There has come down to us a *vyâyôga*, called *Pârthaparâkrama*, written by him when he was *yuvârôja*,<sup>1</sup> and several single verses of his are found in the *Śārngadhara-paddhati*.<sup>2</sup>

As regards Sômasimhadêva, it is perhaps worth mentioning that he is stated to have remitted the taxes of Brâhmanas (v 41)

After the genealogy of the Paramâras the text returns again to the family of Têjahpâla. Vv 43-46 are devoted to Têjahpâla's brother Vastupâla, his wife Lalitâdêvi and, particularly their son Jayantasimha or Jaitrasimha. Vv 47-49 are in praise of Têjahpâla himself, after which follows a description of the paternal lineage of Anupamadêvi, the wife of Têjahpâla (vv 50-54) The account begins with Gâgâ who belonged to the Prâgvâta family and was an inhabitant of Chandrâvatî (v 50) His son was Dharamga (v 51), who was married to Tribhuvanadêvi (v 52) Their daughter was Anupamadêvi (vv 53, 54) The son of Têjahpâla and Anupamadêvi was Lâvanyasimha or Lûnasimha (vv 55-57) V 58 contains a short note on the family of Têjahpâla's elder brother Malladêva. Malladêva and his wife Lilukâ had a son Pûrnasimha, who was married to Aliladêvi and had a son of the name of Pêtbada

Vv 59 and 60 record that Têjahpâla built on the mountain Arbuda this temple of Nêminâtha for the religious merit of his wife Anupamâ and his son Lâvanyasimha, and the following verses (61-64) give some particulars about the edifice The temple, built of white marble, was provided with a lofty *mandapa* in the front, with fifty-two shrines for the Jinas on the sides of it and a *balânaka* or stone seat in front of it (v 61) There were besides ten statues representing Chandapa, Chandaprasâda, Sôma, Aśvaiśya, Lûnga, Malladêva, Vastupâla, Têjahpâla, Jaitrasimha and Lâvanyasimha, mounted on female elephants (vv. 62, 63) Behind these statues the images of those ten persons were placed once more, together with their wives, on *khattakas* of white marble (v 64) The description concludes with some verses in honour of Vastupâla and Têjahpâla, extolling especially their numerous charitable institutions (vv 65-68)

This is followed immediately by an account of the lineage of the priests of Vastupâla and Têjahpâla's family (vv 69-72) They belonged to the Nâgêndra *gachchha*, and their names, in chronological order, were Mahêndrasûri, Śântisûri, Ânandasûri and Amarasûri,<sup>3</sup> Haribhadrasûri, Vijayasênasûri, Udayaprabhasûri The last, as shown by v 71, was renowned for his poetry, specimens of which are preserved in some Gûrnâr inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

The last verses of the inscription (72-74) contain some benedictions and the statement that Sômêśvaradêva, whose feet are honoured by the Chulukya king, composed this eulogy of the temple The name of the engraver of the inscription, Chandêśvara, the son of Dhândhala, the son of Kêlhana, and the date of the consecration of the temple by Vijayasênasûri, the Jaina priest mentioned above, are added in prose (ll 46, 47) The consecration took place on Sunday, the third day of the dark half of Phâlguna, in the year 1287 of the glorious Vikrama It is true the first two syllables of the name of the month are effaced, and it would be possible, therefore, *a priori* to restore the name of the month to Śrâvana, as done *eg* by Professor Kathavate, but as the date is repeated in the inscription No II, the reading Phâlguna is beyond

<sup>1</sup> Report on Sanskrit MSS 1872-73, p 4 Kielhorn, Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-81, p 84.

<sup>2</sup> Nos 748, 765, 1058 and 1071, compare Aufrecht's collection, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol XXVII, p 49.

<sup>3</sup> In the inscription No II Amarasûri is called Amarachandrasûri.

<sup>4</sup> Kielhorn, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p 31, note 1. Udayaprabhasûri was also the author of an astrological treatise called *Arambhasiddhi*, see Weber, *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit und Prakrit-Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek in Berlin*, No 1741.

all doubt The date corresponds, as shown by Professor Kielhorn,<sup>1</sup> to Sunday, 3rd March A.D 1280.

Of the inscription No. II. only a short account was published by H H Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI p 309 f It was edited in full by Professor Abaji Vishnu Kathavate as Appendix B to his edition of the *Kīrtikaumudī* It is engraved on a white slab built into a niche in the corridor of the temple The writing covers a space of about 2' 11" broad by 1' 10' high The size of the letters is ¾". Near the beginning and at the end of ll 1 and 2 and at the end of ll 3 and 4 the text is mutilated, portions of the slab being either cut off or broken off The characters are of the same type as in No. I. The initial *ś* in *śm* (l. 1) differs from the corresponding sign in *Śisavāla* (ll. 15, 17, 24) and *Śrāśā* (l. 27) by the addition of a cross bar The letter *ba* is expressed by the sign for *va* everywhere, except in *Śrīmātūmahabū* in l. 27 and *Arbudas* in the last but one line The writing of the last two lines, however, shows also some other peculiarities The characters are partly larger, and generally executed with far less care, than those in the preceding portion of the inscription. As regards single letters, the divergences are especially prominent in the signs for *ra* and *sa* and medial *ś* and *ṣ*, the latter being expressed by means of a stroke above the line six times, in *bhājātā*, *bhavanā*, *-pāmthē*, *-sārēr*, *tayōh* and *vīlōkyamānē*, whereas only three instances of this mode of writing are found in the preceding 31 lines, in *varshē* (l. 1), *-dēvēna* (l. 26) and *Gāsala* (l. 13) There can be little doubt, therefore, that those two lines are a later addition, and this, as will appear later on, is fully borne out by their contents

The inscription is in the Sanskrit language and, with the exception of one verse in l. 30, in prose. As usual in records of this period and of this part of the country, the language is largely influenced by the vernacular idiom Proper names generally appear in their Prākṛit form, and even instead of Skt *putra* we find here the abbreviation *u*<sup>o</sup>, which stands for Prākṛit *utta* or, perhaps, a half-Sanskritized *utra*<sup>2</sup> (ll. 10-25) Also the form *kumara* instead of *kumāra* in l. 26 is due to Prākṛit influence The single members of Dvandva compounds are frequently joined by *tathā* (ll. 8, 9, 12, 19, 27) As regards lexicography, the following words may be mentioned *apabhāra*, m, 'a burden' (l. 29), *āshṭāhikā*, f, 'a single day of a festival lasting eight days' (ll. 12, 14, 16, etc.), *kalyāṇika*, n, 'name of a certain feast' (l. 26),<sup>3</sup> *tathāyānātīya*, 'belonging to the tribe mentioned before' (ll. 10 ff), *mahājana*, m, 'a merchant, banker' (l. 10),<sup>4</sup> *rāṭhya*, m, which seems to denote a certain class of officials (l. 28); *varshagranthi*, m, 'an anniversary' (l. 12),<sup>5</sup> *saika*, 'belonging to' (ll. 3, 7, 10), *sārā*, f., 'care, supervision' (l. 9).<sup>6</sup> In line 6 *pratishṭhita* is used in the sense of *pratishṭhāpita*.

The inscription contains the official record of the erection of the temple of Nēminātha, and regulations for the festivals connected with it and for the protection and maintenance of the building

In lines 1-5 it is stated that 'to-day on Sunday, the third day of the dark half of the common Phālguna, in the [Vikrama] year 1287, while in prosperous Anahilapātaka the mahārājādhirāja Bh[īmadēva], the royal swan on the lotus of the Chaulukya family, who is adorned by a complete line of kings, is reigning victoriously, . . . while the mahāmandalēśvara rājakula, the illustrious Sōmasimhadēva, born in the family of the illustrious

<sup>1</sup> *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 30

<sup>2</sup> This form is actually found in a Chaulukya grant of A D 1207, plate i ll. 14, 15, pl ii ll. 4, 5, 6 See *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 338

<sup>3</sup> See below, p 206

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Ep Ind* Vol I p 279, note 46 The word occurs in this sense in the Chaulukya grant of A D 1207, mentioned in note 2 above, plate ii l. 10 In l. 14 of the present grant the abbreviation *mahājani* is found

<sup>5</sup> Compare Marāṭhi *varshagdmtha*, 'the anniversary of a birth-day.'

<sup>6</sup> See below, p 205, note 2



Dhūmarajadēva who had sprung from the sacrificial fire of the altar of the holy Vāśiṣṭha, is reigning victoriously,' Tējahpāla caused to be made in the village of Dēulavādā on the top of the holy mountain Arbuda the temple of the holy Nēminātha, called Lūnasimhavasahikā, adorned by all shrines (*dēvakulikā*) and embellished by a large elephant-hall (*hastisālā*), for the increase of the glory and merit of his wife Anupamadēvi and his son Lūnasimha. The inscription gives the same pedigree of Tejahpala as No I, and he is besides described here as 'conducting the whole seal business of the *mahāmandalesvara rānaka*, the illustrious Viradhavaladeva, the son of the *mahāmandalēsvara rānaka*, the illustrious Lavanaprasādadēva, born in the family of the illustrious Chaulukyas, in the province (*mandala*) of . . . rātrā, [obtained] by the favour of the aforesaid *mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Bhimadeva.'

This passage is of special interest as revealing the nature of the relations between Bhimadēva II and the members of the Vāghelā dynasty, which in Somēsvaradēva's account remains rather obscure. The inscription leaves no doubt that Bhimadēva II was considered lord paramount, while Lavanaprasāda and Viradhavala contented themselves with the rank of a *mahāmandalēsvara* and the title of *rānaka*. Unfortunately the name of the province governed by Viradhavala is lost with the exception of the last two syllables, . . . rātrā, which I am unable to restore.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the Paramāras of Chandrāvati, the inscription shows that in A D 1230 the reigning prince was Somasimha, and not Krishnarāja as might easily be supposed from the text of No I. I would also point out that the legend told in No I of Paramāra is here ascribed to Dhūmarāja.

The date corresponds, as mentioned already above, to Sunday, 3rd March A D. 1230. The shrines and the elephant-hall mentioned in the description of the temple are identical, of course, with the fifty-two shrines for the Jinas and the hall for the statues of the members of Tejahpala's family spoken of in vv 61-64 of the inscription No. I.

The record of the erection of the building is followed by that of its consecration by Vijayasenasūri (l 6). The pedigree of the latter perfectly agrees with that given in the former inscription. Hambhadrasūri is here called 'the lord of the frontlet-decoration (*paṭṭālamkarana-prabhu*) by the illustrious Ānandasūri and the illustrious Amarachandrasūri,' which apparently means that he had received his *paṭṭābhishēka* from the hands of those two sūris.

The purport of the next section (ll 6-9) is indicated already by the heading 'And the names of the *śrāva*<sup>2</sup> trustees appointed for this temple (are) as follows'. Here it is set down that all bathing, worshipping, supervising,<sup>3</sup> etc, in this temple is to be done and carried on for ever by the brothers Malladēva, Vastupāla and Tējahpala and their descendants, as well as by all the male members of the family of Lūnasimha's mother Anupamadēvi and their descendants. On this occasion a pedigree of Anupamadēvi's family, which resided at Chandrāvati and belonged to the Prāgvāta *jñātī*, is inserted.

The following section (ll 9-25) consists of rules for the festival to be celebrated on the anniversaries of the consecration of the temple. It was to begin on the third day of the dark half of the month Chaitra, holy to the god,<sup>3</sup> and to last for eight days. During this festival the ceremonies of bathing, worshipping, etc, were to be performed by the laymen (*śrāvaka*) of

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 190, Dr Bühler has endeavoured to define the boundaries of the territory ruled by the Vaghelā branch.

<sup>2</sup> The word *śard* occurs again in the Chaulukya grant of A D 1207 in the phrase . . . *asya dharmasthānasya śair-aśṭabhir-gōsthikāi rdūla-Uchchadēva sahstair-a chamdr arkah śard karanīyā*, *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 338, plate II 3-6. It has possibly a more special meaning than supervision.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be the meaning of *dēvakīya*.

the country of Chandrāvati,<sup>1</sup> each day being assigned to a certain local community. The inscription enumerates many of these laymen by name, adding in each case the name of the father and the *jāti*. About half of them belonged to the Prāgṛātas, the rest was divided between the Ūśavalas or Ōśnavālas, the Śīmālas and the not very numerous Dharmikas. The places inhabited by them were the villages of Umbaranikī, Saraulī and Kāsabrada,<sup>2</sup> Brahmāna, the village of Dhaurī, the great *tīrtha* Mundasthala, the villages of Philiṇī, Handāudrā and Davānī, Gadāhada, Sāhīlavādā.

In a subsequent clause (ll 25, 26) it is stipulated that the five *kalyāṇikas* of Nōmināthadēva, i.e. the feasts on the anniversaries of the conception, birth, initiation, enlightenment and final deliverance of the saint, are to be celebrated annually on the fixed days by all the laymen (*śrāvaka*) residing at Deulavādā on the holy mountain Arbuda.

The names of the persons to whom the care of the temple was entrusted are recorded in the next section, which runs as follows (ll 26-30). 'Thus is this agreement. The lord of the prosperous Chandrāvati, the illustrious *raja-kula* Sōmasimhadēva, again his son, the illustrious *rāja[kula]* Kāṇhadadēva, and the other princes, all royal persons, again the *sthānupatis bhāṭṭādhakas*, etc., of the prosperous Chandrāvati, *kavilāsa*<sup>3</sup> again the Gūguli Brahmins,<sup>4</sup> all the trustees (*who belong to the caste of the*) merchants, again all persons, (*viz*) *sthānupatis*, ascetics, Gūguli Brahmins, *śāhīyas* and others, residing at (*the temples of*) the holy Achalēśvara (*and*) the holy Vāsīśtha on the mountain Arbuda and in the neighbouring villages, (*viz*) the village of Deulavādā, the prosperous village of Śrīmātāmahabu, the village of Ābuya, the village of Ōrāsā, the village of Ūtarachha, the village of Sīhara, the village of Sāla, the village of Hethauñjī, the village of Ākhī, Kōtadi belonging to the holy Dhandhalesvaradēva, and others—twelve villages (*in all*), again all the *rājaputras* belonging to the race of the illustrious Pratihāres, residing in the villages of Bhālībhadā, etc., having sat down one by one in the hall of (*the temple of*) the holy Nōmināthadēva, took upon themselves, each according to his own wish (*and*) for his own delight, from the *mahan[ta]*, the illustrious Tējahpāla, the whole burden of the care of this temple called the holy Lūnasīhīvarahika. Therefore, acting up to this promise of their own, all of them, as well as their descendants, have to take care of this temple as long as the sun and the moon (*endure*). For—

'What need is there of alms bowl, water-jar, clothes of bark, white (*or*) red garments (*and*) tufts of twisted hair, (*since*) this splendid vow is performed by the noble-minded?'

Prince Kāṇhadadēva mentioned in line 26 is identical, of course, with the Paramāra Kṛṣṇanarajadēva spoken of in the former inscription.

The last line (31) records that the *mahārājakula*, the illustrious Sōmasimhadēva, in this holy Lūnasīhīvarahikā, presented by an edict the village of Davānī in Vahīrahadī to the holy Nōmināthadēva, for his worship and personal allowance, and the inscription concludes with Sōmasimhadēva entreating the future kings of the Paramāra race to protect his gift as long as the sun and the moon will last.

<sup>1</sup> I take the term 'the body of the *śrāvakas*, namely, all the merchants, all the trustees of Jina temples, etc. belonging to Chandrāvati' as the collective designation of the persons enumerated in detail later on.

<sup>2</sup> [According to Forbes, *Kar Māla*, p. 64, Kāsabrada is the present Kāsāndī-Paladi near Ahmadabad, see Buhler, *Ep Ind* Vol I p. 229. It is mentioned in two Rāshtrakūṭa grants, *ibid* p. 57 (Kāsadrada), and *Ind Ant* Vol XI p. 202 (Kāśrāhuda).—E. H.]

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps *kavilāsa* is a proper name, at any rate, I do not know its meaning.—[Can it be meant for *Kailasa*?—I. H.]

<sup>4</sup> The Gūgulis, or Gughis as they are called now, are a class of Brahmins who at present are found chiefly in Dākhā. They are Vaishnavas by religion and mostly *pujaris* or priests in the temples of Kṛṣṇa, compare *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol VIII p. 146, and Vol IX Part I p. 9 f, where also an account of the legends relating to their origin is given.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription I have been able to identify the following ones. The village of Dēulavādā on the mountain Ārbuda is the Dilwara of the *Indian Atlas*, situated lat 24° 36' N, long 72° 43' E. The village of Umbaraniki is the Umarni of the map, 7 miles south-south-east of Dilwara. The village of Dhauri is Dhauri, 8½ miles west-south-west of Dilwara. The great *tīrtha* of Mundasthala is perhaps identical with the Murthala of the map, 8½ miles south-east of Dilwara. The village of Gadāhada may be identified with the Gadara of the map, 11 miles south-south-west of Dilwara, supposing Gadara to stand for Gadāra (Gaḍāda). Sāhulavādā is Selwara, 8½ miles west-north-west of Dilwara. Among the villages expressly stated to be in the vicinity of the mountain Ārbuda, Ābuya is the Abu of the map, 1½ miles south-west of Dilwara. Ūtarachha is Utra, 5½ miles north-east of Dilwara. Siharā is Ser, 8 miles north-east of Dilwara. Hēthauñji is Hetamji, 2 miles south of Dilwara. Kōtadī may be the Kotra of the map, 7 miles east of Dilwara. Sāla possibly is identical with Salgaon, 1 mile east south-east of Dilwara. Ōrāsā bears a certain resemblance to Oriā, the name of a village 3 miles north-east of Dilwara, although an identification of the two would be possible only by assuming the form of the name, as given in the map, to be incorrect.

The last two lines of the inscription, which, as stated above, are a later addition, contain two Sanskrit verses in praise of Mount Ābū by Nayachandrasūri, a descendant of the holy *rishi* Krishna, and a short notice in the vernacular, recording the fact that some pilgrim visited the sanctuary to worship there.<sup>1</sup>

The shorter inscriptions Nos. III-XXXII, all of which are edited now for the first time,<sup>2</sup> are written in Nāgarī characters of the Jaina type and composed in the Sanskrit language, although proper names mostly appear in their Prakrit form. Once, in *Chandapa* in No. IV l. 1, *da* shows the peculiar shape given in Bühler's *Indische Paläographie* in Plate V col. XVI l. 22, from an inscription of Bhimadēva I.

No. III, which is engraved on the lintel of the doorway to the main shrine, records that Tējapāla caused to be made the great shrine (*mahātīrtha*) of the holy Nēmuatha in this Lūnavasahika for the religious merit of his son Lūnasiha 'on Monday, the third day of the bright half of Phaguna (Phālguna) in the year 1287 of king Vikrama.' According to Professor Kielhorn, who kindly calculated this and the following dates for me, the date is incorrect for both V. 1287 expired and V. 1287 current. It would correspond, for V. 1287 expired, to Friday, 7th February A.D. 1231, and for V. 1287 current, to Sunday, 17th February A.D. 1230.

The inscriptions Nos. IV-XXXII prove that Tējapāla in the following years also did not cease to enlarge and embellish the sanctuary which he had created. They are engraved on the lintels of several cell shrines in the corridor of the temple and record the erection of those shrines, or of images of Jinas and *tīrthakurus*, by Tējapāla for the religious merit of various members of his family.

Of general interest are the titles occurring in these inscriptions. The one most frequently used is *mahām*<sup>3</sup>, the abbreviated form of *mahanta*. It is borne by Tējapāla and most of the members of his family, both men and women. But in the pedigrees contained in Nos. XXIV and XXVI-XXXI Tējapāla's ancestors Chandapa and Chandaprasāda, his father Āsvaraḥ or Āsaraja, and his mother Kumāradēvi are given the title of *ṭha*<sup>4</sup>, which stands for *thakkura*, whereas Soma, the son of Chandaprasāda and father of Āsvaraḥ, is constantly styled *mahām*<sup>5</sup>. This clearly shows that there must have been some distinction between the two titles, though the difference cannot have been very great, as Chandapa and Āsvaraḥ are called also *mahām*<sup>6</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> I do not fully understand this sentence. Records like this are not infrequent on Mount Ābū.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson has noticed them only in a general way in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI p. 310, No. XX.

<sup>3</sup> The pedigree in No. II l. 3 f. shows the same distinction.

Nos. III-VIII, X-XVIII, XXI-XXIII and XXXII<sup>1</sup> In No. XXXII we find *ṣhakurājñī* as the title of Samtōshā, the mother of Tējahpāla's second wife Suhadādēvi, whose maternal grandfather and great-grandfather are called *ṣha*<sup>o</sup>. As shown by Nos XXVI., XXVII and XXX, Vastupāla, the elder brother of Tējahpāla, bore the title of *saṃghapati*<sup>2</sup> From the ninth *sarga* of the *Kīrtikaumudī* it appears that he had earned this title by organising and conducting a great pilgrimage to the *tīrthas* of Śātrumjaya, Raivataka and Prabhāsa The title itself is alluded to in *sarga* IX verse 12, where it is said 'He dined when all (*others*) had dined, he went to sleep when all the (*other*) pilgrims had fallen into slumber, he was the first to awake In this manner he performed the vow of being a *saṃghaprabhu*.'<sup>3</sup> Seven times female relatives of Tējahpāla are given the title of *bāī* (Nos. IV, XI, XXVI, XXVII, XXIX-XXXI)

No. XXXII mentions the Mōdha *jāṭī* in Pattana as the tribe to which the family of Suhadādēvi, the second wife of Tējahpāla, belonged

The saints whose images were set up are the Jina Supārśva (No XII), Mani Suvrata (No XXI), Vārisēna<sup>4</sup> (No XXIV), Chandraṇana (No. XXV), the eternal Jina Rishabha (No XXX), the eternal Jina Vardhamāna (No XXXI), and the *tīrthakaras*<sup>5</sup> Simamdharaśvāmin<sup>6</sup> (No. XXVI), the Jina Yugamdharaśvāmin (No XXVII), the Jina Bāhu (No. XXVIII), and Subāhu (No XXIX).

Nos. IV-XVIII are dated in the Vikrama year 1288, Nos XIX-XXIII in the Vikrama year 1290, Nos XXIV and XXV on the seventh day of the dark half of Chaitra in the Vikrama year 1293, Nos. XXVI-XXXI,<sup>7</sup> on Friday, the eighth day of the dark half of Chaitra in the Vikrama year 1293, which, for the *Kārttikādi* V 1293 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra, regularly corresponds to Friday, 20th February A.D. 1237, No XXXII is dated on Thursday, the fourteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in the Vikrama year 1297, which, for the *Kārttikādi* V 1297 expired and the *pūrṇimānta* Vaiśākha, regularly corresponds to Thursday, 11th April A.D. 1241.

No I.<sup>8</sup>

TEXT.

1 श्री० ॥ वंदे सरस्वतीं देवीं याति या कवि[व]मानस । नी[यमा]ना  
[निजेने]व [यानमा]नस[व]ासिन[र] ।। १ यः [च]ातिमा[नय्य]रु[णः]  
प्रकोपे शान्तोपि दीप्तः । स्मरनिग्रहाय । निमीलिताक्षो[पि सम]ग्रदर्शी  
स वः शिवायास्तु शि-

<sup>1</sup> Similarly in the pedigree of Tējahpāla's wife Anupamadēvi in No II 1 7 f four persons are called *maḥam*<sup>o</sup>, while the rest is styled *ṣha*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The same title is applied to Vastupāla in No II 1 4

<sup>3</sup> The title of *saṃghapati* occurs also in the *Śātrumjayamāhātmya*. According to XIV 84 ff it was conferred by Pārśva on his relative Hastiṇa, who afterwards undertook a pilgrimage to various holy places

<sup>4</sup> The correct Sanskrit form would be *Varishēna*

<sup>5</sup> The four *tīrthakaras* are distinguished by the epithet *viharamāna*, the exact meaning of which is unknown to me

<sup>6</sup> The Jina Simamdharaśvāmin is known from Hēmachandra's *Śāvarīśālikācharita*, IX 95 ff and the *Śātrumjayamāhātmya*, I 163

<sup>7</sup> Of No XXVIII, the first line (containing the date) is lost, but it is almost certain that the inscription was dated in the same year

<sup>8</sup> On a black slab built into a niche in the corridor No 1740 of Mr. Cousens's list

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol

- 2 [वात]नूजः ॥ २ अणहिलपुरमस्ति स्वस्तिपात्र प्रजा[नाम]जरजिर[घुतुल्यै]:  
पा[ल्य]मानं चु[लुकैः] । [चिरम]तिरमणीना य[त्र] वल्ले[दु]मदी[कृत]  
इव [सि]तपत्रप्रचयेप्यधकारः ॥ ३ तत्र प्राग्वाटान्वयमुकुट कुटजप्रसून-
- 3 विशदयशाः । दानविनिर्जितकल्पद्रुमपंड्यडपः समभूत् ॥ ४ चंडप्र[सा]द-  
स[ज्ञ]: स्वकुल[प्रासा]दहेमदडो ऽस्य । प्रसर[त्की]र्त्तिपताक, पुण्यवि-  
पाक्तेन सनुरभूत् ॥ ५ आत्मगुणैः किरणैरिव सोमो रोमोद्गम  
सतां कु- ॥<sup>1</sup>
- 4 र्वन् । उदगादगाधमध्याद्गुधोदधिवाधवात्तस्मात् ॥ ६ एतस्मादजनि  
जिनाधि[ना]यभक्तिं विभ्राणः स्वमनसि शश्वदश्वरा[ज]: । तस्यासीद्वि-  
ततमा कुमारदेवी देवीव त्रिपुररिपोः कुमारमाता ॥ ७ तयोः  
प्रथमपु- ॥
- 5 त्री ऽभून्मत्री लूणिगसन्नया । दैवादवाप वाली ऽपि सालोक्य [व]।-  
सवेन [स] ॥ ८ पूर्वमेव सचिवः स कोविदैर्गण्यते स गुणवत्सु  
लूणिगः । यस्य निस्तुपमतेर्मनीषया धिक्कृतेव धिपणस्य धीरपि ॥ ९  
श्रीमल्लदेवः त्रि-
- 6 तमल्लदेवस्तस्यानुजो मन्त्रिमतल्लिकाऽभूत् । वभूव यस्यान्यधनांगनासु लुब्धा  
न बुद्धि शमलव्यवुडेः ॥ १० धर्मविधाने भुवनच्छिद्रपिधाने विभिन्न-  
सधाने । सृष्टिहता न हि सृष्टः प्रतिमल्लो मल्लदेव- ॥
- 7 स्य ॥ ११ नीलनीरदकदम्बकसुक्तश्वेतकीतुकिरणोदरणेन । मल्लदेवयशसा  
गलहस्तो हस्तिमल्लदशनांशुषु दत्तः ॥ १२ तस्यानुजो विजयते  
विजितेन्द्रियस्य सारस्वतामृतकृताद्भुतहर्षवर्ष । श्रीवस्तु-
- 8 [पा]ल इति भालतलस्थितानि दौस्थ्याक्षराणि सुकृती कृतिना विलुपन् ॥  
१३ विरचयति वस्तुपालश्चलुक्यसचिवेषु कविषु च प्रवरः । न कदाचि-  
द्व्यहरणं श्रीकरणे काव्यकरणे वा ॥ १४ तेजपालः पालितस्ता
- 9 मितेजःपुंजः सीय राजते मन्त्रिराजः । दुर्वृत्ताना शकनीय कनीयानस्य भ्राता  
विश्वविभ्रांतकीर्त्तिः ॥ १५ तेजपालस्य विष्णोश्च क' स्वरूप निरूपयेत् ।  
स्थित जगन्मयीसूत्रं यदीयोदरकंदरे ॥ १६ जाल्लूमाजसाज-
- 10 धनदेवीसोहगावयजुकाख्याः । पदमलदेवी चैषां क्रमादिमा सप्त सीदर्य, ॥ १७  
एते ऽश्वराजपुत्रा दशरथपुत्रास्त एव चत्वारः । प्राप्ताः किल पुनरवना-  
वेकोदरवासलोमिन ॥ १८ अनुजन्मना समेतस्तेजपा - ।

<sup>1</sup> These strokes as well as those at the end of ॥ 4, 6, 10, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 26, 31, 33, 36, 39, 41, 42 are merely intended for filling up the line

- 11 लेन वस्तुपालो ऽय । मदयति कस्य न हृदय मधुमासो माधवेनेव ॥ १९  
पंथानमेको न कदापि गच्छेदिति स्मृतिप्रोक्तमिव स्मरन्ती । सहोदरो  
दुर्धरमोहचौरे संभूय धर्माध्वनि तौ प्रवृत्तौ ॥ २० इदं सदा सो-
- 12 दरयोद्धेतु युगं युगव्यायनदोर्युगस्थि । युगे चतुर्थेऽप्यनघेन येन कृतं कृतस्था-  
गमन युगस्य ॥ २१ सुक्तामयं शरीरं सोदरयोः सुचिरमेतयोरस्तु ।  
सुक्तामयं किल महीवलयमिदं भाति यत्कीर्त्या ॥ २२ ए- ।
- 13 कोत्पत्तिनिमित्तौ यद्यपि पाणी तयोस्तथाप्येकः । वामो ऽभूदनयोर्न तु  
सोदरयोः कोपि दक्षिणयोः ॥ २३ धर्मस्थानांकितासुर्वी सर्वतः कुर्वता-  
ऽमुना । दत्तः पादो बलाद्धयुगलेन कलेर्गले ॥ २४ इतश्चौलुक्यवीरा- ।
- 14 णां वंशे शाखाविशेषकः । अर्षीराज इति ख्यातो जातस्तेजोमयः पुमान् ॥ २५  
तस्मादनंतरमनंतरितप्रतापः प्राप चिति क्षतरिपुर्लवणप्रसादः । स्वर्गापगा-  
जलवलचितशंखशुभ्रा बभ्राम यस्य लवणाब्धिमतीत्य कीर्त्तिः
- 15 ॥ २६ सुतस्तस्मादासीद्दशरथककुत्स्थप्रतिकर्तुः<sup>१</sup> प्रतिष्ठापालानां कवलितबलो वीर-  
धवलः । यशःपुरे यस्य प्रसरति रतिक्लांतमनसामसाध्वीनां भग्नाऽभिसरण-  
कलायां कुशलता ॥ २७ चौलुक्यः सुकृती स वीरधवलः क- ।
- 16 खैजपाना जपं यः कर्षेपि चकार न प्रलपतामुद्दिश्य यौ मन्त्रिणौ ।  
आभ्यामभ्युदयातिरेकवचिरं राज्यं स्वभर्तुः कृतं वाहानां निवहा घटाः  
करटिनां बद्धाश्च सौधांगणे ॥ २८ तेन मन्त्रिद्वयेनायं जाने जानूप-  
वर्तिना । वि-
- 17 भुभुजद्वयेनेव सुखमाश्लिष्यति श्रियं ॥ २९ इतश्च ॥ गौरीवरश्चशूरभूधरसंभवो  
ऽयमस्त्वर्बुदः ककुदमद्रिकदंबकस्य । मंदाकिनीं घनजटे दधदुत्तमां [गि] यः  
श्यालकः शशिभृतो ऽभिनयं करोति ॥ ३० कचिदिह विहरतीर्वी- ।
- 18 क्षमाणस्य रामाः प्रसरति रतिरंतर्मोक्षमाकांक्षतो ऽपि । कचन मुनि-  
भिरर्थीं पश्यतस्त्रीर्थवीथीं भवति भवविरक्ता धीरधीरात्मनो ऽपि ॥ ३१  
श्रेयःश्रेष्ठवशिष्ठहोमद्वतभुक्कुंडान्मृतडात्मजप्रद्योताधिकदेहदीधितिभ-
- 19 रः कोप्याविरासीन्नरः । तं मत्वा परमारणैकरसिकं स व्याजहार श्रुतेरा-  
धारः परमार इत्यजनि तन्नामाऽथ तस्यान्वयः ॥ ३२ श्रीधूमराजः प्रथमं  
बभूव भूवासवस्तत्र नरेन्द्रवंशे । भूमीभृतो यः कृतवानभिज्ञानं पञ्चद्वयोच्छे-
- 20 दनवेदनासु ॥ ३३ धधुकध्रुवभटादयस्ततस्ते रिपुद्विपघटाजितो ऽभवन् ।  
यत्कुले ऽजनि पुमान्मनोरमो रामदेव इति कामदेवजित् ॥ ३४ रोदः-  
कंदरवर्त्तिकीर्त्तिलहरीलितामृतांशुदुतेरप्रद्युम्नवशो यशोधवल इ- ।

<sup>१</sup> ककुत्स्थ<sup>०</sup> would be more correctly written ककुत्स्थ<sup>०</sup>.

- 21 त्वासीत्तनूजस्ततः । यच्चौलुक्कुमारपालनृपतिप्रत्यर्थितामागतं मत्वा सत्वरमेव  
मालवपति <sup>1</sup>वत्सालमालव्वान् ॥ ३५ शत्रुश्रेणीगलविदलनोन्निद्रनिस्तृशधारो<sup>2</sup>  
धारावर्षः समजनि सुतस्तस्य विश्वप्रशस्यः । क्रोधाक्रातप्र- ।
- 22 धनवसुधानिश्चले यत्र जातास्थीतत्रेचोत्पलजलकणाः कौकणाधीशपत्न्यः ॥ ३६  
सीयं पुनर्दाशरथिः पृथिव्यामव्याहृतौजाः स्फुटमुज्जगाम । मारीचवैरादिव  
यो ऽधुनापि [मृ]गव्यमव्ययमति<sup>3</sup> करोति ॥ ३७ साम-
- 23 तसिंहसमितिचित्तिविच्छतौजःश्रीगूर्जरचित्तिपरक्षणदक्षिणासिः । प्रह्लादनस्तदनृजो  
दतुजोत्तमारिचारित्रमत्र पुनरुज्ज्वलयांचकार<sup>4</sup> ॥ ३८ देवी सरोजासनसंभवा  
किं कामप्रदा किं सुरसौरभेयी । प्रह्लादनाकारधरा
- 24 धरायामायातवत्येष न निश्चयो मे ॥ ३९ धारावर्षसुतो ऽय जयति  
श्रीसोमसिंहदेवो यः । पितृतः शौर्यं विद्यां पितृव्यकाहानमुभयतो  
जगृहे ॥ ४० मुक्ता विप्रकरानरातिनिकरान्निर्जित्य तत्किञ्चन प्राणत्संप्रति  
सोम-
- 25 सिंहनृपतिः सोमप्रकाश यशः । येनोर्व्वीतलमुज्ज्वलं<sup>5</sup> रचयताप्युत्ताम्यतामी-  
र्ष्या सर्व्वेषामिह विदिषा न हि मुखान्मालिन्यमुन्मूलित ॥ ४१ वसुदे-  
वस्येव सुतः श्रीकृष्णः कृष्णराजदेवो ऽस्य । मात्राधिकप्रतापो यशोद-
- 26 यासञ्चितो जयति ॥ ४२ इतश्च ॥ अन्वयेन विनयेन विद्यया विक्रमेण  
सुक्लनक्रमेण च । क्वापि कोपि न पुमानुपैति मे वस्तुपालसदृशो  
दृशो पथि ॥ ४३ दयिता ललितादेवी तनयमवीतनयमाप सचिवेद्रात् ।  
नाम्ना जयत- ।
- 27 सिंहं जयतमिन्द्रात्पुलोमपुत्रीव ॥ ४४ यः शैशवे विनयवैरिणि बोधबंधे धत्ते  
नयं च विनयं च गुणोदयं च । सीयं मनोभवपराभवजागरूकरूपी न  
कं मनसि चुंवति जैत्रसिंहः ॥ ४५ श्रीवस्तुपालपुत्रः कल्यायुरयं जयं-
- 28 तसिंहो ऽस्तु । कामादधिक रूप निरूप्यते यस्य दानं च ॥ ४६ स  
श्रीतेजःपालः सचिवश्चिरकालमस्तु तेजस्वी । येन जना निश्चिंताश्चिंता-  
मणिनेव नदति ॥ ४७ यच्चाणक्यामरगुरुमरुद्गाधिपशुक्रादिकाना प्रागुत्पादं  
व्यधित भुवने
- 29 मन्त्रिणा बुद्धिधाम्ना । चक्रे ऽभ्यासः स खलु विधिना नूनमेन विधातु  
तेजःपालः कथमितरथाधिक्यमापैष तेषु ॥ ४८ अस्ति स्वस्तिनिकेतन  
तनुभृता श्रीवस्तुपालानुजस्तेजःपाल इति स्थितिं बलिहतामुर्व्वीतले पाल-  
यन् । आत्मीयं व-

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the reading is वत्सालम्<sup>2</sup> Read 'निस्त्रिश'<sup>3</sup> Read पुनरुज्ज्वल<sup>4</sup> Read 'लमुज्ज्वल  
2 E 2

- 30 इ मन्वते न हि गुणग्रामं च कामंदकिद्याणक्योपि चमत्करोति न  
हृदि प्रेक्षास्पदं प्रेक्ष्य यं ॥ ४८ इतश्च ॥ महं<sup>१</sup> श्रीतेजःपालस्य पत्न्याः श्रीअनुप-  
मदेव्याः पितृवंशवर्धनं ॥ प्राग्धाटान्वयमंडनैकसुकुटं श्रीसांद्रचंद्रायतीवास्तव्यः स्त-
- 31 वनीयकीर्तिलहरिप्रचालितस्मातलः । श्रीगागाभिधया सुधीरजनि यद्वृत्तानु-  
रागादभूत्को नामप्रमदो न दोलितशिरा नोद्भूतरीमा पुमान् ॥ ५० अनु-  
सृतसज्जनसरणिर्धरणिगनामा बभूव तत्तनयः । स्वप्रभुहृदये ।
- 32 गुणिना हारेणैव स्थितं येन ॥ ५१ त्रिभुवनदेवी तस्य त्रिभुवन-  
विख्यातशीलसंपन्ना । दयिताऽभूदनयोः पुनरंगं द्वेधा मनस्वेकं ॥ ५२  
अनुपमदेवी देवी साक्षाद्वाचायणीव शीलेन । तद्गुहिता सहिता श्रीतेजः-  
पालेन
- 33 पत्याऽभूत् ॥ ५३ इयमनुपमदेवी दिव्यवृत्तप्रसूनव्रततिरजनि तेजःपालमंची-  
शपत्नी । नयविनयविवेकीचित्यदाक्षिण्यदानप्रमुखगुणगणैर्दुद्योतिताशेषगोत्रा ॥ ५४  
लावण्यसिंहस्तनयस्तयोरय रयं जयन्ति- ।
- 34 रिद्रि<sup>२</sup>यदुष्टवाजिनां । लब्धापि भीनध्वजमंगलं वयः प्रयाति धर्मैकविधा-  
यिनाऽध्वना ॥ ५५ श्रीतेजपालतनयस्य गुणानमुप्य श्रीलूणसिंहकतिनः कति  
न स्तुवंति । श्रीबंधनोद्भूतरैरपि यैः समंतादुद्दामता त्रिजगति क्रि-
- 35 यते स्म कीर्तिः ॥ ५६ गुणधननिधानकलशः प्रकटो ऽयमवेष्टितश्च खलसर्पैः ।  
उपचयमयते सततं सुजनैरुपजीव्यमानो ऽपि ॥ ५७ मल्लदेवसचिवस्य  
नंदनः पूर्यसिंह इति लीलुकासुतः । तस्य नंदति सुतोयमङ्गणा-
- 36 देविभूः सुकृतवेश्म पेयडः ॥ ५८ अभूदनुपमा पत्नी तेजःपालस्य  
मंत्रिणः । लावण्यसिंहनामायमायुष्मानेतयोः सुतः ॥ ५९ तेजःपालेन पुण्यार्थं  
तयोः पुत्रकलत्रयोः । हर्म्य श्रीनेमिनाथस्य तेने तेनेदमर्बुदे ।
- 37 ॥ ६० तेजःपाल इति क्षितींद्रुसचिवः शंखोज्ज्वलाभिः<sup>३</sup> शिलाश्रेणीभिः स्फुर-  
दिंद्रुकुंदरुचिरं नेमिप्रभोर्मदिरं । उच्चैर्मंडपमग्रतो जिन[वरा]वासद्विपंचाशतं  
तत्पार्थेयु बलानकं<sup>४</sup> च पुरतो निष्पादयामासिवान् ॥ ६१ श्रीमञ्चंड-
- 38 [प]संभवः [सम]भवञ्चंडप्रसादस्ततः सीमस्तनभवो ऽश्वराज इति तत्पुत्राः  
पवित्राशयाः । श्रीमल्लूणिगमल्लदेवसचिवश्रीवस्तुपालाह्वयास्तेजःपालसमन्विता  
जिनमताराभोन्नमनीरदाः ॥ ६२ श्रीमंचीश्वरवस्तुपालतनयः श्रीजै-
- 39 त्सिंहाद्वयस्तेजःपालसुतश्च विश्रुतमतिर्ज्ञाविण्यसिंहाभिधः । एतेषां दश मूर्त्तयः  
करिवधस्कांधाधिरूढाश्चिरं राजते जिनदर्शनार्थमयतां दिग्नायकानामिव ॥  
६३ मूर्त्तीनामिह पृष्ठतः करिवधूष्टप्रतिष्ठाशुषां तन्मूर्त्तीर्विम- ।

<sup>१</sup> Read शंखोज्ज्वलाभिः.<sup>२</sup> Possibly the reading <sup>३</sup> बलानक.







- 40 लाशमखत्तकगताः कातासमेता दश । चौलुक्यचित्तिपालवीरधवलस्याद्वैतबंधु  
सुधीस्तेज.पाल इति व्यधापयदयं श्रिवस्तुपालानुजः ॥ ६४ तेज.पालः सक-  
लप्रजोपजीव्यस्य वस्तुपालस्य । सविधे विभाति सफल.
- 41 सरोवरस्येव सहकारः ॥ ६५ तेन भ्रातृयुगेन या प्रतिपुरग्रामाध्वशैलस्थल  
वापीकूपनिपानकाननसरःप्रासादसन्नादिका<sup>1</sup> । धर्मस्थानपरपरा नवतरा  
चक्रे ऽय जीर्णोद्भूता तत्संख्यापि न बुध्यते यदि पर तद्देहि- ।
- 42 नी मेदिनी ॥ ६६ शंभोः आसगतागतानि गणयेद्यः सन्मतिर्यो ऽय वा  
नेत्रोन्मीलनमीलनानि कलयेन्मार्कंडेनाम्नो मुनेः । संख्यातुं सचिवद्वयोवि-  
रचितामेतामपेतापरव्यापारः सुकृतानुकीर्तनतति सोप्युज्जिहीते यदि ।
- 43 ॥ ६७ सर्वत्र वर्ततां कीर्तिरश्वराजस्य शश्वती । सुकर्तुमुपकर्तुं च  
जानीते यस्य सतति ॥ ६८ आसीच्चडपमंडितान्वयगुरुर्नागिन्द्रगच्छश्रियसूडा-  
रत्नमयजसिद्धमहिमा सूरिर्महेंद्राभिधः । तस्माद्विस्मयनीयचारुचरितः श्रौशति-  
44 [सूरिस्त]तोप्यानंदामरसूरियुग्ममुदयचन्द्रार्कदीप्रद्युति ॥ ६९ श्रीजैनशासनवनीनव-  
नीरवाह श्रीमास्ततो ऽप्यघहरो हरिभद्रसूरि । विद्यामदोन्मदगदेष्वनव-  
द्यवैद्यः स्यातस्ततो विजयसेनसुनीश्वरो ऽय ॥ ७० गुरो[स्त]
- 45 स्या[श]षा पात्र सूरिरस्युदयप्रभ । मौक्तिकानीव सूक्तानि भाति  
यत्प्रतिभावधेः ॥ ७१ एतद्धर्मस्थानं धर्मस्थानस्य चास्य यः कर्ता । तावद्भूमिद-  
मुदियादुदयत्ययमर्जुदो यावत् ॥ ७२ श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवशुलुक्यनरदेवसेवितांहि-  
46 युगः । रचयाचकार रुचिरा धर्मस्थानप्रशस्तिमिमां ॥ ७३ श्रीनेमिरम्बिका-  
याश्च प्रसादादुर्जुदाचले । वस्तुपालान्वयस्यास्तु प्रशस्तिः सस्तिशालिनी ॥ ७४  
सूत्रं केल्हणसुतधाधलपुत्रेण चंडेश्वरेण प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्णा ।[<sup>2</sup>]
- 47 श्रीविक्रम[सवत् १२८७ व]र्षे [फाल्गु]णवदि ३ रवौ श्री[नागिन्द्रग]च्छे [श्री-  
विजय]सेनसूरिभिः प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) *Om* I worship the goddess Sarasvatī who enters the mind of the poets, being carried (*thither*), as it were, by her own swan (*which serves her as*) a vehicle<sup>3</sup>

(V 2) May the son of Śivā<sup>3</sup> grant you welfare,— he who, though patient, is red in anger; who, though calm, is burning to restrain love, (and) who, though his eyes are closed, sees everything

(V 3) There is (*the city of*) Anahilapura, a place of happiness to the people, protected by the Chulukyās equal to Aja, Rājī and Raghu,<sup>4</sup> where even at the close of the bright half of the

<sup>1</sup> Read °सन्नादिका

<sup>2</sup> In order to understand the full meaning of the verse, it is necessary to observe that the word used for mind is *mānasa*, which is also the name of the well known lake haunted by the swans in the breeding season

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Gaṇeśa

<sup>4</sup> Aja was the grandfather, and Raghu the great grandfather, of Rāma Rājī was the grandson of Purūṇvas

month darkness is delayed, as it were, for a long time by the moonlike faces of the exceedingly beautiful women

(V 4) In that (town) there was Chandapa, the crown of the family of the Prugvâṭas, whose fame was as white as *kuṣaja* flowers, (and) who surpassed in liberality the group of the wishing-trees

(V 5) In consequence of the maturing of his good action, there was (born) to him a son named Chandaprasâda, a golden staff on the palace of his family provided with a streaming banner, his fame.

(V 6) From him, who was not shallow-hearted,<sup>1</sup> (and) who resembled the ocean of milk, sprang Soma, who by his own virtues caused thrills (of joy) to the good, as (the moon causing thrills) by her beams (sprang from the ocean of milk which is deep in the centre)

(V 7) From him was born Aśvarāja, who constantly bore in his heart devotion to the lord of the Jinas His beloved wife was Kumâradēvi, as Devī, the mother of Kumâra, (was the wife) of the destroyer of Tîrputa<sup>2</sup>

(V 8) Then first son was the minister called Lûṅga By fate he obtained, though being (still) a youth, a residence in the same world as Vasava<sup>3</sup>

(V 9) That pure-minded minister Lûṅga, whose intelligence deepened, as it were, even the wisdom of Dhushapa,<sup>4</sup> was ranked foremost among eminent persons by men of judgment

(V 10) His younger brother was the illustrious Malladēva, the paragon of a minister, who had taken refuge with Mallidēva,<sup>5</sup> who had attained wisdom by subduing his passions, (and) whose mind did not covet either the money or the wives of others

(V 11) As to performing religious duties, as to clothing the bareness of people, (as) as to repairing what has been broken,<sup>6</sup> the Creator did not create a rival of Malladēva

(V 12) The fame of Malladēva, surpassing the beams of the moon fired from the masses of dark clouds, has seized by the throat the rays of the teeth of Hastimalla<sup>7</sup>

(V 13) Long live the younger brother of him who had conquered his senses, called the illustrious Vastupâla, who caused marvellous showers of delight by the means of his poetry, (and) who, in practising liberality, effaced the letters of misery found on the foreheads of the learned<sup>8</sup>

(V 14) Vastupâla, the foremost among the ministers of the Chulukyâs and among poets never commits a fraud of money in his secretaryship or a plagiarism in composing poems

(V 15) Brilliant is that chief among ministers, his younger brother Tōjahpâla, who watches over the abundant splendour of his master, who is to be divided by the wicked, (and) whose fame spreads in all directions

(V 16) Who can fathom the natures of Tōjahpâla and Vishnu, as the rules (of conduct) for the three worlds are in the deep interior (of the first) and the string of the three worlds<sup>9</sup> in the cavity of the belly (of the second)?

(V 17) These (brothers) had the following seven sisters, called, in due order, Jalhu, Mâu Sâû, Dhanadēvi, Sohagâ, Vayajukâ, and Padamaladevi

<sup>1</sup> The word *madhya* appears to be used here as a synonym of *antara* which, according to Amara III 1, 126 1a, also the meaning of *antaratman*

<sup>2</sup> I.e. Śiva

<sup>3</sup> I.e. in common parlance, he died

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Brihaspati.

<sup>5</sup> Mallidēva is the name of the nineteenth Jina of the present Avasarpinī

<sup>6</sup> I believe that the terms *bhūṭana cēchhīdra pīḍhana* and *vidhūṭana sardhana* refer to Malladēva's works of charity, but they may be rendered also by 'veiling the weak points of people' and 'reconciling those who have fallen out with one another'

<sup>7</sup> I.e. Indra's elephant

<sup>8</sup> The poet seems to conceive the three worlds as pearls strung together

(V. 18) Surely, these sons of Asvarāja are the four sons of Daśaratha who have returned to the earth out of a desire to live in one and the same womb

(V. 19) Does not this Vastupāla accompanied by his younger brother Tējapāla delight everybody's heart like the first month of spring followed by the second?

(V. 20) Remembering, as it were, the precept of the law-books that one should never go alone on a road, the two brothers have set out together on the path of virtue infested by the robber of infatuation.

(V. 21) May it constantly rise, this blameless pair of brothers, the magnificent pairs of whose arms are as long as yokes, (and) who made the Kṛta age appear even in the fourth age<sup>1</sup>

(V. 22.) May the body of these two brothers, by whose fame this circle of the earth looks as if it consisted of pearls, be free from disease for a very long time<sup>1</sup>

(V. 23.) Although the two hands (of a man) are due to springing from one (body), yet one of them is left (or bad), but of these two brothers neither (was so, although they had sprung from one father), as both were honest (or right)

(V. 24) By marking the earth everywhere with religious establishments, that pair of brothers forcibly put their foot on the throat of the Kali (age)

(V. 25.) Now, there was born in the race of the Chaulukya heroes a powerful man, the front-ornament of his branch, called Arnôrāja

(V. 26) After him Lavanaprasāda obtained the earth, whose splendour was not concealed, who destroyed his enemies, (and) whose fame, as white as shells polished by the waters of the celestial river,<sup>1</sup> roamed beyond the salt sea.

(V. 27.) The son of this (king), who was the image of Daśaratha and Kakutstha, was Viradhavala, who swallowed the troops of hostile kings. When the flood of his fame was spreading, the skill in the art of amorous visits on the part of unfaithful women, whose minds were tormented by love, was foiled.

(V. 28) The wise Chaulukya Viradhavala did not even lend his ear to the whispers of the slanderers when they were talking about those two ministers, (and) they made the rule of their master brilliant by a profusion of prosperity (and) tied up herds of horses and troops of elephants in the court of his palace

(V. 29) By this pair of ministers approaching his knees the prince, I am sure, easily embraces the goddess of fortune, as by a pair of arms reaching to the knees<sup>2</sup>

Again—

(V. 30) There is this (mountain) Arbuda, the peak of a range of mountains, the son of the mountain that is the father-in-law of the husband of Gauri,<sup>3</sup> who, carrying the Mandākinī on his top played round with clouds, personates the moon-bearer<sup>4</sup> (whose) brother-in-law (he is), (as the latter carries the Gangā on his head covered with thick braids)

(V. 31) In one place on this (mountain) love enters even him who strives after deliverance, when he beholds the lovely women enjoying themselves, in another even the mind of a frivolous man becomes indifferent to the world, when he sees the line of sanctuaries to be visited by ascetics

(V. 32) From the altar of the sacrificial fire of Vāsishtha distinguished by virtuousness<sup>5</sup> there arose a certain man who possessed a splendour of body surpassing the radiance of the son

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Gangā

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Edm* I. 1, 10

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the Himālaya, the father-in-law of Śiva

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Śiva.

<sup>5</sup> I take *śrēyah śrēṣṭha-* to stand for *śrēyas śrēṣṭha-* and *śrēyas* to be a synonym of *dharma*, as taught by Amara I. 4, 23, Hsalyudha I 125, and Hēmachandra, *Andhakarhas* II 580, and *Abhīdhānadh* 1372

of Mritapda<sup>1</sup> Knowing that he would take delight only in killing his enemies, that receptacle of sacred knowledge named him Paramāra. From that time his family received that name

(V 33) In that lineage of kings there was first the illustrious Dhūmarāja, an Indra on earth, who made the kings acquainted with grief at the destruction of both flanks (of their armies, as Indra made the mountains feel the pangs of having their wings cut off).

(V 34) Then there were Dhandhuka, Dhruvabhaṭa and others, who defeated the hosts of hostile elephants In their lineage there was born a beautiful man, surpassing the god of love, Rāmadēva by name.

(V 35.) From this (king), who bathed the light of the moon in the waves of his fame abiding in the cavity between heaven and earth, sprang a son called Yaśôdhavala, who was not subject to the god of love, (and) who quickly killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the Chaulukya king Kumārāpāla.

(V 36.) To him was born a son to be praised by all men, Dhārāvarsha, the edge of whose sword was indcfatigable in cutting the necks of the hosts of his enemies. When he, inflamed with anger, held his ground on the battle-field, the wives of the lord of Kaunkapa shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes.

(V 37.) Evidently it is the son of Daśaratha that has been born again on earth as this (prince) of unchecked strength, (and) out of hatred, as it were, against Mārīcha<sup>2</sup> even at the present time eagerly devotes himself to hunting.

(V 38) His younger brother Prahlādana, whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gūrjara king when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Sāmantasīmha, again displayed on earth the behaviour of the greatest enemy of the descendants of Danu.<sup>3</sup>

(V 39) I am not certain whether it is the goddess sprang from the lotus-seated (Brahman)<sup>4</sup> or the celestial cow granting (every) wish that has come to the earth in the form of Prahlādana.

(V 40) Long live this son of Dhārāvarsha, the illustrious Sômasimbhadēva, who inherited bravery from his father, learning from his paternal uncle, and liberality from both of them !

(V 41) Having remitted the taxes of Brāhman and having vanquished the hosts of his foes, king Sômasīmha soon obtained that fame the splendour of which in a certain way resembled that of the moon, as, though it brightened the surface of the earth, it did not remove the gloom (or the spottiness) from the face of all his enemies here who were fainting with envy

(V 42.) Long live his son Kṛṣṇarājadēva, whose splendour is beyond all measure, who is endowed with fame and compassion, (and) who (therefore) resembles the glorious Krishna, the son of Vasudēva, who is united with Yaśôdā, (and) whose splendour is augmented by his mother !

Again—

(V 43.) No man equalling Vastupāla in family, in manners, in learning, in valour, and in the constant practice of charity comes anywhere within the range of my eyes.

(V 44) From the excellent minister Lalitādēvi, his beloved wife, obtained a son by name Jayantasīmha, who was not wanting in prudent conduct, as the daughter of Pulôman (obtained) Jayanta from Indra.

(V 45.) Who is not touched in his heart by this Jaitrasīmha, whose beauty is eager to defeat the god of love, (and) who (even) in childhood, which is averse to good manners and destitute of wisdom, shows prudence and politeness and the display of virtues ?

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the sun.

<sup>2</sup> The demon Mārīcha in the shape of an antelope lured Rāma away from Sītā.

<sup>3</sup> Probably this expression refers to Vishnu

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning

(V 46) May he live for a *Kalpa* age, this Jayantasimha, the son of the illustrious Vastupāla, whose beauty shows itself superior to the god of love, and whose liberality is seen to exceed the wish (of the suppliants) !

(V 47) May he enjoy his power for a long time—that minister, the illustrious Tējahpāla, who resembles the gem of desires, as people rejoice, being freed by him from cares !

(V 48.) Surely, it was done for practice by the Creator in order to create him, that he formerly made appear in the world ministers who were the abode of wisdom, such as Chānakya, the preceptor of the gods,<sup>1</sup> Marudvyādhi,<sup>2</sup> Śukra,<sup>3</sup> and others. Otherwise, how should this Tējahpāla have obtained his superiority over them ?

(V 49) There is the younger brother of the illustrious Vastupāla, called Tējahpāla, an abode of prosperity to (all) living beings, who maintains the order established by Bali on the surface of the earth, seeing whom, abounding in sagacity, Kāmandaki does not think much of his own numerous accomplishments and Chānakya also ceases to wonder at (his own) intellect

Again, an account of the paternal lineage of the illustrious Anupamadēvi, the wife of the illustrious Maham Tējahpāla—

(V 50) There was born a wise man, called the illustrious Gāgā, the only diadem adorning the Prāgvāta family, an inhabitant of Chandrāvati full of wealth, who cleansed the surface of the earth by the waves of his praiseworthy fame. Which man has not experienced pleasure (or) nodded his head (or) felt the thrill of his hair out of delight in his conduct ?

(V 51) His son was Dharaniga by name, who followed the path of the virtuous, (and) who, being endowed with virtues, dwelled in the heart of his master, as a necklace (strung on a thread, rests on the heart of its owner).

(V 52) His beloved wife was Tribhuvanadēvi, gifted with virtues renowned in the three worlds. The body of these two was twofold, but their mind was (but) one

(V 53) Their daughter Anupamadēvi, who on account of her virtues resembled Dēvi, the daughter of Daksha, in person, was united with the illustrious Tējahpāla as husband

(V 54) This Anupamadēvi, a creeper bearing the heavenly flower of good conduct, who illumined her whole family by the moon-like group of such qualities as prudence, modesty, judgment, deportment, kindness, liberality and others, became the wife of the excellent minister Tējahpāla.

(V 55.) Their son, this Lāvanyasimha, restraining the impetuosity of the vicious horses of the senses, walks on the path that produces only religious merit, although he has attained the age the auspicious sign of which is the fish-bannered (god of love)

(V 56) Who does not praise the virtues of that pious man, the illustrious Lānasimha, the son of the illustrious Tējahpāla, which, though being very eager to fetter the goddess of fortune, made his fame perfectly unbounded in the three worlds ?

(V 57) This vessel (filled with) a money-hoard of virtues, which is not concealed and not surrounded by the serpents of wicked men,<sup>4</sup> is continually increasing although good people subsist on it

(V 58.) The son of the minister Malladēva, begotten on Līlukā, was called Pūrnasimha. Flourishing is his son, begotten on Ahlanādēvi, this Pēthada, an abode of virtues

(V 59) Anupamā was the wife of the minister Tējahpāla. Their son was this long-lived (youth) called Lāvanyasimha

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Bṛhaspati

<sup>2</sup> [I.e. Pavanavyādhi or Uddhava, the counsellor of Krishna — E H ]

<sup>3</sup> Śukra was the teacher of the Asura

<sup>4</sup> The belief that treasures hidden underground are guarded by serpents is alluded to also in the *Kṛtīkaurudī*

(V 60) For the religious merit of that son and that wife the said Têjahpâla built this temple of the holy Nêminâtha on the (*mountain*) Arbuda.

(V. 61.) The minister Têjahpâla, a moon on earth, erected the temple of the lord Nêmi, which shines by lines of stones as white as conch-shells (*and*) is resplendent like the moon and jasmine flowers, a lofty hall (*mandapa*) in front (*of it*), fifty-two shrines for the best of the Jinas on the sides of it, and a seat (*balânaka*) in the front.

(V 62) The son of the illustrious Chaṇḍapa was Chaṇḍaprasâda; from him (*was born*) Sôma; his son was Âsvarâja by name, his sons, gifted with pure hearts, who are rising clouds to the garden of the doctrine of Jina, are (*the men*) called the illustrious Lûniga, the minister Malladêva and the illustrious Vastupâla, together with Têjahpâla

(V. 63) The son of the illustrious excellent minister Vastupâla is he named the illustrious Jaitrasimha, and Têjahpâla's son, whose intelligence is renowned, is Lâvanyasimha by name. The statues of these ten (*men*), mounted on the shoulders of female elephants, will for a long time shine like those of the guardians of the quarters approaching to see the Jina

(V. 64.) Behind the statues placed on the backs of female elephants, this wise man called Têjahpâla, the matchless friend of the Chaulukya king Viradhavala, the younger brother of the illustrious Vastupâla, caused to be made here ten images of those (*persons mentioned above*) together with their wives on *khattakas* of spotless stone.

(V. 65.) By the side of Vastupâla, on whom all people subsist, the successful Têjahpâla appears as a mango tree laden with fruit by the side of a lake affording a livelihood to all creatures

(V 66) Of the uninterrupted series of religious establishments, such as tanks, wells, fountains, groves, ponds, temples, alms-houses, and so on, which were either newly constructed or repaired by that pair of brothers in every town and village, on every road and mountain-top, one does not even know the number, it is at best but the earth that knows it.

(V. 67) The sage that would be able to count the expirations and inspirations of Śambhu or to calculate the openings and closings of the eyes of the saint called Mârkanḍa,<sup>1</sup> might also set himself to reckon up this multitude of records of benefactions<sup>2</sup> drawn up by the two ministers, provided he abandon other occupations

(V 68) May the fame of Âsvarâja, whose descendants understand how to do good and to help, perpetually spread in all directions !

(V 69) There was a sage (*sûri*) called Mahêndra, the preceptor of the family adorned by Chaṇḍapa, the crest-jewel of the fortune of the Nâgêndra *gachchha*, who had acquired his greatness without effort After him (*came*) the illustrious Śântisûri, of admirable good conduct. After him (*there was*) a pair, Ânanda(*sûri*) and Amarasûri, whose splendour was as bright as that of the rising moon and (*the rising*) sun.

(V. 70) After them there was the illustrious Haribhadrasûri, the purifier from sin, who was a new cloud to the park of the holy Jaina doctrine. After him there was this famous excellent sage Vijayasêna, an irreproachable physician for the diseases of those who are intoxicated with the liquor of learning.

(V 71) The receptacle of the benedictions of that teacher is the sage (*sûri*) Udayaprabha His beautiful verses are brilliant like pearls from the ocean of his intelligence.

(V. 72) This religious building and the founder of this religious building—may these two rise as long as this (*mountain*) Arbuda rises !

<sup>1</sup> [I.e. Mârkanḍeya, who according to the *Mahâbhârata* (III 183, 43) was many thousand years old, though he looked only twenty-five —E. H.]

<sup>2</sup> The term *sukṛti ânukîrtana* seems to have about the same meaning as *dharmasthâna-prâsta*, occurring in v. 73.



(V 73) The illustrious Sômêśvaradêva, whose feet are honoured by the Chulukya king, composed this charming eulogy of the religious building

(V 74) By the grace of the holy Nêmi and Ambikâ on the mountain Aibuda may the eulogy afford abundant happiness to the family of Vastupâla<sup>1</sup>

(Line 46) This eulogy has been engraved by the mason Chandêśvara, the son of Dhândhala, the son of Kêlhana

(L 47) On Sunday, the third day of the dark half of Phâlguna, in the year 1287 of the glorious Vikrama the consecration was performed by the illustrious Vijayasênasûri of the illustrious Nâgêndra gachchha

No II<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ओ<sup>2</sup> ॥ ओं नमः... [सव]त् १२८७ वर्षे लौकिकफाल्गुनवदि ३ रवौ अयेह श्रीमदणहिलपाटके चौलुक्यकुलकमलराजहससमस्तराजावलीसमलंघतमहाराजाधिराजश्रीभ...<sup>3</sup>
- 2 विजयिराज्ये त..... श्रीवशिष्ट<sup>4</sup> कुंडयजनानलोद्भूतश्रीमद्रामराजदेवकुलोत्पन्नमहामंडलेश्वरराजकुलश्रीसोमसिंहदेवविजयिराज्ये तस्मैव महाराजाधिराजश्रीभीमदेवस्य प्रसा[द].....
- 3 रात्रामंडले श्रीचौलुक्यकुलोत्पन्नमहामंडलेश्वरराजकुलश्रीलवणप्रसाददेवसुतमहामंडलेश्वरराजकुलश्रीवीरधवलदेवसत्कसमस्तसुद्राव्यापारिणा श्रीमदणहिलपुरवास्तव्यश्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ<sup>5</sup> श्रीचंड[प].....<sup>6</sup>
- 4 चंडप्रसादात्मजमह<sup>7</sup> श्रीसोमतनुजठ<sup>8</sup> श्रीआसराजभार्याठ<sup>9</sup> श्रीकुमारदेव्यी पुत्रमह<sup>10</sup> श्रीमन्नदेवसघपतिमह<sup>11</sup> श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजसहोदरभ्रातृमह<sup>12</sup> श्रीतेजपालेन स्वकीयभार्यामह<sup>13</sup> श्रीअनुपमदेव्यास्तकुक्षि[स]...<sup>14</sup>
- 5 विप्रपुत्रमह<sup>15</sup> श्रीलूणसिंहस्य च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये श्रीमदर्वुदाचलोपरि<sup>16</sup> देउलवाडाग्रामे समस्तदेवकुलिकालंकृत विशालहस्तिशालोपशोभित श्रीलूणसिंहवसहिकाभिधानश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यमिद कारित ॥ छ [॥]
- 6 प्रतिष्ठित<sup>17</sup> श्रीनागेद्रगच्छे श्रीमहेंद्रसूरिसंताने श्रीशातिसूरिशिष्यश्रीआणदसूरिश्रीअमरचंद्रसूरिपट्टालंकरणप्रभुश्रीहरिभद्रसूरिशिष्यैः श्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः ॥ छ ॥ अत्र च धर्मस्थाने कृतआवकगोष्ठिकाना नाम्ना-
- 7 नि यथा ॥ मह<sup>18</sup> श्रीमन्नदेवमह<sup>19</sup> श्रीवस्तुपालमह<sup>20</sup> श्रीतेजपालप्रभृतिभ्रातृचयसतानपरपरया तथा मह<sup>21</sup> श्रीलूणसिंहसत्कमातृकुलपत्ने<sup>22</sup> श्रीचद्रावतीवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ<sup>23</sup> श्रीसावदेवसुतठ<sup>24</sup> श्रीशालिगतनुजठ<sup>25</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On a white slab built into a niche in the corridor No 1741 of Mr Cousens's list

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Restore "श्रीभीमदेव."

<sup>4</sup> Read "वशिष्ट".

<sup>5</sup> Restore "श्रीचन्द्रपुत्रठ" श्री-

<sup>6</sup> Restore "समूतप".

<sup>7</sup> Read "श्रीमदर्वुदा".

<sup>8</sup> Read प्रतिष्ठित

<sup>9</sup> The प of "पत्ने" seems to have been corrected out of य

- 8 श्रीसागरतनयठ° श्रीगागापुनठ° श्रीधरणिगभ्रातृमहं° श्रीराणिगमहं° श्रीलीला  
तथा ठ° श्रीधरणिगभार्याठ° श्रीतिहुणदेविकुचिसंभूतमहं° श्रीअनुपमदेवि-  
सहोदरभ्रातृठ° श्रीखीम्बसीहठ° श्रीआम्बसीहठ° श्रीऊदल°
- 9 तथा महं° श्रीलीलासुतमहं° श्रीलूणसीह तथा भ्रातृठ° जगसीहठ° रत्न-  
सिंहानां समस्तकुटुम्बेन° एतदीयसतानपरंपरया च एतस्मिन् धर्मस्थाने सकल-  
मपि स्नपनपूजासारादिक सदैव करणीयं निर्वाहणीयं च ॥ तथा।°
- 10 श्रीचद्रावल्याः सत्कसमस्तमहाजनसकलजिनचैत्यगोष्टिकप्रभृतिआवकसमुदायः° ॥  
तथा °उंवरणीकीसरउलीग्रामीयप्राग्वाटज्ञा° श्री° रासलंउ° आसधर तथाज्ञा°  
माणिभद्रउ° श्री° आल्हण तथाज्ञा° श्री° देल्हणउ° खीम्बसी°
- 11 ह धर्कटज्ञातीयश्री° नेहाउ° साल्हा तथाज्ञा° धउलिगउ° आसचंद्र तथाज्ञा°  
श्री° वहुदेवउ° सोम प्राग्वाटज्ञा° श्री° सावडउ° श्रीपाल तथाज्ञा° श्री°  
जींदाउ° पाल्हण धर्कटज्ञा° श्री° पासुउ° सादा प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयपूनाउ° सा-
- 12 ल्हा तथा श्रीमालज्ञा° पूनाउ° साल्हाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः° । अमीभिः श्रीनेमिनाथ-  
देवप्रतिष्ठावर्षश्रयियात्राष्टाहिकायां° देवकीयचैत्रवदि ३ तृतीयादिने स्नपन-  
पूजाद्युत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा कासङ्गदग्रामीयऊएसवालज्ञा-
- 13 तीयश्री° सोहिउ° पाल्हण तथाज्ञा° श्री° सलखणउ° वालण प्राग्वाटज्ञा°  
श्री° सांतुयउ° देल्हय तथाज्ञा° श्री° गोसलउ° आल्हा तथाज्ञा° श्री°  
कोलाउ° आम्बा° तथाज्ञा° श्री° पासचंद्रउ° पूनचंद्र तथाज्ञा° श्री°  
जसवीरउ° ज-
- 14 गा तथाज्ञा° 10 ब्रह्मदेवउ° राल्हा श्रीमालज्ञा° कडुयराउ° कुलधरप्रभृति-  
गोष्टिकाः° 11 । अमीभिस्तथा ४ चतुर्थीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य द्वितीया-  
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा 12 ब्रह्माणवास्त्वप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहाजनि°
- 15 आंमिगउ° पूनड ऊएसवालज्ञा° महा° धांधाउ° सागर तथाज्ञा° महा°  
साटाउ° वरदेव प्राग्वाटज्ञा° महा° पाल्हणउ° उदयपाल श्रीइसवालज्ञा°  
महा° आवोधनउ° जगसीह श्रीमालज्ञा° महा° वीसलउ° पासदेव प्रा-13
- 16 ग्वाटज्ञा° महा° वीरदेवउ° अरसीह तथाज्ञा° श्री° धणचंद्रउ° रामचंद्रप्रभृति-  
गोष्टिकाः° 14 । अमीभिस्तथा ५ पंचमीदिने श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य तृतीया-  
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा धउलीग्रामीयप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्री° सा-

1 Read श्रीखीम्बसीहठ° श्रीआम्बसीहठ° The line is filled up by a sign resembling a hook.

2 Read °कुटुम्बेन

3 This stroke as well as the stroke at the end of l. 29 is merely intended to fill up the line

4 Read °गोष्टिक°

5 Read उंवरणीकी°.

6 Read खीम्बसी°.

7 Read °गोष्टिका.

8 Read °प्रतिष्ठा°

9 Read आम्बा.

10 Read ब्रह्मदेव°

11 Read °गोष्टिकाः.

12 Read ब्रह्माण°.

13 The line is filled up by the sign used at the end of l. 8.

14 Read °गोष्टिकाः.

- 17 जणउ° पासवीर तथाज्ञा° अ° वोहडिउ° पूना तथाज्ञा° अ° जसडुयउ°  
जेगण तथाज्ञातीयअ° साजनउ° भोला तथाज्ञा° पासिलउ° पूनुय तथाज्ञा°  
अ° राजुयउ° सावदेव तथाज्ञा° दूगसरणउ° साहणीय ओइसवाल-<sup>1</sup>
- 18 ज्ञा° अ° सलखणउ° महं° जोगा तथाज्ञा° अ°[\*] देवकुंयारउ° आसदेव-  
प्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः<sup>2</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा ६ पष्टीदिने<sup>3</sup> अनेमिनाथदेवस्य चतुर्था-  
ष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा मुंडखलमहातीर्थवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय-
- 19 अ° सघोरणउ° गुणचंद्रपाल्हा तथा अ° सोहियउ° आसेसर तथा अ° जेजाउ°  
खांखण तथा फीलिण्णियामवास्तव्यअमीमालज्ञा° वापलगाजणप्रमुखगोष्टिकाः<sup>4</sup>  
अमीभिस्तथा ७ सप्तमीदिने अनेमिनाथदेवस्य पंचमाष्टाहिकाम-
- 20 होत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा चंडाउद्राग्रामडवाणीग्रामवास्तव्यअमीमालज्ञातीयअ° 'आम्बु-  
यउ° जसरा तथाज्ञा° अ°[\*] लखमणउ° आसू तथाज्ञा° अ° आसलउ°  
जगदेव तथाज्ञा° अ° सुमिगउ° धणदेव तथाज्ञा° अ° जिणदेवउ° जाला
- 21 प्राग्वाटज्ञा° अ° आसलउ° सादा अमीमालज्ञा° अ° देदाउ° वीसल तथाज्ञा°  
अ° आसधरउ° आसल तथाज्ञा° अ° थिरदेवउ° वीरुय तथाज्ञा° अ°  
गुणचंद्रउ° देवधर तथाज्ञा° अ° हरियाउ° हेमा प्राग्वाटज्ञा° अ° लखमण-
- 22 उ° कडुयाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः<sup>5</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा ८ अष्टमीदिने अनेमिनाथ-  
देवस्य 'पष्टाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा [ग]डाहडवास्तव्यप्राग्वाट-  
ज्ञातीयअ° देसलउ° 'ब्रह्मसरणु तथाज्ञा° जसकरउ° अ° धणिया  
तथाज्ञा°[\*] अ°
- 23 देल्हणउ° आल्हा तथाज्ञा° अ° वालाउ° पद्मसोह तथाज्ञा° अ° 'आंवुयउ°  
वोहडि तथाज्ञा° अ° वोसरिउ° पूनदेव तथाज्ञा°[\*] अ° वीरुयउ° साजण<sup>6</sup>  
तथाज्ञा° अ° पाहुयउ° जिणदेवप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः<sup>7</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा ९  
नवमीदिने
- 24 अनेमिनाथदेवस्य सप्तमाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा साहिलवाडावास्तव्य-  
ओइसवालज्ञातीयअ° देल्हाउ° आल्हण अ° नागदेवउ° <sup>8</sup>आम्बदेव अ°  
काल्हणउ° आसल अ° वोहियउ° लाखण अ° जसदेवउ° वाहड अ°
- 25 सीलणउ° देल्हण अ° वहुदा अ° महघराउ° धणपाल अ° पूनिगउ°  
वाघा अ° गोसलउ° वहुडाप्रभृतिगोष्टिकाः<sup>9</sup> । अमीभिस्तथा १० दशमीदिने

<sup>1</sup> The line is filled up by the sign used at the end of l 8<sup>2</sup> Read पष्टीदिने.<sup>3</sup> Read आम्बुय°.<sup>4</sup> Read ब्रह्म°.<sup>5</sup> Read गोष्ठिका°.<sup>6</sup> Read गोष्ठिका°<sup>7</sup> Read गोष्ठिका°<sup>8</sup> Read आम्बुय°<sup>9</sup> Read आम्ब°.<sup>10</sup> Read गोष्ठिका°<sup>11</sup> Read पष्टाष्टा°.<sup>12</sup> Read साजण (?)°.<sup>13</sup> Read गोष्ठिका°.

श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य अष्टमाष्टाहिकामहोत्सवः कार्यः ॥ तथा श्रीश्रवणदे-  
परि देउलवा-

- 26 डावास्तव्यसमस्तयावकैः<sup>1</sup> श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य पंचापि कल्याणिकानि यथा-  
दिनं प्रतिवर्षं कर्त्तव्यानि ॥ एवमियं व्यवस्था श्रीचंद्रावतीपतिराजकुलश्री-  
सोमसिंहदेवेन तथा तत्पुत्रराज<sup>2</sup> श्रीकाण्डदेवप्रमुखकुमरैः समस्तराजलोकैस्त-
- 27 या श्रीचंद्रावतीयस्थानपतिभट्टारकप्रभृतिकविलास तथा श्रीगुलीब्राह्मणसमस्त-  
महाजनगोष्ठिकैश्च<sup>3</sup> तथा श्रीश्रवणदेवलोपरि श्रीअचलेश्वरश्रीवशिष्ठ तथा संनि-  
हित<sup>4</sup> श्रीग्रामदेउलवाडाग्रामश्रीश्रीमातामहबुग्रामश्रीवुग्रामश्रीरासाग्रामज<sup>5</sup>
- 28 तरकग्रामसिंहरग्रामसालग्रामहेठजंजीग्रामश्रीखीग्रामश्रीधंधलेश्वरदेवीयकोटडीप्रभृति-  
द्वादशग्रामेषु सतिष्ठमानस्थानपतितपोधनगुगुलीब्राह्मणराठियप्रभृतिसमस्तलोकै-  
स्तथा भालिभाडाप्रभृतिग्रामेषु संतिष्ठमानश्रीप्रतीहा-
- 29 रवंग्रीयसर्व्वराजपुत्रैश्च आत्मीयात्मीयस्नेच्छया श्रीनेमिनाथदेवस्य मंडपे समुप-  
विश्योपविश्य महं<sup>6</sup> श्रीतेजःपालपार्थात् स्त्रीयस्त्रीयप्रमोदपूर्व्वकं श्रीलूणसीह-  
वसहिकाभिधानस्यास्य धर्मस्थानस्य सर्व्वोपि रक्षापभारः स्वीकृतः । तदेतदा-
- 30 लीयवचनं प्रमाणीकुर्व्वभिरेतैः<sup>7</sup> सर्व्वैरपि तथा एतदीयसंतानपरपरया च धर्म-  
स्थानमिदमाचद्रार्कं यावत् परिरक्षणीयं ॥ यतः ॥ किमिह कपालकण्डलुवल्कल-  
सितरक्तपटजटापटलैः । व्रतमिदमुज्ज्वलमुन्नतमनसां प्रतिपन्ननिर्व्वहणं ॥ छ ॥
- 31 तथा महाराजकुलश्रीसोमसिंहदेवेन अस्यां श्रीलूणसिंहवसहिकाया श्रीनेमि-  
नाथदेवाय पूजांगभोगार्थं वाहिरहद्या डवाणीग्रामः शासनेन प्रदत्तः ॥ स च  
श्रीसोमसिंहदेवाभ्यर्त्थनया प्रमाराव्यभिचाराचद्रार्कं यावत् प्रतिपाल्यः ॥<sup>10</sup>
- 32 ॥ सिद्धिचेचमिति प्रसिद्धमहिमा श्रीपुडरीको गिरिः श्रीमान् रैवतकोपि  
विश्वविदितः चेचं विमुक्तेरिति । नून चेचमिदं द्वयोरपि तयोः श्रीश्रवणदेवस्त-  
वभू भेजाते कथमन्यथा सममिस श्रीआदिनेमी स्वयं ॥ १ ससारसर्व्व-  
स्वमिहैव मुक्तिस-
- 33 ॥ व्वस्वमप्यत्र जिनेश दृष्टः । विलोक्यमाने भवने तवास्मिन् पूर्वं पर च त्वयि  
दृष्टिपाथे ॥ २ श्रीकृष्णर्षीयश्रीनयचद्रसूररिमे ॥ स<sup>8</sup> सरवणपुत्रस<sup>9</sup> सिंह-  
राजसाधू साजणससहसासाइदेपुत्री सुनयव प्रणमति ॥ शुभ ॥<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read 'श्रवणदे'

<sup>2</sup> Read 'ब्राह्मण'

<sup>3</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>4</sup> Read 'गोष्ठिकैश्च'

<sup>5</sup> Read 'श्रवणदे'

<sup>6</sup> This sign of punctuation is out of place, read 'सनिहितयाम'

<sup>7</sup> Read 'श्रवणदे'.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'सतिष्ठमान' and 'ब्राह्मण'

<sup>9</sup> कुर्व्वेभिरेतै

<sup>10</sup> At the end of the line there is a symbol

<sup>11</sup> At the end of the line there is the same symbol as in 1, 31





No. III<sup>1</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८७ वर्षे प्रागुणसुदि ३ सोमे अद्येह श्रीअर्बु-  
दाचले<sup>3</sup> श्रीमदणद्विलपु-
- 2 रवास्त<sup>4</sup> प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमह<sup>5</sup> श्रीसोमान्वये मह<sup>6</sup> श्रीआ-  
सरासुतमह<sup>7</sup> शालदे-
- 3 वमह<sup>8</sup> श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजभाटमह<sup>9</sup> श्रीतेजपालेन स्वकीयभार्यामह<sup>10</sup> श्रीअनु-  
पमदेविकुलि-
- 4 समूतसुतमह<sup>11</sup> श्रीलूणसीहपुण्यार्थ अस्यां श्रीलूणवसहिकायां श्रीनेमिनाथ-  
महातीर्थ कारित ॥ ८ ॥ छ ॥

No IV<sup>4</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>5</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमह<sup>6</sup>  
श्रीसोममह<sup>7</sup> श्रीआसरासुतमह<sup>8</sup> श्रीमालदेवसुतावार्द्धश्रीसदमलश्रेयो-
- 2 ऽर्थ मह<sup>9</sup> श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No V.<sup>7</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>8</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमह<sup>9</sup>  
श्रीसोममह<sup>10</sup> श्रीआसरासुतमह<sup>11</sup> श्रीमालदेवसुतमह<sup>12</sup> श्रीपुनसीहीयभा-
- 2 र्यामह<sup>13</sup> श्रीआन्ध्रदेविश्रेयोऽर्थ मह<sup>14</sup> श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका कारि-  
ता ॥ छ ॥

No VI.<sup>9</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>10</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे<sup>11</sup> प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-  
मह<sup>12</sup> श्रीसोमान्वये<sup>13</sup> मह<sup>14</sup> श्रीआसरासुतमह<sup>15</sup> श्रीमालदेवीयभार्यामह<sup>16</sup> [८\*]  
श्रीपातूश्रेयोऽर्थ मह<sup>17</sup> श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलि-
- 2 का कारिता ।[१\*]

No. VII<sup>13</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>14</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत्<sup>15</sup> १२८८ वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयश्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसाद-

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of the entrance of the main shrine No 1742 of Mr Cousens's list<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol <sup>3</sup> Read °अर्बुदा°<sup>4</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 1 in the corridor No 1666 of Mr Cousens's list<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol <sup>6</sup> The ड of °चंडप° has an abnormal form.<sup>7</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 2 in the corridor No 1667 of Mr Cousens's list<sup>8</sup> Expressed by a symbol<sup>9</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 3 in the corridor No 1668 of Mr Cousens's list<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>11</sup> Read वर्षे<sup>12</sup> Read °सोमान्वये<sup>13</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 4 in the corridor No 1669 of Mr Cousens's list<sup>14</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>15</sup> Read °विक्रम°.

No. XVIII.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८८ वर्षे श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं श्रीसोममहं  
श्रीआसरान्वये महं श्रीमालदेवसुताश्रीसहजलश्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालेन दे-  
2 वकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XIX.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>4</sup> ॥ संवत् १२९० वर्षे महं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीतेजपालसुतमहं  
श्रीलूणसीहभार्यामहं श्रीलघमादेविश्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका  
कारिता ॥

No. XX.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 ॥ संवत् १२९० वर्षे प्राग्वाटवंशीयमहं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीतेजपालसुत-  
महं लूणसीहभार्याश्रेयादेविश्रेयोऽर्थ महं श्रीतेजपालेन देवकुलिका  
कारिता ॥ छ ॥ शुभ भवतु ॥

No. XXI.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>7</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२९० वर्षे श्रीपत्तनवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटवंशीयमहं  
श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादमहं श्रीसोमान्वये महं श्रीआसरान्वये महं श्रीमालदेव-  
भ्रातृमहं श्री-  
2 वस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं श्रीतेजपालेन स्वकीयभार्यामहं श्रीअनुपमदेविश्रेयोऽर्थ  
देवश्रीमुनिसुव्रतस्य देवकुलिका कारिता ॥ छ ॥

No. XXII.<sup>8</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>9</sup> ॥ संवत् १२९० वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहं श्रीचंडपश्रीचंडप्रसादश्री-  
[सो]मश्रीआसरान्वयसमुद्भूतमहं<sup>10</sup> श्रीतेजपालेन स्वसुताश्रीलूणसीहसुतागउरट्टि-  
श्रेयोऽर्थ देवकुलिका कारिता ।[<sup>11</sup>] छ ॥

No. XXIII.<sup>12</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>13</sup> ॥ श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२९० वर्षे प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयमहं श्रीचंडपश्रीचंड-  
प्रसादश्रीसोममहं श्रीआसरान्वय[समुद्भूत]महं श्री[तेजपालेन] स्वसुतावउल-  
देविश्रेयोऽर्थ देवकुलिका कारिता ॥

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 46 in the corridor No. 1735 of Mr. Cousens's list

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>3</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 17 in the corridor No. 1084 of Mr. Cousens's list

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>5</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 17 in the corridor No. 1085 of Mr. Cousens's list

<sup>6</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 18 in the corridor No. 1080 of Mr. Cousens's list.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol <sup>8</sup> Read 'वस्तुपाल'.

<sup>9</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 19 in the corridor No. 1090 of Mr. Cousens's list

<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>11</sup> The text of 'समुद्भूत' is not quite finished

<sup>12</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 19 (side doorway) in the corridor No. 1092 of Mr. Cousens's list

<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol



No. XXIV.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ॥ ओ<sup>2</sup> ॥ ओनृपविक्रमसंवत्<sup>3</sup> १२८३ चैत्रवदि<sup>4</sup> ७ अद्येह<sup>5</sup> श्रीअर्बुदा-  
चलमहातीर्थं श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ<sup>6</sup> श्रीचंडपठ<sup>7</sup> श्रीचंडप्रसादमह<sup>8</sup> श्री-  
सोमान्वये ठ<sup>9</sup> श्रीआसराजसु[त]-
- 2 ॥ मह<sup>10</sup> श्रीमालदेवमह<sup>11</sup> श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमह<sup>12</sup> श्रीतेज.पालेन<sup>13</sup> स्वभगिन्या  
पद्मलायाः श्रेयोर्य श्रीवारिसेणदेवालकृता देवकुलिकेय कारि[ता] ॥

No XXV<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ओ<sup>2</sup> ॥ ओनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८३ वर्षे<sup>3</sup> चैत्रवदि<sup>4</sup> ७ अद्येह<sup>5</sup> श्रीअर्बुदाचल-  
महातीर्थं स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्या मह<sup>6</sup>  
श्रीतेज पालेन
- 2 मातुलसुतभाभाराजपालभणितेन स्वमातुलस्य मह<sup>7</sup> श्रीपूनपालस्य तथा भार्या-  
मह<sup>8</sup> श्रीपूनदेव्याश्च श्रेयोर्य अस्या देवकुलिकाया श्रीचद्राननदेवप्रतिमा  
कारिता ॥

No XXVI<sup>9</sup>

- 1 ओ<sup>10</sup> ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीविक्रमनृपात् स १२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि<sup>11</sup> ८ शुक्ले अद्येह<sup>12</sup>  
श्रीअर्बुदाचल[तीर्थ]<sup>13</sup>
- 2 स्वयकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्या श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञाती-  
३ यठ<sup>14</sup> श्रीचंडपठ<sup>15</sup> श्रीचंडप्रसादमह<sup>16</sup> श्रीसोमान्वये ठ<sup>17</sup> श्रीआसराजठ<sup>18</sup> श्रीकुमारदे-  
४ व्योः सुतमह<sup>19</sup> श्रीमालदेवसधपतिश्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमह<sup>20</sup> श्रीतेज.पालेन स्वभ-  
५ गिन्या वार्द्धजाल्हणदेव्या<sup>21</sup> श्रेयोर्य विहरमाणतोर्थकरश्रीसोमवरस्वामिप्रतिमा-  
६ लकृता देवकुलिकेय कारिता ॥ प्रतिष्ठिता<sup>22</sup> श्रीनागेंद्रगच्छे श्रीविजयसेन-  
सु[रभि. ॥]

No XXVII<sup>16</sup>

- 1 [॥ ओ]<sup>17</sup> ॥ स्वस्ति संवत् १२८३ चैत्रवदि<sup>18</sup> ८ शुक्ले अद्येह<sup>19</sup> श्रीअर्बुदाचल-  
तीर्थं स्वयकारितश्रीलू[णसीह]-

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 33 in the corridor No 1715 of Mr Cousens's list<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol<sup>3</sup> Read 'संवत्'<sup>4</sup> Read 'चैत्रवदि'<sup>5</sup> The text of 'तेज पालेन' is only half finished<sup>6</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 33 in the corridor No 1716 of Mr Cousens's list<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol<sup>8</sup> Read 'अर्बुदा'<sup>9</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 26 in the corridor No 1707 of Mr Cousens's list<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol<sup>11</sup> In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct<sup>12</sup> Read 'अर्बुदा'<sup>13</sup> Read 'वार्द्ध'.<sup>14</sup> Read 'सोमवरस्वामि'<sup>15</sup> Read 'प्रतिष्ठिता'<sup>16</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 27 in the corridor No 1708 of Mr Cousens's list<sup>17</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>18</sup> In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct<sup>19</sup> Read 'अर्बुदा'

- 2 ॥ वसहिकाख्यश्रीशरिष्टनेमिचैत्ये श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ° श्रीचंड-  
प्रसादमहं° श्री[सिं]-  
3 ॥ मान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजभार्याठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमहं° श्रीमालदेव-  
संघपतिमहं° ॥  
4 ॥ श्रीवस्तुपालधोस्तुजमहं° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिनीवार्द्धमाउयेयोर्थ<sup>1</sup> विहर-  
माण- ॥  
5 ॥ तीर्थकरश्रीयुगंधरखामिजिनप्रतिमालंकृतां देवकुलिका इयं<sup>2</sup> कारिता ॥<sup>3</sup>  
॥ छ [॥]

No. XXVIII.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 . . . . .<sup>5</sup> [अथेष्ट श्रीशर्वदाचले° स्वयंकारित-  
श्रीलू]-  
2 [॥]सीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीशरिष्टनेमिचैत्ये श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्रीचंडपठ[°]  
3 श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीसोमान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतम[हं°]  
4 श्रीमालदेवमहं° श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमहं° श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या<sup>6</sup> सा[ऊ]-  
5 [देव्याः येयोर्थ] विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीवाहुजिनालंकृता° देवकुलिका कारि[ता ॥]

No. XXIX.<sup>10</sup>

- 1 ॥ श्री<sup>11</sup> ॥<sup>12</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १२८३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले  
अथेष्ट श्रीशर्वदाचलेमहातीर्थ<sup>13</sup> स्वयं[का]-  
2 ॥ रितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाख्यश्रीनेमिनाथदेवचैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीयठ° श्री-  
चंडप-  
3 ॥ ठ° श्रीचंडप्रसादमहं° श्रीसोमान्वये ठ° श्रीआसराजठ° श्रीकुमारदेव्योः  
सुतमहं° श्रीतेजःपाले-  
4 न स्वभगिन्या<sup>14</sup>वार्द्धधणदेविश्रेयसे विहरमाणतीर्थकरश्रीसुवाहुविंवालंकृता<sup>15</sup>  
देवकुलिका कारिता [॥\*]

<sup>1</sup> Read °वार्द्ध°.<sup>2</sup> Read °कुलिकेयं.<sup>3</sup> After this sign of punctuation there is a symbol.<sup>4</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 28 in the corridor. No. 1709 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>5</sup> The first *aksharas* of this line are illegible.<sup>6</sup> Read °शर्वदा°.<sup>7</sup> Read श्रीवस्तुपाल°.<sup>8</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.<sup>9</sup> Read °श्रीवाहु°.<sup>10</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 29 in the corridor. No. 1710 of Mr. Cousens's list.<sup>11</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>12</sup> In this line the signs protruding above the upper line of the letters are more or less indistinct.<sup>13</sup> Read °शर्वदा°.<sup>14</sup> Read वार्द्ध°.<sup>15</sup> Read °सुवाहुविवा°.

No XXX<sup>1</sup>

- 1 ॥ ओ<sup>१</sup> ॥ स्वास्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसवत् १२६३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले  
अद्येह श्रीश्रवदाचलमहातीर्थे स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकाथ्यश्रीनेमिनाथ-  
देव- ॥
- 2 ॥ चैत्यजगत्यां श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञा[तीयठ<sup>२</sup> श्रीचिडपठ<sup>३</sup> श्रीचंडप्रसादमह<sup>४</sup> श्रीसो-  
मान्वये ठ<sup>५</sup> श्रीआसराजठ<sup>६</sup> श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमह<sup>७</sup> श्रीमालदेवसंघप- ॥
- 3 ॥ तिमह<sup>८</sup> श्रीवस्तुपालयोस्तुजमह<sup>९</sup> श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या वार्दसोहगाया  
अयोर्य शश्वतजिनश्रीकृष्णदेवालक्षता देवकुलिका कारिता [॥\*]

No XXXI<sup>४</sup>

- 1 ॥ ओ<sup>१</sup> ॥ स्वास्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसवत् १२६३ वर्षे चैत्रवदि ८ शुक्ले  
अद्येह श्रीश्रवदाचलमहातीर्थे स्वयंकारितश्रीलूणसीहवसहिकायां श्रीनेमिनाथ-  
देवचैत्ये जगत्या<sup>२</sup>
- 2 ॥ श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञावीथ<sup>३</sup> श्रीचंडपठ<sup>४</sup> श्रीचंडप्रसादमह<sup>५</sup> श्रीसोमान्वये ठ<sup>६</sup> श्रीआ-  
सराजठ<sup>७</sup> श्रीकुमारदेव्योः सुतमह<sup>८</sup> श्रीमालदेवमह<sup>९</sup> श्रीवस्तुपालयोरनुजमह<sup>१०</sup>
- 3 ॥ श्रीतेजःपालेन स्वभगिन्या <sup>१०</sup>वार्दवयजुकायाः अयोर्य श्रीवर्जमानाभिध-  
शश्वतजिनप्रतिसार्लक्षता देवकुलिकेयं कारिता ॥ शुभम् भवतु । मंगल  
महाश्री. ॥<sup>११</sup> ॥

No. XXXII.<sup>१२</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>१३</sup> सवत् १२६७ वैशाखवदि १४ गुरौ प्राग्वाटज्ञातीयचंडपचडप्रसादमहं<sup>[०\*]</sup>  
श्रीसोमान्वये सचं<sup>[०\*]</sup> श्रीआसराजसतमहं<sup>[०\*]</sup> श्रीतेजःपालेन श्रीमत्पत्तनवास्त-  
व्यमोढज्ञातीयठ<sup>१४</sup> जाल्हणमुतठ<sup>१५</sup> आमासुतायाः ठकुराश्रीसंतोषाकुचिसंभूताया  
सचं<sup>[०\*]</sup> श्रीतेजःपालक्षितीयभार्यामहं<sup>[०\*]</sup> श्रीसुहडादेव्याः [अयोर्य] [॥\*]

## No 23 = NAUSARI PLATES OF SRYASRAYA-SILADITYA,

## THE YEAR 121

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAXE)

The copper-plates which bear this inscription come from Nausari,<sup>14</sup> the head-quarters town of the Nausari division of the Baroda State. The inscription was first published, with a lithograph, by the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal*

<sup>1</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 30 in the corridor. No 1711 of Mr Cousens's list<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol. <sup>३</sup> Read "श्रवदा"<sup>4</sup> On the lintel of cell shrine 31 in the corridor No 1712 of Mr Cousens's list<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>६</sup> Read "सवत्"<sup>७</sup> Read "श्रवदा"<sup>8</sup> Read "चैत्यजगत्या"<sup>९</sup> Read श्रीप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय<sup>१०</sup><sup>११</sup> Read वार्द<sup>१२</sup> This sign of punctuation is followed by a symbol<sup>१३</sup> On the ornamental niche close to the entrance doorway of the main shrine No 1744A of Mr Cousens's list<sup>१४</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>१५</sup> Indian Atlas sheet No 23, S E. (1938) lat 20° 57', long 72° 59'

*Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, p 1 ff It is now re-edited from an excellent ink-impression supplied by Dr Fleet, who contributes the following remarks on the original —

"The present facsimile of the plates has been prepared, under my superintendence, from ink-impressions made by me in 1884, when I obtained the original plates on loan, for that purpose, from Dr Bhagwanlal Indrap. The seal has been done from a photograph of it which was made on the same occasion

"The copper-plates are two in number, each about 8½" long by 5" broad at the ends and 4½" in the middle The edges of them are here and there slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, but it would seem that this was accidental, and that the plates were intended to be smooth, without any fashioned rims The plates are substantial, and the letters, though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse sides at all The engraving is good The interiors of many of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool The ring is about 1½" thick, and 1½" in diameter It had been cut before the time when it came into my hands The seal, which is soldered on to the ring in the usual fashion, is circular, about 1½" in diameter It has, in relief on the surface of it, only the motto *Śrī āśraya* The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs, and of the ring and seal, 5½ oz. total, 2 lbs 5½ oz"

The alphabet resembles that of other records of the early Chalukyas The *jihvāmālīya* occurs once (l 12) Final forms are found of *m* (ll 1, 2, 20), *t* (l 13) and *n* (l 17) The only mark of punctuation is a small vertical line after *Svāmantasvāmī* (l 14). The date at the end of the inscription is expressed in words and numerical symbols

The language is Sanskrit, mostly prose, two well known Anushtubh verses occur in l. 1 f and l 19 f Although the inscription is very well preserved, and though the engraving is neat and distinct, the text is full of serious blunders As may be seen from the footnotes and from the brackets in the transcript, many letters and syllables are either omitted or corrupted. In line 15 a whole word seems to be missing, which cannot be supplied with certainty<sup>1</sup>

The inscription opens with an invocation of the boar incarnation of Vishnu (l 1 f) It then states that in the family of the Chalukyas<sup>2</sup> (l 5) was Pulakēśi-Vallabha (l 6), "who by the strength of his own arm had subdued the collection of all hostile kings, who resembled Rama and Yudhishtira, (and) who possessed true chivalry" His son was Dh[a]śraya-Jaya-simhavarman (l 9 f), "whose power had been increased by (his) elder brother, the glorious Vikramāditya-Saty[a]śraya-Prithivivallabha-Maharajadhirāja Paramesvara-Bhaṭṭarāla, the fervent Mahēsvara, who meditated at the feet of (his) mother and father and of the holy Nāgavardhana, (and) who by unchecked prowess had overcome the Pallava family" His son was the hen-apparent (*yuvārāja*) Śrīyāśraya-Silāditya<sup>3</sup> (l 13), "who illuminated all quarters of the sky by the banner of (his) fame that was as pure as the great garland of the rays of the spotless full-moon in autumn, who was as liberal as Rājārāja (i.e. Kuvēra), [who resembled] the god of love in being endowed with beauty, grace and loveliness, (and) who was as skilled in all arts (and) as brave as (Naravahanadatta) the emperor of the Vidyadharas" While residing at Navasārikā, he granted to the Bāhmana Bhogikhasvamin (l 15) a village named Āsatti-grāma (l 16) The donee was an Adhvaiyu (i.e. a student of the Yajurveda), the pupil (") of Kikhasvamin, the younger brother of Matīśvara (2), and the son of [S]vāmantasvamin The latter was the son of Agamisvamin, who belonged to the Kasjapa gōtra and resided at Navasārikā The village granted was included in the district (*viśhaya*) of Kanhavalāhāra, a subdivision of the Bāhuka district (*viśhaya*) According to the two last lines of the inscription, "this (edict) was written by the minister (*s[ā]dhivigrah[ī]ḥ*), the glorious Dhana[m]jaya,

<sup>1</sup> See p 232 below, note 14

<sup>2</sup> For this early variant of the name 'Chalukya' see Dr Fleet's *Dyn Kan Distr* p 336, note 3

<sup>3</sup> On the seal, Silāditya's surname *Srī āśraya* is spelt *Srī āśraya*, without *Sandhi*

on the thirteenth tithi of the bright (fortnight) of Māgha, in the year four hundred increased by twenty-one—400 20 [1]"

Of the royal personages named in this grant, two belong to the Western Chalukyas of Badāmi. These are Pulakesi-Vallabha, i.e. Pulakesin II, and his son Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Prithivīvallabha, i.e. Vikramāditya I. The latter is said to have worshipped the holy Nāgavardhana, which may be the name of a temple or of a spiritual guide,<sup>1</sup> and to have overcome the Pallava family.<sup>2</sup> He is distinguished by the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, etc., from the remaining two princes of the Chalukya family that are referred to in the grant, viz. Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman and his son the Yuvārāja Śryāśraya-Śilāditya, who were not of sovereign, but of mere feudatory rank. The former of them was a younger brother of Vikramāditya I, the son of Pulakesin II. The grant states that "his power had been increased by his elder brother." This seems to imply that he was entrusted by Vikramāditya I with the administration of a province, which must have included Navasārīkā, where his son resided at the time of the grant, and Āsatti-grāma, the village granted by him. Another copper-plate grant of the same Śryāśraya Śilāditya, which comes from Surat<sup>3</sup> mentions the villages Kārmaneya, Ōsumbhala and Allūra. Bühler has identified Navasārīkā, Āsatti-grāma and the three last with the modern Nausārī (where these plates were obtained) Ashtgam,<sup>4</sup> Kamrāj, Umbhel and Alura<sup>5</sup>—all south of the Tapti in Lāta or Southern Gujarāt.

Altogether the grants of this Gujarat branch of the Chalukya family are four in number.

A—The Nausārī plates of Śryāśraya-Śilāditya dated in the year 421.

B—The Surat plates of the same, dated in the year 443.

C—The unpublished Balsar plates of (his brother) Jayāśraya-Mangalarāja, dated in the Śaka year 653.<sup>6</sup>

D—The Nausārī plates of Aravijanasraya-Pulakesināja younger brother of Jayāśraya-Mangalarāsarāja dated in the year 490.<sup>7</sup>

According to A and B, Jayasimhavarman and his son, the Yuvārāja Śilāditya, were contemporaries of Vikramāditya I. (A.D. 655 to 680) in the year 421, and of Vinayāditya (A.D. 653 to 696) in the year 443 of an unspecified era. This can be no other than the Kalachuri-Chēdi era of A.D. 240-50.<sup>8</sup> With this starting point the dates of the two grants of Śilāditya (A and B.) correspond to A.D. 671 and 692.<sup>9</sup> The Balsar plates of Mangalarāja (C), who seems to have governed Gujarat in succession of his father Jayasimhavarman after the death of the Yuvārāja Śilāditya (probably an elder brother of Mangalarāja), are dated in the Śaka year 653=A.D. 731-32.<sup>10</sup> Like the dates of A and B that of D has to be referred to the Kalachuri era. Accordingly, Pulakesināja, the younger brother of Mangalarāsarāja (the Mangalarāja of the Balsar plates), was ruling in A.D. 739.<sup>11</sup>

It remains to be added that the Bahinīvalahāra and its subdivision Kanhavalahāra, to which Āsatti-grāma belonged, have not yet been identified.

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol IX p 123, and *Journ Bombay Br R A S* Vol XVI p 5. The name Nāgavardhana appears twice in a grant of doubtful authenticity, *Ind Ant* Vol IX p 123 ff and *Dyn Kan Distr* p 357 f.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 145, and *Dyn Kan Distr* p 362 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p 211 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Dr Fleet informs me that this is a large village seven miles east south-east-½ south from Nausārī, and remarks that "in the Bombay *Postal Directory* the name is spelt 'Ashtgam,' which suggests Ashtagrāma, not Āsatti-grāma."

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XVII p 193.

<sup>6</sup> *Journ Bombay Br R A S* Vol XVI p 5.

<sup>7</sup> See note 3 above.

<sup>8</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 77, *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p 219 f, Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, sec ed, p 55.

<sup>9</sup> *Dyn Kan Distr* p 364, No 3, and p 370, No 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid* p 374, No 11.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid* p 376, No 6.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate.

- 1 Om<sup>2</sup> svasti [[\*] Jayaty-āviśhkrītam Viśhnor=vvāidham kabōbhī-āmna[va]m [[\*]  
dakshin-ōnnata-da[in\*]shī-āgi-a-vi-  
2 śā(śrā)nta bhuvana[in\*] vapuh [[\*] Śīmatām sakala-bhuvana-samstūya[māna\*]-  
Mānavya-sagōtīanām(nām)  
3 Hāiti-putīnām sapta-lōka-mātrībhis=sapta-Mātrībhi[ra\*]varddhitāsa(nām)  
Kārttikēya-pa-  
4 rakshana-pīptā-kalyāna-pariamparīnām bhagavann-<sup>3</sup>Nāīya[na\*]-piasāda-samāsādita-  
varāha-la-<sup>4</sup>  
5 ūchhamkshanē rakshanē vasēkpit-āśśsha-mahibhrītam Chalikyānām-ānvayē<sup>5</sup> nija-  
bhūja-bala-pari-  
6 khila-īpu-mahīpāla-samētivirāmayudhishtōpamāna[h\*]<sup>6</sup> satya-vikrama[h\*] śi-  
Pulakēśi-Vallabhah [[\*] Tasya  
7 putrah paramamāhīsvara-mātīpitri-śi-Nāgavarddhana-pād-ānuddhīyāta-śi-Vikramāditya-  
Saty[ā\*]-  
8 śraya-Prithivivallabha-mahāījādhuāja-paramamāhīsvara-bhattāra[k]īna(na)<sup>7</sup> anivārita-  
paurush-ā-  
9 kratī-<sup>8</sup>Pallav-ānvayēna jyāyasā bhīātīā sama[bhī\*]varddhita-vibhūti=Ddhārāśraya-<sup>9</sup>  
śri-Jayasimha-  
10 varmmā [[\*] Tasya putrah śarad-amala-sakala-śasādhara-marichī-mālā-vitāna-  
visuddha kīrti-patākā-

## Second Plate

- 11 vibhāsita-lamanta-<sup>10</sup>dig-antarāhah(lah) pradātī Rō(rā)jāīja [i\*]va iū[pa\*]-<sup>11</sup>āvanya-  
12 bhūgya-sampannāli=Kāmad-<sup>12</sup>ī<sup>13</sup> sakala-bālā-pravi(vi)nah paurushavann=Vidyādhara-chakra-  
13 vaīta-<sup>14</sup>ī<sup>15</sup> Śrīśraya-śi-Śilāditya-yuvaija(jō) Navasārīkām=adhiyasaat(san)[i\*]  
Navasārī-  
14 kā-v[a\*]stavja-Kāśyapa-sagōtī-Āgāmusvāminah putrah Śi(śā)mantasāmī | tasya  
putrā-  
15 ya [[\*] Mātrīsvannā[h<sup>16</sup> i\*] tasy-ānuja-bhīātī(trō) Kikkasvāminah<sup>14</sup> Bhōgikkasvāminē  
<sup>15</sup>Adhvaryu-[ha\*]brahmachāri-  
16 nē Bāhīrikā-<sup>16</sup>vishay-āntarggata-Kanhavalāhāra-<sup>17</sup>vishayē Āsatī-grāmam s-ōdraugam  
sa-pa-

<sup>1</sup> From Dr Flett's ink impressions<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol<sup>3</sup> Cancel the anusvara<sup>4</sup> Read -laūhhan ēkshana kshana-rasīkpit-<sup>5</sup> Read -anrayē<sup>6</sup> Read probably -samīti Rāma-Yudhishtīr ōpamānah<sup>7</sup> Read -paramāsvara bhāīārakēp=ānuddhīta-<sup>8</sup> Read kranu-<sup>9</sup> Read -Ddhārāśraya- and see Dr Flett's *Dyn Kan Distr* p 361, note 4.<sup>10</sup> Read -samasta-<sup>11</sup> Compare text line 15 of the Surat plates, *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p 226<sup>12</sup> The particle *ira* may have to be supplied here<sup>13</sup> Read either *Mātrīshharīrah* or, more probably, *Mātrīshcarah*, for the latter see l 20 of the Surat plates<sup>14</sup> Perhaps *śishyaya* has to be supplied here<sup>15</sup> Here and in -vishayē (l 16) and -vikaram (l 17) the rules of Sandhi have not been observed<sup>16</sup> The first letter of *Bāhīrikā* closely resembles that of *bala* (l 5), *brahma* (l 15) and *bahu* (l 19) Dr Bhagwanlal Indrajī read *Thaharika*.<sup>17</sup> Dr Bhagwanlal Indrajī read this word as -*Kandavalāhāra*, but the *h* is quite distinct. The third *ālshara* may be either *vz* or *dha*



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- 17 rikaram udak-ôtsargga-pûrvvam mâtâpitrôr=âtmanas=cha punya-yasô-bhivriddhaye  
dattavân [1\*]  
18 Vât-ahâ(ha)ta-dîpa-sikhâ-chañchala[m\*] lakshî(kshmi)m=anusmṛitya sarvvar=âgamî-  
nripatibhidhammaddayô=¹  
19 numantavyah [11\*] Bahubhîr=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjâ(ja)bhî\_h\*] Sagar-âdîbhî[h 1\*]  
yasya yasya yadâ bhû-  
20 m[s=\*]tasya tasya tadâ phalam [11\*] Mākha(gha)-śuddha-trayôdaśyām lkhītam=  
idam sandhivigrahaka-²śrî-Dhana[m\*]jayēna  
21 samvatsara-śata-chatushtayé³ êkavîṁśaty-adhikê 400 20 [1]⁴ [11\*] Ôm⁵ [11\*]

## No 23.—CHENDALUR PLATES OF KUMARAVISHNU II

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH D , HALLE (SAALE)

These copper-plates "were found buried in a pot full of paddy husk when a ryot of Chendalûr in the Ongole taluka of the Nellore district was digging his house-site for laying foundation. This was some forty years ago" The plates passed from the ryot to the Karnam of the village, and from the latter to Mî N Suryanarayana Rao, District Court Vakîl, Nellore, who sent them through Mr. A. Butterworth, ICS, to Mr. Venkayya. The subjoined transcript is based on two sets of ink-impressions received from Mî Venkayya, who also furnished me with the following description of the original —

"The copper-plates are five in number. The first and last bear writing on the inner side only. The plates have no rims. In the upper and lower borders they are not as broad as in the middle. Their breadth accordingly varies from 8' to 8½". The height is throughout 2½". At a distance of 1" from the middle of the left margin of each plate is bored a circular hole, ½" in diameter, and through these holes passes a circular ring (cut by me for the first time with permission and soldered), 3¼" in diameter and about ¼" thick. Its ends are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures between 1½" and 1⅞" in diameter and bears in its middle an indistinct symbol in relief. Around the margin there seems to be a legend which is too much worn to be made out. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 95 tolas. The originals have been returned to Mr Suryanarayana Rao."

The inscription on the plates is well preserved, only a few syllables at the end of ll 2, 3, 4, 12 and 20 are obliterated. The sign of *anusvâra* is so small that its existence on the plate remains doubtful in most cases where the context requires it. A final form of *m* occurs thrice (ll 28, 29 and 32). The letter *t* is distinguished from *n* by a loop, but in a single case (*grâmâyakûnatra*⁶, l 15) the form with the loop is used for *n*. The end of a verse is marked by a double vertical line in three cases (ll 28, 29 and 30), and the end of the inscription by five circles between double lines. Plates i, ii b, iii b and iv b bear on the left margin the numerical symbols 1, 2, 3 and 4, while plate v is not numbered at all. The language is Sanskrit prose, and four Sanskrit verses 'sung by Brahman' are quoted in ll 26-32.

The inscription is an edict issued from Kañchipura (l 1) in the second year of the reign (l 23) of the Pallava *Mahârâja* Kumâravishnu (II.) (l 14), who was the son of the *M*

¹ Read -*nripatibhîr*=*ayam*=*asmad-dayô*=, compare l 29 of the Surat plates

² Read *sandhivigrahika*-

³ Read *-chatushtaya êkavîṁśaty-*

⁴ The figure '1' is hardly visible at all, but is secured by the preceding words and by the empty space between '20' and *ôm*

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

Buddhavarman (l. 8), the grandson of the *M* Kumāravishṇu (I.) (l. 6), and the great-grandson of the *M* Skandavarman (l. 3). It records that the king granted to a Brāhmaṇa a field in the village of Chendalūra (ll. 14 and 16 f.) in Kavachakāra-bhōga (l. 16), a subdivision of the district of Karmā[n]ka-rāshtra (l. 14) or Kammā[n]ka-rāshṭra (l. 16).

Of the localities mentioned in this record Kāñchipura (l. 1) is Conjeeveram, the ancient capital of the Pallavas, and Chendalūra is Chendalūr in the Nellore district, the village where the plates were unearthed. Karmānka- or Kammānka-rāshtra, i.e. 'the district named (after) Karma or Kamma,' is mentioned as Karma-rāshṭra in two Eastern Chalukya grants,<sup>1</sup> and as Kamma-rāshtra in a third one.<sup>2</sup>

The wording of this inscription is very similar to that of three other Pallava grants, which belong to the reign of Simhavarman, viz. the Pīkura, Māngalūr and Uruvupallī grants.<sup>3</sup> Nay, ll. 1-14 are almost identical with ll. 4-16 of the Uruvupallī grant.<sup>4</sup> The names of the kings, however, differ in those three grants on the one hand and in the Chendalūr plates on the other, and no lineal connection can be established between both sets of kings. The name Skandavarman occurs in both, but Kumāravishṇu I., Buddhavarman and Kumāravishṇu II., who were the three direct descendants of Skandavarman according to the Chendalūr plates, are unknown to the three other grants. Nor do their names occur in the Pallava pedigree of the Kāśākudī plates, which begins with Simhavishṇu.<sup>5</sup> Under these circumstances our only guide can be the palaeography of those different records. The alphabet of the Chendalūr plates is more archaic than those of the Kūram and Kāśākudī plates, but resembles those of the Pīkura, Māngalūr and Uruvupallī grants, from which it differs chiefly in the omission of the horizontal strokes at the top of letters. But a point which stamps it as more modern is the fact that *r*, *k* and subscribed *u* consist of two vertical lines of nearly equal length, while in the Pīkura, Māngalūr and Uruvupallī grants the left line is still considerably shorter. Hence we may conclude that the four Pallava kings of the Chendalūr plates ruled in the interval between Simhavarman and Simhavishṇu. It is to be hoped that future discoveries will enable us to bridge some of the gaps in the direct succession of the Pallavas, one of which is now partially filled by the information contained in the Chendalūr plates.

#### TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

##### *First Plate.*

- 1 Svasti<sup>7</sup> [||\*] Jitam=bhagavatā [||\*] Svasti [||\*] Vijaya-Kāñchi[p]urād-abhyuchchita-śakti-
- 2 siddhi-sampannasya prajāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya vasudhā-tal-aika-[vīra]-
- 3 sya mahārāja-śrī-Skandavarmanah prapautiō deva-dviya-guru-vṛddh-ā(ō)pa[chā]-
- 4 yinō vivṛddha-vinayasy=ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-bhu(bhū)my-adi-pradānaih pravṛddha-[dharmma-sa].

##### *Second Plate; First Side*

- 5 ūchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya lōkapālānām=<sup>8</sup>pañchamasya
- 6 lōkapālasya satyātmanō mahārāja-śrī-Kumāravishṇōh pautiō bhagavad-bhakti-sa-
- 7 mbhāvita-sarvva-kalyāṇasy=ādi-rāja-pratispa[r\*]ddhi-guna samudayasy=āmī-
- 8 tātmanō mahārāja-śrī-Buddhavarmanah putrah prajā-samrañjana-paripālān-ōdyō-

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p. 187, text l. 12, and Vol. XX, p. 105, text l. 16.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 238 below.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 160 above.

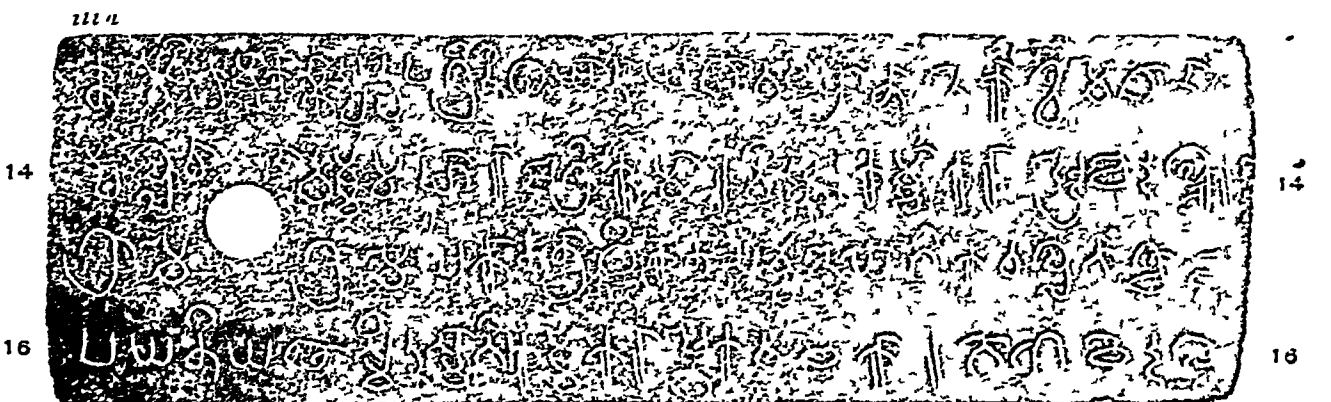
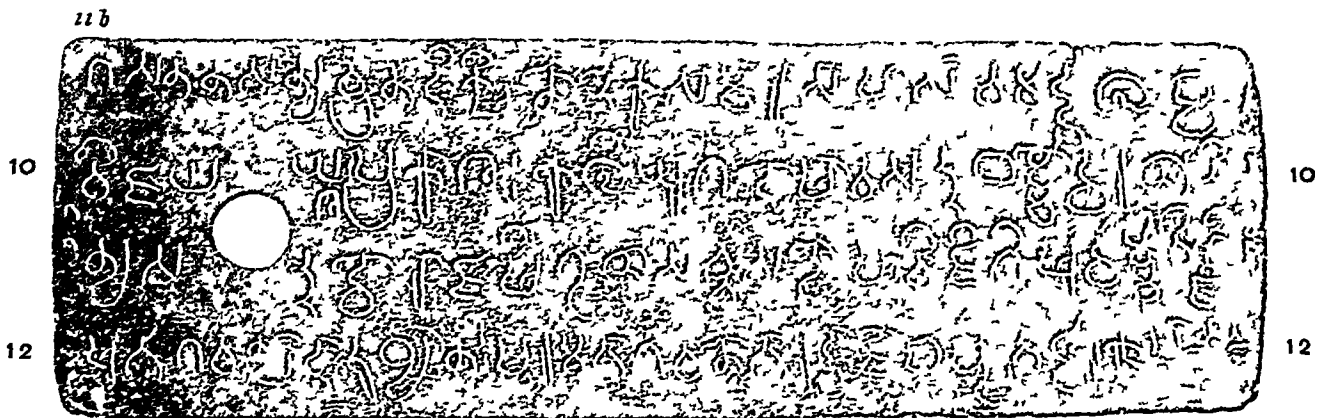
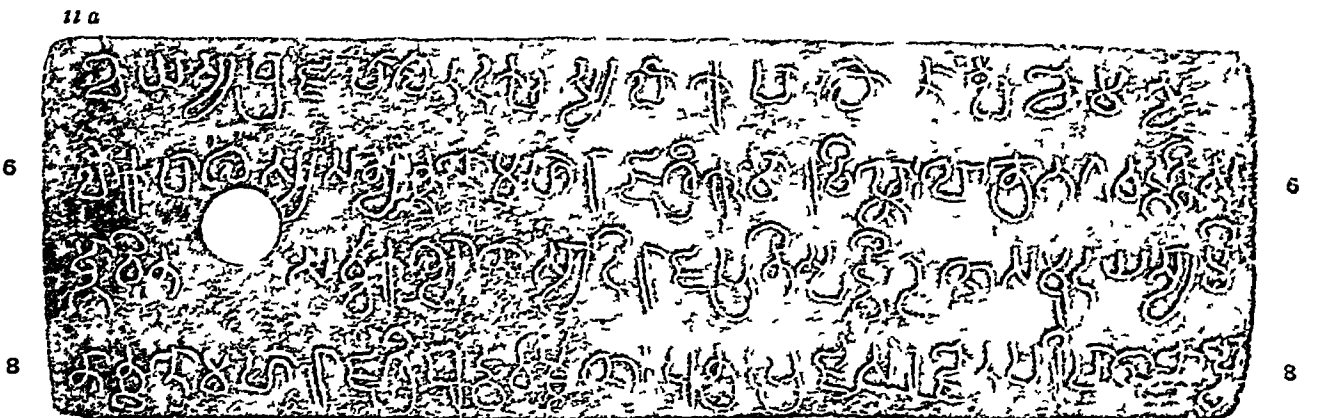
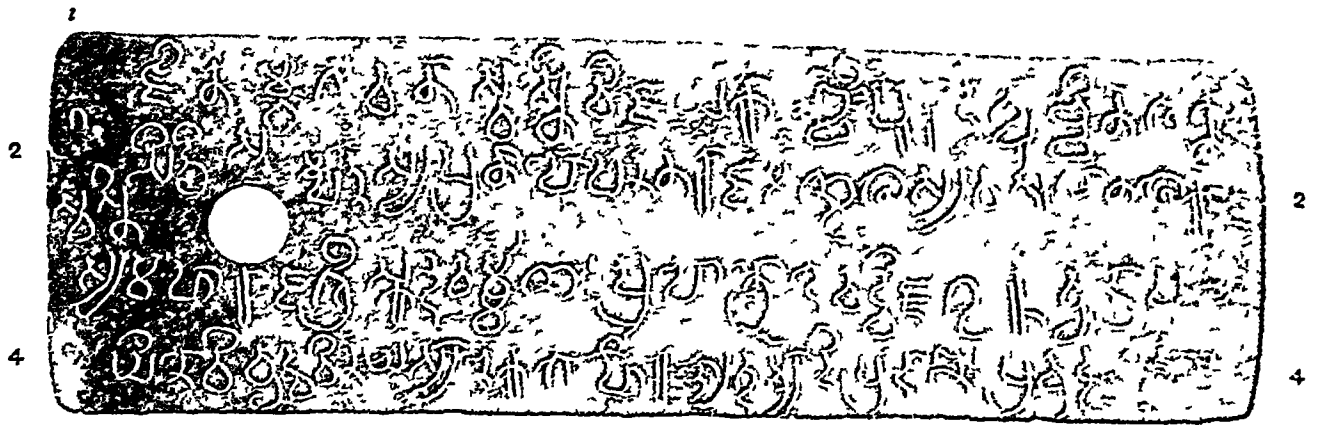
<sup>4</sup> Only the compound beginning with *ddirāja* is peculiar to the Chendalūr plates (l. 7).

<sup>5</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II p. 344, and *Jyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 323.

<sup>6</sup> From two sets of ink-impressions.

<sup>7</sup> On the left margin of plate 1.

<sup>8</sup> Corrected from *lōkapālōnam*.



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[illegible][illegible][illegible]

*Second Plate, Second Side.*

- 9 ga-satata-satya-vrata-dīkṣitō=nēka-samara-sāhas-āvamardda-labdha-  
 10 vijaya-yasā[h].<sup>1</sup> prakāśah Kalyuga-dōsh-avasanna-dharmu-ōddharana-m-  
 11 tyā-sannaddho rājarshi-guṇa-sarvva-sandōha-vipr(gi)shur-ddharmma-vijigī.<sup>2</sup>  
 12 shur=bhagavat-pād-ānu[d]dhyātah parama-bhāgavatō Bhāradvājō happa bhattāraka-  
 pa[da-bha]-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 13 ktah sva-vikram-ākṛānt-ānya-nripa-srī-nīlayānā[m] yathāvad-āhnt-ānēk-āśvamēdhana-  
 14 m=Pallavānān=dharmmamahārāja[h] śrī-Kumāravishnuh Karmā[m\*]ka-rāshtrē  
 Chendalūra-  
 15 grāmē grāmēyakān=atr=ādhiṣṭa-sarvva-naryōgika-vallabhāmś=ch=ājñ[a]-  
 16 payati yath=āsmunn=asmābhī[h] Karmā[m\*]ka-rāshtrē Kavachakāra-bhōgē  
 Chendalū-

*Third Plate; Second Side*

- 17 ra-grāmē rāja-vastu bhūtvā sthitañ=chatu[r\*]ddisam=ashtafata-pattikā-sa-  
 18 mmitam [l\*] samudayātō dvātr[m\*]sad-yukta-chatuśśati(ta)-pattikā-sammita[m]  
 lshētra[m\*]  
 19 brahmanāya Kaundinya-gōtrāya=Chchhandōga-sūtrāy=Ābhī-  
 20 rūpā . . .<sup>3</sup>vāstavyāya Bhavaskandatiataya brahmadē[ya]-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 21 ma[r\*]yyādayā dēvabhōga-varja[m] hala-nyāyēna sarvva-parihār-ōpētam=a-  
 22 smad-āyui.<sup>4</sup>bbala-vijay-aśvāryy-abhi-riddhayē pravarddhamāna-vijaya-  
 23 rājyē dvitiyē sa[m]vatsarē Kā[r\*]ttikē māsē śukla-pakshasya pañchamyā[m\*]  
 24 sarvvam=eta[t\*]kshetra[m] samprattan=Tad=avagamyā sarvva-parihāran=etad=  
 brahmadēya-kshētra-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 25 m=pariharantu parihārayantu cha [l\*] Yaś=ch=ēdam=asmach-chhāsanam=atīkrāmīt=sa pā-  
 26 pas=sārīran=dandam=arhati [l\*] Āpi ch=ātra Brahma-gītāh ślokaḥ [l\*] Bhūmi-  
 danā-  
 27 t=paran=danan=na bhūtan=na bhaviṣhyati [l\*] tasy=aiva haranāt=pāpan=na bhūtan=  
 na bha-  
 28 viṣhyati || Sva-dattām=para-<sup>5</sup>dattām=vā<sup>6</sup> yō harēta vasundharām [l\*] gavām  
 śatasahasra-

*Fifth Plate*

- 29 sya hantu[h] pibati kulbusham || Pū[r\*]vva[h] pūrvvataraś=ch=aiva dattām<sup>7</sup>  
 bhūmim harēt=tu yah [l\*]  
 30 sa mtya-vyasanē magnō narakē cha vasēt=puna[h\*] || Bahubhir=vvasudhā da-  
 31 ttā bahubhīś=ch=ānupālitā [l\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya  
 32 tadā phalam [l\*] Ēvam=ājñā(jñā)ptam=itu [l\*] Gō-brāhmanan=nandatu [l\*] Svasty-  
 astu prajabhya[h\*] || ॐ [l]

<sup>1</sup> The syllable *sa* was entered subsequently below the line<sup>2</sup> The syllable *y* stands below the line<sup>3</sup> Here four *akṣaras* are engraved on an erasure, they look like *yul||aluru*.<sup>4</sup> Originally *smadddā* had been engraved Subsequently the first *da* was struck out<sup>5</sup> The *akṣara mpa* seems to have been corrected from *mrd*<sup>6</sup> Read -*dattām* *ed*<sup>7</sup> The *anustūpa* has failed to come out on the photo-lithograph

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Hail! Victory has been achieved by Bhagavat (Vishnu) Hail! From the victorious Kāñchipura,

(L 2) the great grandson of the glorious Mahārāja Skandavarman, the only hero on the surface of the earth,

(L 6) the grandson of the glorious Mahārāja Kumāravishnu (I.), whose mind was truthful,

(L 7) the son of the glorious Mahārāja Buddhavarman, whose mind was immeasurable,

(L 12) he who meditates at the feet of Bhagavat (Vishnu), the fervent Bhāgavata, the Bhāradvāja, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father, the glorious Kumāravishnu (II.),—the rightful Mahārāja (of the family) of the Pallavas, who are the abodes of the fortunes of other kings overcome by their own valour, (and) who according to rule have performed many horse-sacrifices,—addresses (the following) order to the villagers in the village of Chendalūra in Karmā[n]ka-rāshtra and to all officers (naryōgika) and (royal) favourites who are appointed to this (district) —

(L 16) "In the village of Chendalūra in Kavachakāra-bhōga, (a subdivision) of this (district of) Kammā[n]ka-rāshtra, the king's domain<sup>1</sup> in the four directions amounts to eight hundred *paṭṭikās*<sup>2</sup> (Of this) a field amounting altogether to four hundred and thirty-two *paṭṭikās* has been given by Us as a *Brahmadēya*, with the exception of the land enjoyed by temples (*dēvabhōga*), for cultivation, accompanied by all immunities, to the Brāhmana Bhavaskandatiāta of the Kaundinya *gōtra* and the Chhandōga *sūtra*, who resides in Abhirūpā . . . —this whole field (has been given), for the increase of Our length of life, power, victory and supremacy, in the second year of (Our) reign of growing victory, in the month Kārttika, on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight.

(L 24) "Knowing this, they must exempt this *Brahmadēya* field with all immunities and cause (it) to be exempted And that wicked man who will transgress against this Our edict is liable to corporal punishment And with reference to this (there are) also (the following) verses sung by Brahman "

[Ll 26-32 contain four of the customary verses]

(L 32) "Thus it has been ordered (by Us) " Let cows and Brāhmanas rejoice<sup>3</sup> Let there be welfare to (all) men "

## No 24—CHENDALUR PLATES OF SARVALOKASRAYA, A D 673

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

Like the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishnu II (No 23 above), these copper-plates were found buried in a pot full of paddy husk when a ryot of Chendalūr in the Ongole tāluka of the Nellore district was digging his house-site for laying foundation. This was some forty years ago" The plates passed from the ryot to the Karnam of the village, and from the latter to Mr N Suryanarayana Rao, District Court Vakīl, Nellore, who sent them through Mr A

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'that which stands having become the king's property'

<sup>2</sup> *Paṭṭika* seems to be the same as the Tamil *paṭṭi*, the Sanskrit equivalent of which is *nivartana*, see *South Ind Inscr* Vol II p 359, note 12 Compare *Lakshmana-paṭṭika*, i.e. 'the *paṭṭika* (belonging to) Lakshmana

<sup>3</sup> a Maṭṭraka grant, above, p. 193, text l 43

<sup>4</sup> Compare above, p. 49, note 2, and p 148, text l 16

Butterworth, I C S, to Mr Venkayya. They are now edited from two sets of inked estampages received from Mr Venkayya, who supplies the following description of the original —

“The copper-plates are five in number and have no rims. The first and the last plate bear writing on the inner side only. In the upper and lower borders the plates are not so broad as in the middle; their breadth accordingly varies from  $9\frac{1}{8}$ ” to  $9\frac{1}{2}$ ”. The height too gradually decreases from either margin to the middle of the plate—it being roughly  $2\frac{1}{8}$ ” in the margins and  $2\frac{3}{4}$ ” in the middle. At a distance of  $\frac{3}{8}$ ” from the middle of the left margin of each plate is bored a circular hole, also  $\frac{3}{8}$ ” in diameter, and through these holes passes an oval ring (cut by me for the first time with permission and soldered), measuring  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ” by 3”, and  $\frac{1}{4}$ ” thick. Its ends are secured in the base of an almost circular seal, which measures about  $1\frac{3}{8}$ ”. It bears, in relief on a plane surface, the legend *Śrī-Vijayasiddh[ī]* in the middle, below the legend is a seven-petalled lotus in relief, and above the legend is the crescent of the moon between two symbols which may be taken to be daggers pointing upwards. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 84 tolas. The originals have been returned to Mr Suryanarayana Rao.”

The inscription is carefully engraved and on the whole well preserved. The alphabet resembles that of the two published copper-plate grants of Sarvalokāśraya's father Vishnuvardhana II<sup>1</sup>. A final form of *t* occurs in ll 2, 33 (twice), 37, and one of *m* in l. 41. The lingual *l* is used in *Chalukyanām* (l 5), *lalita* (l 22), *Kollī* (l 25) and *Kālabara* (l 29 f), and the Telugu *r* in ll 25 and 29. The first plate bears on the left margin the numerical symbol ‘1’, but the remaining plates are not numbered.

The language is Sanskrit prose, two Sanskrit *ślokas* ‘sung by Brahman’ are quoted in ll 37-39. The rules of Sandhi are disregarded in the two compounds *bhagavat-srī-* (l 2) and *asmat-śasanam* (l 33), and frequently between two words (ll 4, 6, 9, 11, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 26, 30, 31, 35).

The inscription records a grant of land by the Mahārāja Sarvalokāśraya (l 24), son of the M Vishnuvardhana (II) (l 16), grandson of the M Indrabhattāarakavarman (l 10 f), and great-grandson of the M Vishnuvardhana (I), ‘who adorned the family of the Chalukyas’ (l 5 f). Some of the laudatory epithets bestowed on Indrabhattāarakavarman and Vishnuvardhana II were evidently copied from inscriptions or office records of the Pallavas,<sup>2</sup> who had been supplanted by the Eastern Chalukyas. Indrabhattāarakavarman seems to have borne the surname *Simhavikrama* (l 8), and Vishnuvardhana II that of *Makaradhvaaja*.<sup>3</sup> Sarvalokāśraya's valour and royal splendour are praised in two compound words which fill five lines (16-21), but which contain nothing of any historical interest. His surname *Vijayasiddhi*, which occurs also on the seal of this grant, is alluded to in the next compound ‘he who has obtained the accomplishment of victory (*vijaya-siddhi*) by crushing the daring (of enemies) in many battles’ (l 21 f).

In later inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty<sup>4</sup> this king *Vijayasiddhi* or *Sarvalokāśraya* is named *Mangiyuvarāja*. To his reign has to be referred the date at the end of the subjoined inscription (l 39 f): “(This) set of copper-plates (*paṭṭikā*) was given (to the donees) on the occasion of an eclipse on the full-moon tithi of *Vaiśākha* in the second

<sup>1</sup> See the Plates in *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 191, and Vol VIII p 320.

<sup>2</sup> For the epithets *अभ्युज्जित* and *प्रतापीपन्न* in l 6 f, *चनेकवीर्य* in l 9 f, *खडाङ्ग* and *विधिविहित* in l 11 f see e.g. the *Pikura* grant of *Simhavarman*, above, p 161, text ll 4, 5 f and 2.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. ‘the god of love’. The inscription justifies this surname by asserting that the king ‘had seized the countries, ear rings (? *makara*) and banners (*dhvaja*) of many mighty (*tunga*) enemies (l 13 f),’ compare above, Vol VI p 345 and note 2.

<sup>4</sup> The first part of this compound is found also in Pallava grants, see e.g. above, p 235 text l 9.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Vol. VII Appendix, p 93, note 6.

year of the reign of increasing victory." According to Dr Fleet, Mangiyuvarāja reigned from A.D. 673 to 686<sup>1</sup>. Hence his second year would correspond to A.D. 673, while Mr Sewell's *Eclipse of the Moon in India* do not record any lunar eclipse in Vaisākha between A.D. 665 and 683. They do mention a total eclipse of the moon, not in Vaisākha, but in Jyêshtha, on Friday, 6th May 673. Prof Kjelhorn, to whom I submitted this difficulty, has solved it by showing (see his *Perscript* on p 210 f below) that by Brahmagupta's rule the month would not be called Jyêshtha, but Vaisākha. Accordingly, the European date of the subjoined inscription of Mangiyuvarāja's reign is the 6th May 673—a result which corroborates the correctness of Dr. Fleet's chronology of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty.

According to l 24 ff 'the very pious one, he who possesses the dignity of *Mahārāja*, the glorious Sarvalōkārāja-Mahārāja" informs "the villagers in the village of Chendayūra in (the district named) Kamma-rāshtra and all officers (*nayōgika*) and favourites gone to this (district)" that he has granted this village to six Brāhmanas, who were Chhandōgas (i.e. students of the Samaveda), and each of whom received two shares of it. Five of them belonged to the Kaundinya gōtra (l 27) and one to the Kālabava gōtra (l. 29 f.). Curiously enough their proper names are not given, but only their native villages, followed in the case of the first donee by the Sanskrit word *vastatya*, 'residing in' (l 28), and in the case of the five other donees by the Telugu word *bōya*, which seems to be employed in the same sense.<sup>2</sup> The six villages in question were Katūra, Vangra, Koljipuro (P), Pidena, Kuriyida and Kodinki. The phraseology of the grant portion again resembles that of the Pallava copper-plates

L 31—"And the *Ājñapti* for this (grant is) the sun among men (*Narabhāskara*) who resembles the sun crowning the peak of the eastern mountain (*Udayagiri*),<sup>3</sup> the principal mountain of the circle of the earth (which is) the family of Ayyapa, he who has been victorious in the crush of many battles, the fervent Mahēśvara, the glorious A[na]ghavarman." The edict was written by Pambeya Sarvōttama Ātharvāla (l 41).

The village granted, Chendayūra, must be the same as the present Chendalūr, at which the copper-plates were discovered. The district Kamma-rāshtra, to which it belonged, is mentioned as Karma-rāshtra in two other grants of Vishnuvardhana II and Mangiyuvarāja.<sup>4</sup> In the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishnu II. the same village and district are named Chendalūra and Karma[n]ka- or Kamma[n]ka-rāshtra.<sup>5</sup>

#### TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

##### First Plate

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति<sup>7</sup> [॥\*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तु[य]मानमानव्यसगोत्र[॥\*]णा हारी[ती]-
- 2 पुत्राणां लोकमात्रिभिर्मात्रिभिरभिवर्द्धितानां<sup>8</sup> भग[वत्श्री]-
- 3 नारायणप्रसादसमुपलब्धवरवराहलाब्ध[ना]ना
- 1 स्वामिमहासेनपादालुध्यातानां अनेकाद्यमेधयाजि-
- 5 ना चक्रव्याना कुलमलकरिणीः श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराज-<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VV p 93

<sup>2</sup> The same seems to be the case in a grant of Vishnuvardhana II, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p 187 f

<sup>3</sup> The epithet may imply that the *Ājñapti* was the governor of the fort of Udayagiri in the Nellore district.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p 187, text l 12, and Vol. XX p 105, text l 10.

<sup>5</sup> See p 231 above.

<sup>6</sup> From H. Venkayya's ink impression

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>8</sup> The two words श्रीं स्वस्ति are engraved on the left margin opposite lines 1 and 2.

<sup>9</sup> Read भावनात्रिभिर्मात्रिभिरभिवर्द्धितानां भगवत्श्री

<sup>10</sup> The m of महाराज seems to be corrected from मा.



1

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

11 a

6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20

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11 b

12 14 16 18 20

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

11 c

16 18 20

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

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*Second Plate, First Side*

- 6 स्य प्रपौत्रः अभ्युच्चितशक्तिसिद्धिसंपन्नस्य प्रतापोपनतराज-  
 7 मण्डलस्य [प]रनृपतिमत्तमातंगकुभस्थलविदारणविधिदर्शित-  
 8 सिंहविक्रमस्य सिंहविक्रमस्य रणभूषणायमान-  
 9 व्रणकिणालंकृतसर्वगात्रस्य अनेकगोहिरण्यभूष्या[दिप्र]-  
 10 दानैः प्रवृद्धधर्मसञ्चयस्य श्रीमतो महाराजस्ये[न्द्र]भट्टा-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 11 रक्तवर्माणः पौत्रः स्वबाहुवलार्जितोर्जितच्चात्रतपोनिधे विधिवि-  
 12 हितसर्वमर्थ्यादस्य <sup>1</sup>प्रतापानुरागावनतसामन्तचक्रस्य  
 13 चक्रवर्तिलक्षणेपेतस्य गृहीतानेकतुगारिवसुधा-  
 14 मकरध्वजस्य मकरध्वजस्य स्वप्रभावाज्जितसकलसामन्त-  
 15 मञ्जुतटघटितमणिकिरणारुणीकृतचरणारविन्दस्य<sup>2</sup>

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 16 श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराजस्य पुत्रः निजभुजपराक्रमाव[न]मितानेक-  
 17 शत्रुसामन्तानीतहिरदपतिमदधाराभिषेककईमितसप्त-  
 18 <sup>3</sup>छन्दसुरभिरम्यागणोपविष्टानेकराजन्यामितसमितिको-  
 19 ल[†\*]हलीभूतराजद्वार[†\*] मदालसमत्तकाशिनीजनघनपयो-  
 20 धरावलुप्यमानकुङ्कुमपङ्कावशेषशोभितकनकगिरिशि-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 21 लाविशालवक्षस्यलः अनेकसमरसाहसावमर्दलब्धविज-  
 22 यसिद्धिं जलधिरिव रम्यतरलक्ष्मीलकितनिवासः मूर्त्त इव व-  
 23 सन्तः समुद्र इव गुणाना दृष्टान्त इव भूमिपतीना  
 24 परमब्रह्मण्यः महाराजानुभावश्रीसर्वलोकाश्रयमहाराज  
 25 कम्पराट्टे चेन्दोःरग्रामे ग्रामेयकानत्र गतसर्वनैयोगिक-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 26 वल्लभाद्याज्ञापयति [†\*] एष ग्रामोस्माभिः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः छन्दोगेभ्यः <sup>4</sup>  
 27 कौण्डिन्यगोत्रेभ्यः घट्टूर्मनिरतेभ्यः सतताविच्छिन्न[प]ञ्चमहायज्ञ-  
 28 क्रियेभ्यः कटूरवास्तव्याय हे अंशि [†\*] वंग्रयोयाय हे [†\*] कोक्किपु-

<sup>1</sup> The पा of प्रताप<sup>2</sup> seems to be corrected from पो<sup>2</sup> Compare *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 105, text 1 12 f<sup>3</sup> Read छन्द<sup>0</sup> and compare *Śsupdlavadha*, VI 50<sup>4</sup> The *visarga* has not come out on the accompanying Plate, though it is quite distinct on the ink-impressions



expired (according to both the *Ârya-* and the *Sûrya-siddhânta*) would have been *Jyêshtha*, and the 6th May A D 673 the full-moon day of the first or intercalated *Jyêshtha*. But this very intercalated month, by an earlier—*Brahmagupta's*— rule, would have received its name, not from the following month *Jyêshtha*, but from the *preceding* month *Vaisâkha*, i.e. it would have been called *Vaisâkha*, not *Jyêshtha*, and, by the earlier rule referred to, the 6th May A D 673 would thus have been correctly described as the full-moon day of *Vaisâkha* (or, more fully, of the second *Vaisâkha*)

This date at once reminds us of the date of the *Kaira plates of Dharasêna IV* (*Northern List*, No. 484), which quotes a 'second *Mârgasîra*,' and falls in A.D 648 or *Śaka-samvat* 570 expired. In the case of that date, by the rules of mean intercalation and according to the *Ârya-* and *Sûrya-siddhântas*, a month was intercalated in *Ś* 570 expired before the month *Pausha*. By the ordinary rule that month would have been called *Pausha*, so that there would have been two months called *Pausha*, but the date, in quoting 'the second *Mârgasîra*,' shows that there really were two months called *Mârgasîra*, and that therefore the intercalated month, by the earlier rule, had received its name from the *preceding* *Mârgasîra*.

I would besides compare the *Chola* date No 33, of the 25th November A D. 1033 (above, Vol V p 21), where the given name of the month—*Mârgasîra*, instead of *Pausha*—likewise can be accounted for only by the assumption that a month, by the rules of mean intercalation intercalated before *Pausha*, had taken its name from the *preceding*, not from the following month. In that *Chôla* date the month *Mârgasîra* which is quoted was the *second* *Mârgasîra*, just as in the date under discussion the month *Vaisâkha* in my opinion was the *second* *Vaisâkha*.

For a date (of the 5th February A D 817, with a lunar eclipse), which proves the observance of the rules of mean intercalation, but is otherwise of no importance here, see my *Southern List*, No. 68

## No 25 — TWO PRAKRIT POEMS AT DHAR.

By PROFESSOR R. FISCHER, PH D, BERLIN

The two *Prâkrit* poems here edited were discovered at *Dhâr*, in November 1903, together with the corresponding slab of black stone which contains the *prasasti* of *Arjunavarman* published above, p 96 ff, by Professor E Hultzsch. Prof Hultzsch was good enough to send me two inked estampages which had been forwarded to him by Dr Vogel and Mr Cousens, and one of which is reproduced on the three accompanying Plates.

Like the *prasasti*, the poems are on the whole well preserved, in the second poem, however, the beginning of lines 26-38 is broken away, as may be seen from Plate III. The inscription consists of 83 lines and is engraved with great care. Only one serious mistake occurs in A verse 65, where instead of *chammakkanam anamaggo* apparently must be read *chakkammanam anamagge*.

The alphabet is the same as in the *prasasti* and has been already discussed by Prof Hultzsch. I would draw special attention to the initial *z*, *u*, *o*, to *tha*, e.g. in *thakkam*, A verse 40 (Plate I l. 16), *tha*, A. 58 (Plate I l. 23), *thâhîd*, B 2 (Plate II l. 1), *anathakkam*, B. 40 (Plate III l. 14), *thâhaviâ*, B. 87 (Plate III l. 32), to *kkha*, e.g. in *rakkhau*, A. 2 (Plate I l. 1), to *jjha*, e.g. in *majjhe*, A. 6 (Plate I l. 3), to *sa*, e.g. in *Śuâya* (Plate I l. 1), 'paramêśvara', *śrî*, 'satam', *mahâdrih* (Plate II l. 42), and to *nga*, e.g. in *kayan garuâna* (Plate I l. 18) and *mangalaî* (Plate II l. 42). *Ohchha* and *ttha*, though resembling each other, are more clearly distinguished than in the manuscripts of the *Jainas*, where these two letters are constantly confounded, compare, e.g. *utthâro* and *chchhâya*, A. 2 (Plate I l. 1), *sarichchham* and *ettha*, A. 15 (Plate I l. 6). There occurs in A. 87 (Plate II l. 34) one letter about the reading of which I am not certain. It

looks exactly like *thā* as given by Bühler on Plate v. l. 26, No. 19 of his *Indian Palaeography*, but since *thā* in all other instances (B. 2, 78, 87) has quite a different form, the reading remains uncertain. Unfortunately there is a gap just in this place.

There is much inconsistency in writing the Anusvāra and the secondary forms of *e* and *o*. Thus in B 16 (Plate ii. l. 6) we read *paḍṣhamtam*, but in B. 20 (Plate ii l. 8) *paḍṣhantam*. In A 52, 54 (Plate i. l. 21), *e* in *pariyattante* *lāle* *le* *ke* and *o* in *jo* *vi* *hu* *so* *vi* *hu* are partly written in the ancient, partly in the modern fashion. Instead of the Anunāsika in combination with *v* the inscription uses throughout the group *mv*, which is also found in manuscripts (see my Prākṛit Grammar, § 179). Thus we have *jāehim* *vi* in A. 58 (Plate i l. 23), *hōntehim* *vi*, A 84 (Plate ii. l. 32), *kaehim* *vi*, A 86 (Plate ii l. 33), *annehim* *vi*, A. 92 (Plate ii l. 35), *jāehim* *vi*, A 100 (Plate ii l. 38), etc. In B 98, 103 (Plate iii ll. 37, 38 f) *valayam* *va* is wrong for *valayam* *va*. Similar mistakes, as *jam* *māi* instead of *jam* *māi* in A. 58 (Plate i. l. 23), have been noticed in the foot-notes on the text.

The orthography is that of the Jannas. Hence in the beginning of words, and generally when doubled, dental *n* is written instead of cerebral *n*, with the single exception of *nu*, as remarked in the note on A. 5. Very often also *nha* is written instead of *nha*. The *ya-sūti* shows the same inconsistency as in the manuscripts.

The language of the poems is Māhārāṣṭrī. There occur, however, some forms which are Apabhraṃśa, such as *luggavi*, A 92, *mīlavi*, B 108, *sha*, B. 45, *ānam*, B 48, *loa*, B 61, instead of *loo*. Blunders like *tan* *na* instead of *tam* *na* and *kayan* *garuṇa* instead of *kayam* *garuṇa* in A. 43, which occur very frequently, I am inclined to attribute to the author himself, considering the numerous cases where *hu* is written instead of *hhu*, as in A 54, B 8, 28, 36, etc. Even faults like *ṣham* instead of *ṣham* in B 36, *him* *ttha* instead of *kim* *tha* in A 95, *gauraiam* in B. 62, *gauraviam* in B 92, *gauravid* in B 105, where *au* is written instead of *o* (compare Hēma-chandra, l. 1), may go back to the author himself. On the whole, however, the latter must have mastered the language fairly well. There occur several forms and Dēśi-words which have not yet been met elsewhere. At the same time there is a great uniformity both of the language and of the contents, so much so that the author sometimes repeats a whole verse without any alteration, as in A 23 and 28, 32 and 33, 98 and 101, or with very slight modifications, as in A 10 and 55, 14 and 101, 93 and 94. The half-verse *na ya jāo nea jammihū* occurs no less than five times (A 10, 16, 48, 55, 85).

The poems consist of two odes, each of 109 stanzas in the Āryā metre, to the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu. They have no poetical value. In the first the author varies *ad nauseam* essentially two thoughts, viz. that nobody has carried the earth so well as the tortoise, and that no mother is so happy and worthy of praise as the mother of this tortoise. In the second it is said that even the tortoise has been surpassed by king Bhōja who now carries the earth. Though a very poor performance, the poems, owing probably to the flattering contents of the second ode, pleased king Bhōja so much that he allowed them to be ascribed to himself.<sup>1</sup> "Even to the tortoise rest has been granted by king Bhōja alone. By him this *Kārmāsataka* has been composed after he had taken away all hope to the enemies" (A 107), and — "By whom the chief mountains, (nay) all the mountains here (on earth), have been reduced in weight, by this king Bhōja has this *Sātaka* been composed" (B 109). The very fact that in the second ode king Bhōja is several times directly addressed (B 5, 6, 7, 11, etc.) would alone suffice to prove that he himself is not the real author. Tradition has it that Bhōja was a great friend and admirer of scholars and poets, and it is well known that in legendary works like Mēnūtūṅga's *Prabandhaśatāmāṇi* and Ballāla's *Bhōjaprabandha* many famous poets of quite different

<sup>1</sup> The most complete list of the works ascribed to Bhōja has been drawn up by Prof. Aufrecht, *Catalogue Catalogorum*, Vol. I p. 418, and Vol. II p. 96.

centuries are placed at his court As yet no poems had been found which could with certainty be ascribed to the time of Bhôja So far the new find is of some interest

With the exception of a few stanzas, the poems are easily intelligible It would have been a tedious task to translate them I have therefore contented myself with mentioning in the notes all the difficulties and trying to explain them as far as possible The abbreviation Gr. refers to my Grammar of the Prākṛit Languages, where the remaining abbreviations are explained on p 410 ff

#### TEXT OF A.

[1] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

इच्छ[1]ए जस्य भुञ्जन् धरिञ्च एकाए असमसत्तीए ।

उग्रणेउ सो सुहाइ तुम्हाणं पव्वइनाहो ॥१॥

सो कुम्भो वो रक्खउ कंगयदिकडारदेहवित्तारो ।

जो जरठभुञ्जणवल्लीकांदच्छायं समुव्वहइ ॥२॥

जस्य भणिण्ण भुञ्जन् कुम्भप्पमुहा वि धारयन्ति [2] इम ।

सो अकलिव्वसरूओ ससिचूडो देउ सोक्खाइं ॥३॥

कमठकुडुम्बे विउले वि पसविआ उग्रह एय सा एका ।

भुञ्जणभरस्य वि पट्टी जीए जाएण ओडुविआ ॥४॥

कुम्भेण को ण सरिसी विणा वि कज्जेण जेण एकेण ।

जह निअसुहस्य पट्टी तह दिशा [3] भुञ्जणभारस्य ॥५॥

एक चि[अ] सा धन्ना मज्जे महिलाण पसविआ कमढी ।

अइदुव्वहो वि वूढो भुञ्जणभरो जीए जाएण ॥६॥

कमठकुले को न हुआ अप्पा वि हु दुव्वहो परं ताण ।

अविरोलं भुञ्जणभरो उव्वूढो तेण एकेण ॥७॥

कमठकुले जायाणं सखं को सुणइ किं तु [4] सो एक्को ।

आजमं भुञ्जण[भ]रो उव्वूढो जेण एकेण ॥८॥

जो कह व परिगहिओ भारो कुम्भेण निअह तस्य गइं ।

जीएण समं पैच्छह पम्पुक्को पलयपेरन्ति ॥९॥

१. As in many other cases, e.g. जीए, A 6, जणणीए, A 46, धरणीए, A 49, etc., the final ए of इच्छाए and एकाए is metrically short, Gr § 85, 375 असमसत्तीए=असमसत्ता.

२. कणगहिं=कनकाद्रिं जरठं, 'which exhibits the colour of dry earth and the bulbous root of a creeper,' i.e. 'which is yellowish, or brown.'

३. Instead of कुडुम्बे read कुडुम्बे. For पट्टी compare Gr § 53, 358 ओडुव्व and ओडुव्व occur frequently in this *Sataka*, compare A. 18, 31 33, 36, 37 In A 44 there is a substantive ओडुव्वण The verb means 'to place,' 'to set,' 'to locate,' and is common in Pāli. Compare Childers, s.v., *Jal* 1, 143, 20, 3, 144, 6, 330, 17, *Anguttaran* III 135, 4; *Therīg* 73, 357, etc. In Prākṛit it must be restored in Hāla, 642, 787

४. Observe the cerebral in the enclitic ण here and elsewhere (B 21, 23, 37, 60, 75, 105)

५. हुआ, Gr § 476 अविरोल belongs to विरोलइ, Hc 4, 121, विरोलिय, P 191, and means 'not tossing about,' 'not shaking about,' 'not agitated,' 'quietly'

६. गइं, as सखा in A. 11, must be taken as Acc. Plur Perhaps we ought to correct them to गइ and सख

पायाले मज्जतं खधं दाऊण भुअणमुअरिअं ।  
 तेण कमटेण सरिसो न य जाओ नेअ जम्मिहिइ ॥१०॥  
 [5] निअसुहकज्जे जम्भो जाणं संखा वि ताण को सुणइ ।  
 परकज्जेकरसिओ कुम्भकुडुखे पर दिओ ॥११॥  
 धन्ना सि कच्छवि तुमं मज्जे मज्जिलाण पसविआ तं सि ।  
 वीसामओ वि जाओ जीए जायस्स न हु भुअणे ॥१२॥  
 जे वि हु धरति धरणिं तेहि पि समं धरिज्जे सा वि ।  
 इअ एरिस[6]ववसाओ कुम्भो चिअ एत्थ उप्पणो ॥१३॥  
 जइ जम्भो वि हु जायइ ता जायउ कमठ तुम्भ सारिच्छो ।  
 परउवयारिक्कफलो पेरंतं जाव जो पत्तो ॥१४॥  
 निअजाइयसरिच्छं चरिअं निव्वडइ एत्थ पुरिसाण ।  
 निअपरजाइविरुद्धं दीसइ एक्कस्स कुम्भस्स ॥१५॥  
 [7] निअयपसवस्स गव्वं एक्क चिअ कमठिणी समुव्वइउ ।  
 जीए तणयस्स सरिसो न य जाओ नेअ जम्मिहिइ ॥१६॥  
 अज्जावहि अन्निहं वीओ भुअणे वि नेअ उप्पणो ।  
 एकलजुएण भुअण कुम्भो एक्को चिअ वहेइ ॥१७॥  
 सो चिअ वुअइ भारो वीओ खधं न जस्स ओउे[8]इ ।  
 कुम्भो अन्नेण समं पेच्छइ जइ भारमुव्वइइ ॥१८॥  
 सो चिअ वुअइ भारो अन्नेहिं जाइ जो न परिकलिउं ।  
 अन्नेण सम वूढो वूढो वि हु सो अनिव्वूढो ॥१९॥  
 जाइ देव्वायत्ता चरिअं पुण होइ पुरिससाहीणं ।  
 अज्जवसायं पेच्छइ केरिसओ सो हु कुम्भस्स ॥२०॥  
 रे देव [9] तं विडवसु पुरिसो कि जाइ तुह विडंवेउं ।  
 कुम्भो कओ कह तए तस्स वि चरिआइ कइ पेच्छ ॥२१॥  
 कुम्भेण धरा धरिआ लोओ जंपेइ नाइ इअ विलिओ ।  
 अंगाइं अंगेसुं निअयाइं उअइ निगहवइ ॥२२॥  
 परिकलिउं न चइज्जइ अज्जवसाओ हु एत्थ पुरि[10]साण ।  
 कुम्भस्स तं खु रु[अ] ववसाओ सो हु पुण तस्स ॥२३॥

१०. जम्मिहिइ, Gr § 540

११. Read °कुम्भे.

१५. निव्वडइ, Hc 4, 62

१०. अ° अ°=अद्यावधि अनिट Read वीओ, Gr. § 105 एक्कल is to be added Gr § 595, एकलजुएण= एकलजुगेण, 'one yoked,' i.e. 'quite alone' Compare A. 74, 78, 92, and एकलधुरिओ, A 106, compare also एअतओ, B, 25.

१८. Read वुअइ and वीओ For ओउेइ compare note on A. 4.

१९. Read वुअइ

२१. Read °डवसु, °डवेउ, °आइ

२२. विलिओ=वीडित, Gr § 51

२३. चइज्जइ, V. 8, 70, Hc. 4, 86. The first verse of this stanza is repeated in A 28



चकमणविरहियाणं निअरिसणं ववसिअस्स सो चेअ ।  
 पेच्छह कमठे दोन्नि वि पेरन्त जाव पत्ताइ ॥२४॥  
 उवमाणं कह लब्भउ पेच्छह कुम्भस्स असमचरिअस्स ।  
 न य जाओ न य दीसइ न य होही ज[11]स्स सारिच्छी ॥२५॥  
 अन्नेण मणेण तए कुम्भो हयदेव्व सो विणिम्मविओ ।  
 अवहत्थिजण त पि हु चरिअं तस्सन्नहा जायं ॥२६॥  
 आयारो सो रइओ अणचंक्रमणं च देव्व त दिव्वं ।  
 कुम्भस्स ववसिएणं सयल तुह मत्थए पडिअं ॥२७॥  
 परिकलिउं न चइज्जइ अज्जवसाओ हु [12] एत्थ पुरिसाण ।  
 कुम्भेण तं खु कलिअं हिअए वि हु जन्न सम्माइ ॥२८॥  
 कुम्भो वहेइ भुअण धुअं हि भुअणस्स उप्परे कुणसि ।  
 हयदेव्व साहुचरिअं पुज्जउ किं भस्सए अन्न ॥२९॥  
 आयारो जाई वा ववसाए कारण न पेच्छामी ।  
 सुणिकच्छवे निहालह ववसाय ता[13]ए पेच्छेह ॥३०॥  
 सोक्ख च[इ]जण निअं भुअणस्स वि ओड्डिओ तहा खधी ।  
 रे साहु साहु कच्छव अन्नं वडुत्तण लइ ॥३१॥  
 दुज्जणजणो हु जंपइ पट्ठी कुम्भेण ओड्डिआ भारे ।  
 एअं पि हु तेण कायं वीएण भणसु जइ भणसु ॥३२॥  
 दुज्जणजणो हु जंपइ पट्ठी कुम्भेण ओड्डिआ भा[14]रे ।  
 पट्ठी वि हु ओड्डिज्जइ एअ निव्वडइ कुम्भस्स ॥३३॥  
 निअसुहकज्जे सव्वो इह ववसइ त खु कमठ तेण विणा ।  
 चिन्तंतेहिस्वि कच्छव न आणिओ तुह अहिप्पाओ ॥३४॥  
 रित्तं भुअणकडित्तं अच्छइ रेहाहि वज्जिअं निअह ।  
 वडुत्तणस्स रेहा एक्का कमठस्स तत्थ परं ॥३५॥  
 [15] विहिणा तारिसओ च्चिअ [नो?] विहिओ धरउ केण अन्नेण ।  
 इअ कुम्भेण पट्ठी ओड्डिआ भुअणभारस्स ॥३६॥

२४ निअ<sup>०</sup>=निदर्शन दोन्नि, i.e. अणचकमण and ववसाओ ? Compare A. 23, 27

२५ Read लब्भउ.

२६ तस्स<sup>०</sup>=तस्मान्मया

२८ जन्न is grammatically incorrect, read ज न The first verse of this stanza has already occurred in A. 2.

२९ The first letter of धुअ is not quite clear, from धवत्त in A. 89, where the same shape of the letter occurs, it becomes certain that धु is meant The sense is "For thou, O fate, hast put the polar star above the earth." Compare A. 70, 72, 97 With उप्परे compare उप्परि, Hc 4, 394, and उप्पि, Gr § 148

३१ For ओड्डिओ compare note on A. 4

३२ One would expect जइ भणसि, compare A. 74 Read वीएण

३४ "तेहिस्वि is grammatically and metrically incorrect, read "हिं वि Gr § 180

३५. Read रेहाहिं or "हि

३६ नो is uncertain धरउ is incorrect for धरिज्जउ

होतेहिं अवयवेहिं पडिं ओडुवड जइ न ता साहु ।  
 तेहि विणा वि पडिं कुम्भो ओडुवड भुअणस्स ॥३७॥  
 केणावि जो न दिडो खुन्नो न कया वि एत्थ सुहु नवो ।  
 परउ[16]वयरणे मगो पढमो कुम्भेण निम्मविओ ॥३८॥  
 रे कुम्भ तं सि जाओ अनेहिं सुहा किमेत्थ जाएहिं ।  
 जस्स समप्पिअभारं सुहेहिं भुअणं पि निवसेइ ॥३९॥  
 अज्जावसिअं खु तं चिअ ज न हु कइआ वि को वि अणुसरिही ।  
 तं कुम्भे चिअ थक्कं इअरा इअर चिअ वराया ॥४०॥  
 [17]निअकज्जे जाण तणू ताणं संखं पि एत्थ को मुणउ ।  
 जीअ पि हु परकज्जे जस्स पुणो सो हु कमढवई ॥४१॥  
 सखारहिआ जाया भुअणे अने वि तं पि तइ कुम्भ ।  
 भङ्गीए पुणो मेओ अन्नो चिअ तुम्ह निव्वडिओ ॥४२॥  
 अच्छउ भुअणुव्वहणं हिअएण वि तन्न जाइ चिन्तेउ ।  
 त पि हु कम[18]डेण कयङ्गरुआण गई असावन्ना ॥४३॥  
 पङ्गीए ओडुवणे लोओ चुहुचुइइ कमढरायस्स ।  
 भारस्स दुव्वहत्तं भगो न हु मुणइ केरिसय ॥४४॥  
 के के न एत्थ जाया के न हु होन्ता खणे तहिं पि जणा ।  
 मोत्तूण कमढरायं भण भुअणं केण उद्धरिअं ॥४५॥  
 सासेण जस्स भुअ[19]णं सयलं ऊससइ कमढरायस्स ।  
 को तेण होउ सरिसो जाओ जणणीए सो चैअ ॥४६॥  
 वहुए वि एत्थ जाया तेहिं पि हु किं पि किं पि एत्थ कयं ।  
 भुअणुद्धरणसमत्थो एको चिअ कच्छओ जाओ ॥४७॥  
 के के न एत्थ जाया चरियायारेहिं अत्थि ताण समा ।  
 कच्छवसरिच्छएणं न य जाओ ने[20]अ जम्भिहिइ ॥४८॥

३७ Read होतेहिं

३८. Read अनेहिं and सुहेहिं

४० For थक्कं compare Hc 4, 16, *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 3, 258 f., 6, 84 ff

४२ The second verse means "In one way or another (?), however, another special lot has fallen to you."

४२. तन्न and कयङ्गरु are grammatically incorrect for त न and कय गरु.

४४ चुहुचुइइ apparently means 'to shout at,' 'to applaud'

४६. For जणणीए with short ए compare Gr § 385 and note on A 1

४७. Read वहुए, the form is quite unusual and probably wrong Compare सए, A 109, गरए, B 34, and Gr § 380

४८. Read रेहिं. अत्थि is used in the sense of सन्ति, see Gr § 409 For न य जाओ etc. compare A. 10, 16, 55, ६६.

सुत्यं भुअणं पि कय सका धरणीए तह समुद्धरिया ।  
 कि किन्न किन्न विहिअं कुम्म तए एत्य जाएण ॥४८॥  
 खेओ सोक्खम्महिओ भारुव्वहणे विहाइ कुम्मस्स ।  
 गरुआण ववसिआणं को मज्झं जाणिउ तरइ ॥५०॥  
 भुअणभरुव्वहणेण वि अन्नं सोक्खं विहाइ कमठस्स ।  
 [21] जं रुद्धं त सुहयं अन्ना इ गइं न सोक्खस्स ॥५१॥  
 परियत्तते काले के के इ खणा न एत्य उप्पन्ना ।  
 सो इ खणी एको द्विअ जस्सिं कुम्भो समुप्पन्नो ॥५२॥  
 धन्ना सि कच्छवि तुमं धन्नो जाओ वि तुज्झ सो एको ।  
 तह विहुरे जेण तहा जयस्ससत्ती समुप्पुसिआ ॥५३॥  
 ठअयारो गणियाणं जो वि इ सो वि [22] इ कुण्ड इह लोए ।  
 भुअ[णस्स] वि उअयरिअ कुम्भेण परं इ एक्केण ॥५४॥  
 जाओ सो द्विअ वुद्धं जम्भो सहलो इ. तस्स एक्कस्स ।  
 जस्स सरिच्छो भुअणे न य जाओ नेअ जम्भिहिइ ॥५५॥  
 जम्भप्फलो इ जम्भो जो जायइ ह्रीउ ह्रीउ किन्तेण ।  
 परउअयरणस्स कए जो जम्भो सो इ फलजम्भो [23] ॥५६॥  
 पोढभरणस्स कज्जे [जे जा]या ते मुआ इ तम्मि खणे ।  
 परउअयरणस्स कए जाण जम्भो इ ते धन्ना ॥५७॥  
 कमठवइ त मि जाओ जाएहिम्मि एत्य किं थ अन्नेहि ।  
 तं कि पि जेण विहिअ अन्नाण मणे न जम्माइ ॥५८॥  
 कमठवइ कि भणिज्जउ धन्नो जम्भो इ तुज्झ एक्कस्स ।  
 परउअयरणस्स क[24]ए अप्पा जेण तहा खविओ ॥५९॥  
 निअउअयरणस्स कए सयलो वल्लूण आयरं कुणइ ।  
 परउअयरण अप्पा कुम्म तय च्चेअ इह विहिओ ॥६०॥  
 कइआ वि जो न दिट्ठो न य निसुओ नेअ अणुहवं पत्तो ।  
 सो मग्गो पढमं चिअ कुम्भेण एत्य कइविओ ॥६१॥

४८ Instead of किन्न किन्न read कि न कि न.

५० Read °भहिओ विहाइ=विभाति तरइ, Hc 4, 86

५३ जयस्ससत्ती=जयस्स असत्ती, i.e. जगतोऽशक्ति, compare Gr § 395, 173 With विहुरे=विहुरे supply the locative जग्गिअ or जए=जगति समुप्पुसिआ belongs to पुसइ, Hc 4, 105, and means 'has been wiped off,' i.e. 'has been removed'

५६ इ is a blunder for रु, Gr § 94

५६ किन्तेण is a blunder for कि तेण

५८ °हिम्मि is wrong for °हिं वि, Gr § 180 थ, Gr § 175 मणे Gr § 409 जम्माइ is wrong for ज माइ

६० तय=तया is wrong for तइ or तए, Gr § 421

५५ सहलो=सफल

५७ इ ते metri caused for ते इ

५९ कइआ, Gr § 113 निसुओ, Désin 4, 27, Faizal 184

जाओ कुम्भ तुमं चिअ अनेहिं सुहा [25] किनेत्य जाएहिं ।  
 पायाले मज्जन्त भुअणं पि हु जेण उअरिअं ॥६२॥  
 के के न एत्य जाया ताणं मग्गो वि एस न हु फुरिओ ।  
 परउअयरणुअओ एओ कुम्भो हु निप्फन्नो ॥६३॥  
 परउअयरणे वट्टा पढमं कुम्भेण एत्य कट्टविआ ।  
 गरएहिं कया मग्गा पच्छा सीक्खेण गमंति ॥६४॥  
 दन्तिकिरिपन्नएहिं देखा[26]वेक्खीए धारिआ धरणी ।।  
 चम्भक्षणमणमग्गो निव्वडिअं एत्य कुम्भस्स ॥६५॥  
 अणचं कमणा इअरे पढमी ववसाइआण इह कुम्भो ।  
 जेण रइए हु मग्गे वट्टा इअराण संपन्ना ॥६६॥  
 अणचल्लिराण पढमी विहिणा कुम्भो हु एत्य निम्मविओ ।  
 ववसाइआण पढमी सो च्चिअ पेच्छेह कह जाओ [27] ॥६७॥  
 धन्ना सि कच्छवि तुमं धन्ना जाई वि तुम्ह निप्फणा ।  
 जीए जाएण कयन्त किं पि न जाइ ज भण्डं ॥६८॥  
 रे धरह धरं उअरह तिहुअणं पायडेह तह सत्तिं ।  
 देखावेक्खीए कयं किरिपमुहा को न उअहसइ ॥६९॥  
 कुम्भो धरेइ भुअणं तए समं कीस त सि धुअ कहसु ।  
 लज्जसि न विप्फुरं[28]तो अह व अयासाण कह लज्जा ॥७०॥  
 अणमग्गेण वि चल्लिरा धन्ना पावन्ति के वि गरअत्तं ।  
 अणमग्गचल्लिरेण वि कुम्भेण कहं जसी पत्तो ॥७१॥  
 अणुकूलेणं विहिणा धुअ तं जाएसु उअरि भुअणस्स ।  
 कुम्भेण ववसिएहिं सव्वे तुम्हे तले विहिआ ॥७२॥  
 कच्छवि तुमं पसूआ अनाओ पसविआ[29]ओ वंभाओ ।  
 जीअ तणएण तुलिअ तइलोकं वीअनिरवेक्खं ॥७३॥

६२. Read अनेहिं.

६२. चम्भाओ, Gr § 155

६४. Read गरएहिं. वट्टा = वट्ठा, Gr § 358

६५. देखावेक्खीए, which occurs also in A 69, apparently means 'with regard to its being seen,' 'in order that it may be seen,' = दृष्टेनापेक्षया चम्भक्षणमणमग्गो is wrong for चम्भक्षणमणमग्गो = चम्भक्षणमणमग्गो, 'moving about where there was no path,' as it is clear from the preceding and following stanzas चम्भक्षण = चाक्रमण, compare He. 4, 161 निव्वडिअ, He 4, 62.

६८ कयन्त is a blunder for कय त.

६९ For देखा<sup>०</sup> compare note on A 65

७०. अयासाण = अवाससाम्, Gr § 186, 409

७१. पावन्ति, Gr § 504 चल्लिर and चल्लिर, Gr § 488, 596

७२. Read वीअ<sup>०</sup>.





जइ भारो वि इ वुम्भइ ता वुम्भइ एत्य कुम्भभारसमो ।  
 एकलजएण वूढो जेण सया वीअनिरवेक्खो ॥७४॥  
 कज्जेण एत्य उअरिं जो जायइ सो इ तत्य धुअ सच्च ।  
 उअरिद्धिओ वि हेडे जो ववसाएण पम्भुओ ॥७५॥  
 त कुम्भ एत्य जाओ तए जिअन्तं [30] सि एत्य रे धनो ।  
 वीअधुरिएण खधो जस्स न केणावि उडुरिओ ॥७६॥  
 वभाओ पसविआओ वि सयलाओ वि एत्य अन्नमहिलाओ ।  
 विहिआओ कच्छवेणं अन्नं भणिउं न सम्माइ ॥७७॥  
 अन्ने वहति भार विणा न वीएण ते इ कइआ वि ।  
 एकलजएण भारं एको कुम्भो चिअ वहेइ ॥७८॥  
 दट्ठूण कुम्भ[31]रुअं जम्भो उव्विसइ अत्तणो वि इह ।  
 दट्ठूण ववसिआइ तस्स पुणो अहिअमुव्विसइ ॥७९॥  
 जम्भविणासाण कए जो जम्भो सो इ कस्स न इ एत्य ।  
 जम्भफलो पुण जम्भो जाओ एकस्स कुम्भस्स ॥८०॥  
 वीएण विणा वूढं जं वूढं तं खु एत्य सच्चिमयं ।  
 अन्नमुहं दट्ठूण जं वुम्भइ त खु जाउ दहे ॥८१॥  
 [32] चंक्रमिअन्तं वुच्चइ जे[णं] मग्गे वि दरिसिए इअरा ।  
 न चयति पय दाउं मग्गे जह कमढनिम्भविअ ॥८२॥  
 धरणिधरणमि हिअयं जाण जायं खु तेहिं समयं पि ।  
 उव्वूढो भुअणभरो पेच्छइ एक्केण कुम्भेण ॥८३॥  
 कमढिणि तं सि पसूआ जीए जाएण सयलमहिलाओ ।  
 होन्तेहिम्वि पसवेहि वंभाओ हडे[33]ण विहिआओ ॥८४॥

७४ Read वुम्भइ, Gr § 541 For एकल<sup>o</sup> see note on A. 17 Read वीअ<sup>o</sup> Instead of the second वुम्भइ one would expect वुम्भउ, compare A. 32

७५ हेडे, Gr § 107 पम्भुओ, Gr § 196  
 ७६ Read जिअ त and वीअ<sup>o</sup> The second verse means "whose shoulder has not been freed from the burden by a second one able to bear a burden."

७७ Read everywhere उ instead of ओ, which is against the metre, compare Gr § 85, 376

७८ Read वीएण For एकल<sup>o</sup> see note on A. 17

७९ The meaning of उव्विसइ is not certain It seems to mean 'gets tedious' I have not found the word else where

८१ Read वीएण and वुम्भइ सच्चिमय occurs again in A. 102 and B. 9, it means 'real', 'true,' Sanskrit सत्तमय दहे, Gr § 354, जाउ दहे=यातु दहे seems to be a proverbial saying

८२ Read चंक्रमिअ त चयति, Gr 8, 70, Hc 4, 86

८४ हो<sup>o</sup> wrong for होन्तेहिं वि, Gr § 180 Instead of वंभाओ read <sup>o</sup>उ

[के के] न एत्थ जाया के न हु अच्छन्ति के न होहिन्ति ।  
 तह वि तुह कुम्भ तुत्तो न य जाओ नेअ जम्भिहिइ ॥८५॥  
 कज्जसएहिं कएहिम्बि किन्तेहिं कएहिं साररहिएहिं ।  
 एक्क पि खु तं किज्जइ जह विहिअं एत्थ कुम्भेण ॥८६॥  
 दिट्ठे मग्गे जी वि हु सो वि हु पायडइ निअयववसा[34]यं ।  
 केणावि हु अ थाइ (१) . . . . . कुम्भो च्चिअ पयटो ॥८७॥  
 जाइ अइसयहीणा रुअं पुण वोक्खिअं पि न हु जाइ ।  
 कुम्भेण ववसिएहिं तह वि हु लहुइकया पुहइ ॥८८॥  
 धवला[35]ण गइ एसा सुआ वि न सुअन्ति उअह धवलत्तं ।  
 कुम्भस्स मयस्स वि कप्पर पि भुअणं समुव्वहइ ॥८९॥  
 गरुआण गइ एसा अन्ते वि [सुअ]न्ति नेअ अत्ताणं ।  
 कुम्भो मओ वि पडिं न हु कइइ कइ व धरणीए ॥९०॥  
 उव्वूढो भुअणभरो सुहिआ धरणी कया जणेण समं ।  
 एन्दिन्तेहिं पि सम जं रुअइ होउ त कुम्भे ॥९१॥  
 उव्वूढो अन्नेहिम्बि भारो धरणीए किं तु मिलिएहिं ।  
 एक्कलज्जुअस्स घडणा लग्ग[36]वि कुम्भस्स उप्पणा ॥९२॥  
 सेसकिरिक्कुम्भदिगयपमुहाणं निअह ववसिअ लोआ ।  
 अप्पा परस्स कज्जे आजम्भं जेहिं तह खविओ ॥९३॥  
 किरिसेसकमढदिगयपमुहाणं निअह ववसिअ लोआ ।  
 चइज्जण निअयसोक्ख अप्पा जेहिं तहा खविओ ॥९४॥  
 कुम्भेण किं त्य विहिअं लोओ स[37]लइइ लोअभणिए[ण] ।  
 जेण ससेसा पुहइ वूढा न हु उअह नीसेसा ॥९५॥  
 लोआणं कुम्भस्स य जम्भो जम्भाप्फलो विहाइ महं [।]  
 कज्जेण पुणो दीन्ह वि विवरोअं अन्तर गरुअ ॥९६॥  
 विरणउ धुअं देवो भुअणस्स वि उप्परे तहा वि वला ।  
 निअचरिएहिं पेच्छइ कुम्भो च्चिअ उप्परे जाओ ॥९७॥

८६ The first verse is metrically quite incorrect Read °सएहिं कएहिं वि कि तेहिं कएहिं, Gr § 180.

८८ Read को°

८९ For कप्पर compare note on B 45

९१. Read एणिइ तेहि

९२ Read अन्नेहिं वि, Gr § 180. For एक्कल° see note on A. 17 लग्गवि, Gr § 588

९३. Read जेहिं or जेहि, Gr § 180

९५ Read य instead of त्य, compare A 53.

९६. Read दीयइ.

९७. Read वला



[38] जइ जम्भो चिअ लब्भइ ता लब्भउ कमठजम्भसारिच्छो ।  
 अफलेणं अन्नेणं लडेण व होउ न हु कज्ज ॥८८॥  
 रे कमठ तुज्ज गोत्ते के न हुआ के न अत्थि होहिंति ।  
 सच्चेण पुण भणामो तुज्ज सरिच्छो तुमं चेअ ॥८९॥  
 ओ कमठो चिअ जाओ जाएहिंमि किं जणेहिं अन्नेहिं ।  
 जम्भस्स कि पि [39] सरिस जीवन्तेहिं न जेहिं कय ॥९०॥  
 जइ जम्भो चिअ लब्भइ ता लब्भउ कमठजम्भसारिच्छो ।  
 लडेण व अन्नेणं न हु कज्ज तेण न हु कज्जं ॥९१॥  
 पसवच्छलेण गम्भा सविआ सयलाण एत्थ महिलाण ।  
 सच्चिमओ पुण पसवो जाओ कमठस्स जणणीए ॥९२॥  
 इअराण पसविआ[40]ए वि गम्भा सविआ हु सयलमहिलाण ।  
 सच्चेण पसविआ पुण एक चिअ कमठ तुह जणणी ॥९३॥  
 अन्नाओ पसविआओ वि नेअ पसूआउ ताण गम्भचुइ ।  
 जाया सच्चप्पसवा एक चिअ कमठिणी भुअणे ॥९४॥  
 भुअणे वि जा न जाओ सरिसो ता कि करेउ सो वरओ ।  
 एको चिअ वडइ भर [41] कुम्भो वीअं अपावन्तो ॥९५॥  
 एकलधुरिओ सो चिअ भारेण समं पि एत्थ जो वीअं ।  
 उव्वहइ उअह भार अन्तो उण भणिअमेत्तेण ॥९६॥  
 कुम्भस्स वि वीसामो दिन्तो एक्केण भोअराएण ।  
 हरिजण वेरिआस कुम्भसय विरइअं तेण ॥९७॥  
 गाहासय न एअ गाहाण सएहिं केवली[42]हिं कय ।  
 सयवारं एक्केक पठइ जणो जेण तेण सय ॥९८॥  
 एआइ सयाइ तए गाहाण सएहिं नेअ रइआइ ।  
 सयवार आवत्ती जेणं एआण तेण सए ॥९९॥ ॥ ॥  
 ॥ इति महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवविरचितं अवनिक्कर्मशतम् ॥ ॥  
 ॥ मङ्गल महाश्रीः ॥ ॥

८८ Read लब्भइ and लब्भउ

१०० Read जाएहिं वि कि जणेहिं, and in the second verse जेहिं or जेहि

१०१ Read लब्भइ and लब्भउ

१०२ Read गम्भा

१०३ Read गम्भा

१०४ Read अन्नाउ 'पाउ and गम्भ'

१०५ वरओ=वराक, Gr § 80 Read वीअ

१०६ For एकल see note on A. 17 Read वीअ

१०८ Read सएहिं 'जेहिं, or twice 'हि

१०९ Read एआइ सयाइ and सएहिं, or the same without Anusvara सए must be taken in the sense of सयाइ

Compare वडइ, A. 47 (with note), and गर, B 34 तए=तया is rather singular here, since Bho.a has not been addressed in this ode

## TEXT OF B.

[1] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥

भुश्रणाद् वद्द कन्हो वुम्भद् तस्मैश्च निश्रद् कंकालं ।  
 हेलाए जेण सो इद्द तुम्हाण सिवो सिवं देउ ॥१॥  
 कुलगिरिणो लहुवविश्रा जलनिहिणो थाहिश्रा सकल्लेण ।  
 पच्छा धरिआ धरणी सुवद्दा जेणं हु सा होइ ॥२॥  
 कुलगिरिधरणीजलनिहिमेरुप्पमुद्दा नरेन्द इद्द [2] पढमं [1]  
 लहु[व]विजणं पच्छा धरिश्च भुश्रणं पि हेलाए ॥३॥  
 धरणि च्चिश्च ता गरुद्द ते गरुआ जे वद्धति तं पि पुणो ।  
 लहुवविश्रं पढमं चिश्च एश्रं सयलं तश्चो वूढं ॥४॥  
 धवलो सो च्चिश्च वुच्चद्द भरधारणवावडेहिं [3] समयं पि ।  
 उच्चलद्द जो हु भरं सो एक्को भोश्च त चेश्च ॥५॥  
 लहुवविजणं सयलं भुश्रणं भरधारणहि समयं पि ।  
 पच्छा वुम्भद् भूवद्द को हु गुणो चडद्द इश्रविहिण ॥६॥  
 इद्द अप्पस्स सयासा वुम्भद्द लहुश्च इमेण विहिण ॥  
 भण चडद्द को इद्द गुणो भूवद्द धरणीधरंतस्स ॥७॥  
 धरणि तुहं गरुश्रत्तं कुम्पप्पमुहेहिं एत्थ जं दिन्नं ।  
 लीलाए त हु हरिश्च भोएणं इश्रधरतेण ॥८॥  
 भारस्स इद्द गुरुत्तं [4] धवलाहासेहिं चडद्द चडवविश्र ।  
 सच्चिमधवलेण हिश्रो भारो वि हु लहद्द लघुवत्तं ॥९॥  
 कुम्भेण तुह गुरुत्तं करचरणविजलिण वद्धविश्रं ।  
 पच्छा सेसमुहेहिं भोएण तं कयं पयडं ॥१०॥

१ Read °थाद्, कण्हो, वुम्भद्

२ लहुवद्द is a denominative from लहु according to Gr § 559, = \*लच्चापयति, compare § 552 and लहुवो = लच्चो in § 139. It means 'to make light,' 'to reduce in weight,' 'to relieve' For थाहिश्रा compare थाह in Gr. § 88, it means 'they have been fixed, made stationary' हु is wrong for खु

३ °प्पमुद्दा is Acc Plur, Gr § 89, 367A

४ धवलो, Dēśn 5, 57, = यो यस्यां जातावुत्तमः Read °डेहि उच्चलद्द, 'to remove,' Gr § 488, 553

५ Read °एहि and वुम्भद् For इश्र° compare Gr § 116

६ Read वुम्भद् अप्पस्स सयासा लहुश्च = आत्मनः सकाशात्तुक्, 'something lighter than oneself,' compare B 18 चडद्द here and in A 9 means 'to be found,' 'to be,' compare Hc 4, 206, *Materialism, s v oadañ*, and सचडद्द, B 17

७ Read °डेहि, and खु instead of हु. For इश्र° see note on B 6

८ धवलो = धवलाभास चडवविश्र is a double causative from चट् (note on B 7), as दवावेद् from दा (Gr § 552), चडद्द चट° means 'it becomes increased,' = वद्धविश्र of the next stanza Read लहुवत्तं

सञ्चेण वि अइगरुआ धरणी पडिहाइ चिन्तमाणाण ।  
 इह पुण एसा कलिआ पडिहायइ भोअ कह लहु[5]आ ॥११॥  
 चिरपरिचिआण पासा उहालसु लहुववेसु तह धरणि ।  
 तह वि तइ चिअ रत्ता अन्नसु मुहं न पुलएइ ॥१२॥  
 कुम्भकिरिसेसपमुहा एसो भारो हु तुम्ह पडिहन्तो ।  
 पुज्जइ सव्वं दिहं तुम्हाण वि गरुडमा सुणिआ ॥१३॥  
 तुम्हाण एस भारो पडिहन्तो कुम्भसेसकिरिपमुहा ।  
 [6] पेच्छइ इमस्स भारं भूराओ भणइ विहसन्तो ॥१४॥  
 भारव्वहणसमंथा अज्जावहि जे जयन्नि विक्काया ।  
 ते वि उअ हासपयविं कुम्भप्पमुहा तए नीआ ॥१५॥  
 भारस्स दुव्वहत्तं पसुवगो निवडिअस्स पडिहत्तं ।  
 भुवणेक्कधवल त चिअ तए कह कह णु अवहरिअं ॥१६॥  
 निअगरुडमाए लहु[7]अं भुअण काजण वुअए पच्छा ।  
 तुह नहुअत्तमेअं अन्नस्स न कह व सचडइ ॥१७॥  
 धरणि तुम अइगरुइ तुज्ज सयासाओ कच्छओ गरुओ ।  
 भोएण सो वि जित्तो गरुआहिंवि अत्थि गरुअयरा ॥१८॥  
 असरिच्छं धरणिभर धारय वग्गेण सह वत्तेण ।  
 अत्थि गरुआण गरुआ जणवाओ इह तए हरिओ [8] ॥१९॥  
 अइदुव्वहो हु भारो धरणि त्ति जणस्स भोअ पडिहन्तं ।  
 कह अक्कमेण सो चिअ तए हिओ त धरतेण ॥२०॥  
 कुम्भस्स सो हु दप्पो माहप्पो सो हु सेसपमुहाण ।  
 धरणि धरंतएण कह णु तए सो हु उप्पुसिओ ॥२१॥  
 धरणी तए हु धरिआ गरुअत्तं कच्छवस्स अवहरिअ ।  
 अकुणतेण व काइव तस्स त[9]ए पाडिआ वट्ठा ॥२२॥  
 कुम्भकिरिसेसपमुहा सञ्चेण पसु मए हु विन्नाया ।  
 अन्नह हिअय ताण न जाइ सयसिक्कर कह णु ॥२३॥

१२. उहालसु, Gr § 553

१३, १४ पडिहन्तो=प्रतिभान् in the sense of प्रतिभाति

१५ जयन्नि=जगति, Gr § 395

१६ For णु compare note on A. 5

१७ Read वुअए नहुअत्त apparently belongs to णडुलो or णडुलो, 'tortoise,' Deśin 4, 20 "This thy tortoiseship is not at all found with any other"

१८ Read सयासाउ and compare note on B 7 जित्तो, Gr § 194. Read गरुआहिं वि and compare Gr § 369 for अत्थि see note on A. 48

२१ For उप्पुसिओ compare note on A. 53

२२ Read काइ व For वट्ठा see note on A. 61.

२३ जाइ=जायते, Gr § 437 सय°=ग्रतश्रीकार

धरणिभरे तद् कलिये सो अइगरुओ वि पलहुओ कुम्भो ।  
 अणुआरभवलगे को लायद लेखए इअरे ॥२४॥  
 लहुवविजणं भुअणं पच्छा एअतओ वहन्तेण ।  
 को [10] गारओ हु अप्पे को तस्सिं कहसु निम्भविओ ॥२५॥  
 लहुवविजणं कुम्भं समय धरणीए पुण वहन्तेण ।  
 अप्पस्स तद् य ताणं वडुत्तं कं तए विहिअं ॥२६॥  
 वडुत्तणस्स कज्जे जाओ कुम्भो हु एत्थ धरणीए ।  
 तीए लहुअत्तकज्जे भोअ तुमं एत्थ उप्पन्नी ॥२७॥  
 ज इह पसूहिं दिन्न केच्चिरयालं हु तस्स निव्वा[11]हो ।  
 पुहइ तुहं वडुत्तं भोएण अज्ज पायडिअं ॥२८॥  
 लहुअविजणं धरणि पच्छा धरिआए को गुणो चडइ ।  
 फलकज्जे सब्बो वि हु कज्जाइ भोअ विरएइ ॥२९॥  
 कुलगिरिणो लहुअविआ लहुअविआ सायरा तहेअ मही ।  
 पच्छा भारो कलिओ लहुउव्वहणेण किं होइ ॥३०॥  
 पुहइ [12] गरुअत्तण तुह केहिंवि धीरुज्झिणहिं वडुविअं ।  
 भोएण तस्मि कलिये अत्ताणं पेच्छ कोड्डेण ॥३१॥  
 गरुअत्तण पसूहि धरणीए ज हु एत्थ वडुविअं ।  
 त पायडिजण पोरिसमज्ज भोएण लहुवविअं ॥३२॥  
 को वि गरुअत्तकज्जे धरणीए एत्थ निम्भिओ विहिणा ।  
 अन्नो हु को वि विहिओ तीए वि हु ल[13]हुइमाकज्जे ॥३३॥  
 एअ चिअ तुह कम्मं जे गरुए लहुअवेसि ते चेअ ।  
 एअस्सि किज्जन्ते साह फल कि तुहं फलइ ॥३४॥  
 धरणिमुहे सयले वि हु लहुआवह कगलीए कि भणिमो ।  
 तुम्हे वि कुणह एअ पिसुणा उण किं करिस्सति ॥३५॥

२४. वलगो=आकटे, Pāyā 247, compare वलगइ, Hc 4, 206 I am not sure about the meaning of लायद and hence of the sense of the whole second verse

२५. For लहु<sup>०</sup> see note on B 2 गारओ, Gr § 61, 357 अप्पे, Gr § 401

२६. समय=समक, i.e. सम, 'together with' ताण, viz the tortoise and the earth

२८. Read पसूहिं केच्चिर<sup>०</sup>, Gr § 149 Read खु पायडिअं=प्रकटित, Gr § 77

३१. Read केहिं वि<sup>०</sup>एहिं कोड्डेण=कौतुकेन, Hc 4, 422, 9

३२. Read खु अज्ज, Gr § 181

३३. लहुइमा, Gr § 359

३४. गरुए, as वडुए in A 47, is quite a singular form of the Nomin Plur instead of गरुआ and वडुआ किज्जन्ते is the Loc of the Participle Praes Pass, = क्रियमाणे साह, Gr § 264

३५. मुहे सयले are Acc Plur, compare Gr § 357 कगलीए=काकल्या<sup>०</sup>





अज्जावहि गरुअत्त धरणीसरिनाहपव्वएसु ठिअम् ।  
 गरुअत्तणस्स [14] नामं एहिं ताण हु अत्यम्बिअं ॥३६॥  
 गरुअत्तणं हु गरुअं एको वहिउं न जाव सक्केइ ।  
 ता पुव्वेहिं विहत्तं तं पि तए लहुइअ कह णु ॥३७॥  
 मह गरुअत्तं सा तह य गरुइमा दो वि तह य हरिआइ ।  
 अदरडिरलहरिआहिं सरिनाहो निअह रोवेइ ॥३८॥  
 तइ उप्पन्ने भूवइ गरुअत्तं ताण वि अलिअ जाव ।  
 पस[15]रंतनिज्जरनिहा कुलगिरिणो ताव रोवन्ति ॥३९॥  
 जल्य पुरिसाण हिज्जइ गरुअत्त तल्य महिलिआण कहं ।  
 अणयक्कं पुहई वि हु रोवइ सरिआण भगीए ॥४०॥  
 धरणीए तले कुम्भो कोलप्पमुहा वि लज्जिआ लुक्का ।  
 जा लहुअत्तं तीए पुहईए कय हु भोएण ॥४१॥  
 जा मरिजण धरिआ कुम्भप्पमुहेहिं क[16]ह वि इह धरणी ।  
 सा विहिआ खेत्तणय भोअ तए इह धरन्तेण ॥४२॥  
 धरणीए सम धरिआ कुलगिरिपमुहा हु जाव तेण सम ।  
 जलनिहिणा तुट्ठेण अज्ज वेला तुह गहिआ ॥४३॥  
 पुहईए गरुअत्त अज्जावहि नेअ केण वि निरुइं ।  
 धरिजण तए एअ लहुइलहुअ त्ति नाम कय ॥४४॥  
 तहनमिअकप्परे[17]ण धरणी एह धारिआ कह कह व ।  
 सा नीसका अज्ज हसेइ गिरिनिज्जरनिहेण ॥४५॥  
 लहुआविआ हु धरणी कुलगिरिणो खव्विआ सरीनाहो ।  
 अणगहिरो निम्भविओ कस्स निमित्तस्स सह कहसु ॥४६॥  
 धरणी अज्ज हिट्ठा तइ धरिआ भोअ मन्नए एअ ।  
 पुरिसोत्तिमेण रइअ लहुअत्त गरुइमब्ब[18]हिअ ॥४७॥  
 कमढो धरेइ धरणिं आएणं गरुइमा वि अइलहुइं ।  
 तइ धरिआ पुण सा वि हु पेच्छसु क गरुइमं पत्ता ॥४८॥

३६ Read ठिअ, एहिइ, हु, अत्यम्बिअ

३८ निअह, Hc 4, 181

४१ लुक्क, Gr § 506 Read लु

४४, I think we must write लहुइलहुअ=लुआ and translate this by 'lighter than light'

४५ कप्परे=the shell of the tortoise, compare A 89 एह, i.e. āha=एया, Gr § 263

४६ For खव्विआ from चपय (root चि) compare णव्वइ, Gr § 543

४७, हिट्ठा, D.śin 8, 67 Read 'म'. गरुइमं=गरुइम अमं, Gr § 178

४८. आएण, Gr § 129.

३७ Read लु and पुव्वेहि विहत्त=विमत्त.

४० For अणयक्क see note on A 40

४२ Read 'मुहेहि खेत्त', Gr § 206

लहुअत्त तुह दिन्नं मा सन्नसु धरणि भोअराएण ।  
तेण धरिआ सि एअं गरुअण वि गरुअमं देइ ॥४८॥  
कुम्मविणासे खुहिआ अज्जावहि संकिआ ठिआ धरणी ।  
तइ धरिआ पु[19]ए एहिं सप्पसरा पुण व सप्पसरा ॥५०॥  
लहुआविआ वि पुहई अप्पं लहुआविअं न मनेइ ।  
न गणति किं पि दइए रत्तुमत्ताओ महिलाओ ॥५१॥  
लहुआविआ वि हु हई भोअ तए सुणइ गरुअमत्ताणं ।  
महिलाण पिएण कयं सयलं लडह पडीहाइ ॥५२॥  
कुम्मेण धरा धरिआ लहुअं अप्पं सया [20] वि मन्नन्ती ।  
तइ धरिआ पुण एसा दूणं अत्ताणयं लहइ ॥५३॥  
जो गारओ हु दिन्नो पसूहिं सो होइ एत्थ केरिसओ ।  
लहुअत्तण तइ कय पडिहाइ महीए अइगरुअं ॥५४॥  
लहुअत्तं गरुअत्तं भारस्स चडेइ धारएण कयं ।  
गरुअविआ कुम्मेणं धरणी लहुआविआ हु तए ॥५५॥  
गरुअत्त[21]एणं पि दिन्न पसूहि पडिहाइ लहुअमम्भहिअं ।  
तइ दिन्न लहुअत्तं पडिहायइ गरुअमम्भहिअ ॥५६॥  
मरिज्जण जो धरिज्जइ भारो इह कुम्म सो हु केरिसओ ।  
अइपलहुआए तुम्हे इमीए कच्च कायरा जाया ॥५७॥  
गरुएणं लहुअत्तं उअणीअ गरुअम पि इह देइ ।  
इअ सायरपमुहा[22]ए हिअए खेओ न तणुओ वि ॥५८॥  
दाजण लहुअत्त सइ धरणीगरुअमा हु वडुविआ ।  
भूवइ पुहईए तए इअ तीए वडुओ हरिसो ॥५९॥  
पेच्छताण सरुअं पुहईसरिनाहकुलगिरिमुहाण ।  
गरुअत्त पडिहायइ तइ कलिए कह णु लहुअत्त ॥६०॥  
लोअ पसिडीए कए गरुअत्तं पलहुए वि प[23]यडेइ ।  
भारे कच्च त सि पुणो गरुअं लहुअं हु पायडसि ॥६१॥  
एअए गरुअत्तं तुम्हेहि कुम्म पयडिअ एत्थ ।  
खग्गगतोलिआए पेच्छह रे गौरवमिमीए ॥६२॥

५० Read एहिं सप्पसरा=सप्पसरा

५१. Read °जाउ °लाउ

५२ लडह=रस्य, Dēśin 7, 17

५४ Read पसूहि

५६ The Anuvāra in दिन्न is not certain Read पसूहि and twice °महिअ, and compare note on B 17

६१. लोअ must be taken as Nominative according to Gr § 364 The Anuvāra in गरुअ is not quite certain  
Read खु instead of हु पायडसि Gr § 77, 191

६२ Read गौरव°



केत्तिअमेत्ते भारे कन्ह तए पोरिसं पमोत्तूण ।  
 रुअसयाइं कयाइ लोए लहुवाविओ अप्पा ॥६३॥  
 पुहइ चेलयसरिसा कुलगिरि[24]पमुहा तहेअ पडिआणं ।  
 तोलिज्जइ गरुअत्तं भुएण एअ तुम कुणसि ॥६४॥  
 भारस्स वहणकज्जे पट्टी सीस इह कयं विहिणा ।  
 मणिवलओ व्व धरिज्जइ भारो एसो नवा वट्ठा ॥६५॥  
 जं ज गरुअं जं जं च दुव्वह जं च ज च अणसकं ।  
 तं तं कुणतएण कन्हो लहुआविओ भोअ ॥६६॥  
 इमिणा [25] गरुअत्तेण पुहइ तए गरुइमा इमा लद्धा ।  
 पेच्छेसु पलहुअत्त असिणा अप्पस्स तुलिआए ॥६७॥  
 मा मज्जउ जलमज्जे मा सरिनाहा मिलतु गोत्तस्स ।  
 इअ त दयाए धरणिं लोअस्स इमस्स उव्वहसि ॥६८॥  
 धरणी धरगणसमा ककरसरिसा तहेअ कुलगिरिणो ।  
 [26] . . . . . हीभारे कलिए तए भोअ ॥६९॥  
 सरिनाहपुहइपमुहा रुढा गरुअत्तेण इह लोए ।  
 गरुआण लहुववणे कि हु फलं तुज्ज सिज्जेइ ॥७०॥  
 आरोविअवडुत्ते भारे अप्पस्स गारव लोआ ।  
 देन्ति तुम पुण साहसु विवरीअं ताण ववहरसि ॥७१॥  
 लहुइ करेसु ध [27] . . . . . कुणसु अन्न पि ।  
 तइ मा तद्दा वि रत्ता सयल लडह तुहं गणइ ॥७२॥  
 काऊण लहुअत्तं भोग अप्प तुहं पयासंती ।  
 धरणी करगहकए अप्प तुह भोअ ओप्पेइ ॥७३॥  
 धरणीए लहुअत्त त इह निम्भवसु कुणसु ज महिअ ।  
 तुह सत्तीए इमीए अन्न गरुअत्तणं च . ॥७४॥  
 [28] ... गोरविअ लहुअ विउल महि धरतेण ।  
 कइ णु तए अइचोज्जं अन्नो चिअ गारवो दिन्नो ॥७५॥

६२ Read कएइ and सयाइं

६४ पडिआणं=पतिताना belongs to गरुअत्त

६५ वट्ठा=वर्मा, see note on A 64

६६ अणसकं=अणसकम् Read कएहो

६७ Between सि and पा of इमिणा a kind of symbol is inserted

७० Read खु instead of इ

७१ पयासंती=प्रकाशयन्ती, Gr § 553 ओप्पेइ, Gr § 104

७४ निम्भवसु, Gr § 553 महिअं=काङ्क्षित, compare note on Hc 4, 129 च .

probably=चडिअ.

compare B 7, 9

७५ अइचोज्जं=अव्यङ्ग्यम् or अत्याद्यर्थम्, Pāṇyā 165, Deśin 3, 14

मा मन्नसु धरणि तुम मट्टिअभारो हु जं मह गरुओ ।  
 भोएण त सि धरिआ एसो भारो तुहं गरुओ ॥७६॥  
 गरुअत्तं त मन्नसि धरणि इह ज पसूहि तुह दिन्नं ।  
 तुह ग [29] . . . . . तुमं धरिआ ॥७७॥  
 जलनिहिणो थाहविआ लहुअविआ कुलगिरो तहा धरणी ।  
 अज्ज वि तं किं काहिसि न याणिमो भोअ मह कहसु ॥७८॥  
 पट्टीए वहइ कुम्भो सेसो सीसेण तह रएण किरी ।  
 पय त वहु मन्नसु इअ भोओ ज करे धरइ ॥७९॥  
 अइभारिआ मए कि [30] . . . . . [क]मठ मा गज्ज ।  
 उव्वहसु पेच्छ धरिआ भोएण कह इमा अज्ज ॥८०॥  
 मा कमठ वहसु गव्व मा त इह सेम उत्तुणो होसु ।  
 धरणिभरो केत्तुलओ गरुआहिस्वि अत्थि गरुअयरा ॥८१॥  
 कलिअ भोएण महि दट्ठूण मा हु सुणह लहुअ त्ति ।  
 कुम्मसुहा गरुअत्त एआए तु [31] . . . . [॥८२॥] ।  
 लहुवविउ गउरविउ भोअ तुम चेअ एत्थ जाणिसि ।  
 लहुवविआ मा वि मही वडुविआ सा वि भतीए ॥८३॥  
 धरणि पसूहिं दिन्नं गरुअत्त तुह विहाइ केरिसय ।  
 लहुअन्तेणं दिन्न भोएण त पि केरिसय ॥८४॥  
 हरिअणं पसुहत्था भोएण धरणि ज तुम धरिआ ।  
 ह . . [32] . . . . सह सव तं तुह दाउ ॥८५॥  
 दुट्ठत्तं न य विण्यमि जपसि न य किं पि जुणसि न विरुद्धं ।  
 मउणेण वि गरुअत्त गरुआण कह तुम हरसि ॥८६॥  
 लहुवाविआ हु धरणीकुलगिरिणो सायरा वि थाहविआ ।  
 एत्तुलएण कएण कि विहिअं होइ मह कहसु ॥८७॥  
 ह . . [33] . . . . . काळण कुलगिरिप्पसुहो ।  
 भोअ तए पढमं चिअ जह अअ वहसु तह एहि ॥८८॥  
 कमठकडाहठिआए गरुअत्तं तुज्ज पुहइ केरिसय ।  
 सोहिअभोअभुआए केरिसय त पि मह कहसु ॥८९॥

७७ Read पसूहि

७८ For थाहविआ see note on B 2 ७९ रएण=रदेन Read वहु

८१ उत्तुणो=दृप्त, Dśin 1, 99, *Beitrage zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 13, 1 Read गरुआहिं वि and see note on B 18

८३ वडुविआ=\*वड्वापिता from वड्डी=महान्, Dśin 7, 29, which has been retranslated into Sanskrit by वड् .

८८ Read एहि.

धरणी ता लहुवविआ कुलगिरिणी सायरा-इम गय[ण] ।  
 [34] . . . . . तुह हिअयं-कह व न हु धाद ॥८०॥  
 वडुत्त पसुदिन्न अवहरिजण महीए भोएण ।  
 अन्न चिअ गरुअत्त दिन्न ज भाइ न हु हिअए ॥८१॥  
 केरिसय पसुदिन्न दिन्न पुरिसिहिं केरिसं होइ ।  
 गरुअत्त धरणि तुम साहसु कह केण गौरविअ ॥८२॥  
 धरणिमुहा लहुव[35][विआ] ; . ए[१] वि सयला वि ।  
 पच्छा भारो वूढो नरेन्द सन्न नरेन्दो सि ॥८३॥  
 गरुआणं गरुअत्त हरिजण रोविअं हु त अप्पे ।  
 परगद्धभाए गरुओ अप्पा भण केरिभो होइ ॥८४॥  
 जो अप्पन्न मयासा भारो गरुओ हु वुअए सो हु ।  
 धरणिवहणेण भूवइ को तुज्ज [36] . . . . . [८५॥]  
 कुम्भकिरिसेसदिगयपमुहे जिण्णिजण भोअ सयलपसु ।  
 क पोरिस विडत्त पतुजिणणे होइ मत्त कहसु ॥८६॥  
 कुलगिरिसायरपुहईपमुहे लहुववसि को निवारइ ।  
 परलान्नवकरणेण अप्पे भण को गुणी चडइ ॥८७॥  
 कह कह वि नर [37] . . . . . एत्थ जाव सुहा ।  
 लहुवाविजण सा कह वल्लयस्व तए समुच्चूढा ॥८८॥  
 अज्जावहि गरुअत्त लोए जाण सुदूरमारूढ ।  
 ताण वि कह लहुअत्त केहूरं पेच्छ आरूढ ॥८९॥  
 लहुवावसु त धरणि पिट्ठसु दण्डेण कुणसु अन्न पि ।  
 ज रुच्चइ त विरयसु तइ र [38] . . . . . पे ॥९०॥  
 कम्मडकडाह फट्ट किरिणी दाढा गया हु सयसाह ।  
 जीए भरेण महीए खगगगे धरसि कह त पि ॥९१॥  
 गरुएण गरुअत्त अवहरिअं नेअ कह व फिट्ठेइ ।  
 तन्तस्स चिअ लहुअं इअराण पुणो तह चेअ ॥९२॥

८२ Read पुरिसेहिं and गौरविअ

८४ Read खु instead of हु

८६ विडत्त Gr § 223, 236, 565 जिण्णि is derived from the stem of the present जिण-, Gr § 473

८७ For चडइ compare note on B 7

८९ केहूर, Gr § 149

९० फट्ट=फट, Dīśin. 6, 86, =सर्पस्य सर्वप्रतीर फणय  
grieve at their fate, compare Dīśin 1, 6

९२ फिट्ठेइ, Hc 1, 177 Read त तच्छ

९५ For सयासा compare note on B 7 Read वुअए

९८ Read वल्लय व

१०० For पिट्ठसु see Weber on Hāla, 171

दाढा, Gr § 76 गया सयसाह=गता स्वदशाघ, 'they

तद् धरित्री धरणिभरो लहुओ वलय[39]स्व तुह भुए सहइ ।  
 कुम्पसुहेहिं सो वि हु चडिओ भारो व्य पडिहाइ ॥१०३॥  
 धरणी सहावगरुआ भोएणं धरिअ त्ति अइगरुआ ।  
 एहिं इमीए समुच्च को पेच्छह पेच्छउत्तरइ ॥१०४॥  
 अणिमालहिमाइगुणे तुह आयत्ते मए हु विनायं ।  
 लहुआविआ वि धरणी क[40]ह गु तए सा वि गौरविआ ॥१०५॥  
 लहुआविआ हु धरणी लहुअविअं मन्नए न अप्पाणं ।  
 तद् लहुअ त्ति एसा गरुअं अत्ताणय सुणइ ॥१०६॥  
 दिओ वि हु कहेण इमीए इह गारओ हु खोणीए ।  
 पडिहाइ नेअ गरुओ लहुअत्तं तद् कयं गरुअं ॥१०७॥  
 मिलवि [41] पसुहिं धरिआ संकिअवित्तासकंपिरी यक्का ।  
 धरणी कंप्पुक्का अल्लपरं भोअ सपन्ना ॥१०८॥  
 कुलगिरिणी भूमिहरा सयला वि हु लहुइआ इहं जेण ।  
 तेण सयं निम्मविअ एअ सिरिभोअराएण ॥१०९॥ ॥

### No 26.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, C.I.E., GOTTINGEN.

(Continued from page 8.)

From the Government Epigraphist's collection of inscriptions Mr. Venkayya again has sent me for examination a large number of dates, of which I here publish 36 dates of Chôla kings. The most important of them is No 101, which has only quite lately been discovered by Mr Venkayya. It is of the reign of Parāntaka I. and, together with my date No 55, proves that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907. Of the other dates, one (No 102) is of the reign of Rājendra-Chôla I., and one (No. 106) of the reign of Rājārāja II, 3 dates (Nos 103-105) belong to Vikrama-Chôla, 8 (Nos 107-114) to Kulōttunga-Chôla III. (Virarājendra-Chôladēva, Tribhuvanaviradēva), 16 (Nos. 115-130) to Rājārāja III, and 6 (Nos. 131-136) to Rājendra-Chôla III. These dates in every way confirm the correctness of the general results previously obtained, at the same time, they enable us to give within narrower limits the times during which some of the kings to whom they belong must have commenced to reign. Thus it may be affirmed now that Rājendra-Chôla I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 27th March<sup>1</sup> and the 7th July A.D. 1012; Rājārāja II. between (approximately) the 27th March and the 11th July<sup>2</sup> A.D. 1146, Kulōttunga-Chôla III. between (approximately) the 6th<sup>3</sup> and 8th July A.D. 1178, and Rājārāja III. between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216.<sup>4</sup>

१०३. Read वलय व. सहइ, Hc 4, 100 Read °हेहिं

१०४. Read एहिं nhim समुच्च=समुच्च Read पेच्छउत्तरइ and compare note on A. 50

१०५. Read गौर°.

१०७. Read कपडेण.

<sup>1</sup> See No 102

<sup>2</sup> See No. 108

१०८. मिलवि, Gr § 588 For यक्का see note on A. 40

<sup>3</sup> See No 106

<sup>4</sup> See Nos. 129 and 119





Mr Venkayya has discovered and sent to me a third date of the king Parāntaka I, which should admit of verification, and which I have examined but do not venture to publish yet. I am also keeping back a number of dates of Kulōttunga-Chōla II and Rājādhirāja II, because I am not fully convinced of the correctness of my general results. The discovery of additional dates of these kings is highly to be desired and would be of considerable importance. Mr Venkayya has kindly checked the readings of the original dates here published, after they were in print.

#### A — PARANTAKA I.

101.—In the Sivalokanātha temple at Grāmam.<sup>1</sup>

16 Svasti śri [||\*] Kali[y\*]uga-va[r\*]-ham nālayirattu nā[pa]-  
 17 'na nala Madirakoppa ko=Pparakāsarpammar-  
 13 ka jindu Joradu Kali[y\*]u . . . [nra] nāi  
 19 padinnga-nay[y\*]irattā en[ka] . . . . . [i]rattu  
 20 mapattā i[ra] . . . . .  
 22 . . . . . i[v]v āttai Ma-  
 23 [gana-na]janna-Chelangi kōlamu p[er]ra 'Iravadi-n[āi]

"(In) the Kaliyuga year four thousand and forty-four, the 38th year (of the reign) of king Parakesarivarman who took Madurai,—on the fourteen hundred-thousand, seven[ty] . . . . . [thousand] thirty-eight day . . . . . Kaliyuga . . . . . on the day of Revati, which corresponded to a Saturday of the month of Makara in this year"

For the current year 1044 of the Kaliyuga this date corresponds to Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 913, which by the Ārya-siddhanta was the 23rd day of the month of Makara, and on which [the 6th hour of the bright half of Māgha ended 18 h 21 m, while] the nakṣatra was Revati for 9 h 12 m, after mean sunrise. The preceding Makara-samkranti, according to the Ārya-siddhanta, had taken place 8 h 33 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 23rd December A.D. 912, when the *śarjira*, calculated by Warren's Table, was 1477015d 8 h 33 m. That Friday, therefore, was the 1477015th day of the Kaliyuga, and Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 913, the 1477037th day, the day which, without any doubt, was put down in the original date.

Above, Vol VII p 1, I have stated that between A.D. 900 and 985 the Chōla date No 55, which is of the 10th year of the reign of Parāntaka I, must correspond to either the 24th July A.D. 913 or the 25th July A.D. 915. The present date No 101, which is of the 36th year of the same reign and corresponds to the 14th January A.D. 913, shows that the second alternative given by me really furnishes the true equivalent of the date No 55. And the two dates together prove that Parāntaka I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907.

I may add that this is the earliest known Chōla date which can be verified, and that of the 136 dates hitherto examined it is the only one in which the era of the Kaliyuga is quoted. Among the same dates, 18 quote the Śaka era; and of these, 12 are in Kanarese, 4 in Telugu, and only 2 (No 6 of S. 1030, and No. 16 of S. 1119) in Tamil inscriptions. The Śaka year 991 is quoted in the date of a Tamil inscription of Virarajendra, which does not admit of verification.

#### B.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

102.—In the Dārukāvanéśvara temple at Tiruppalātturai.<sup>2</sup>

1 Svasti śri [||\*] Tira man[ni] valara . . . . . kō-  
 [Ppa][ra\*]kīśarpā[nma]r-āṇa ari-Rājēnta(ndra)-Chōladēvaṅku [yāṇdu] ōvadu]

<sup>1</sup> No 735 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

<sup>2</sup> Read *Iravadi*.

<sup>3</sup> No 275 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

2 . . . . . ivv-āṇḍu Mēsha-nā[ya\*]ṛru Śev[vā][y\*]-kkaḷamai  
 peṇṇa Śadaiya-ttar[unā]l<sup>1</sup>

"In [the 5th year] (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,—on the auspicious(?) day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Tuesday of the month of Mēsha in this year."

According to the result previously<sup>2</sup> found for the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I, this date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1016 or A.D. 1017. In A.D. 1016 the month of Mēsha contained no Tuesday, on which the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj. The date therefore apparently corresponds to Tuesday, the 26th March A.D. 1017, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which [the 11th *tithi* of the dark half of Chaitra ended 21 h 33 m, while] the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system from 5 h 55 m after mean sunrise to the end of the day, according to Gaṅga from 5 h 55 m to 21 h 40 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta from 6 h 34 m to 19 h 3 m, after mean sunrise.—I can give no special reason why the day should be described as 'the auspicious day of Śatabhishaj'.

The date would prove that the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 27th March A.D. 1012.

### C — VIKRAMA-CHOLA

103 — In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.<sup>3</sup>

1 Svasti [śiḷ ||\*] Pū-mālai midamdu . . .  
 5 . . . kō=Pparakēsaripanmar-āṇa Tribhu[va\*]nachakravattigal śrī-Vikrama-  
 Śōladēvai[k\*]ku y[ā]ndu  
 6 nālāvadu lishābhā-nāyayru [p]ū[ivva]-pakshattu tū[tī]yayum [Bu]dan-[kī]lamai-  
 yu[m\*] perī. Tuvāduai-nāl

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day of Ārdra, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 10th May A.D. 1122, which was the 16th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyaishta) ended 16 h 22 m, while the *nakshatra* was Ārdra, by the equal space system for 12 h 29 m, and according to Gaṅga for 0 h 39 m, after mean sunrise.

104 — In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.<sup>4</sup>

1 Pu-mādu pu[na]ia . . .  
 2 . . . kō=Pparakēsaripan[ma]r-āṇa Tribuvanachchakravattigal [Vī]kkaṇama-  
 [Ś]ōladēvarkku yā-  
 3 ndu [u]ālāvadu Rishabha-nāyay[ru] a[para-pakshat]tu [trī]tīyayum Budha[n] kīlamai-  
 yum perī Tuvāduai-nāl

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day of Ārdra, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [third] *tithi* of the [second] fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

There can be no doubt that this date is identical with the preceding one, and that the reading in line 3 of the original should have been *pūva-pakshattu*, not *apara-pakshattu*.

<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. Venkaya the reading to all appearance is as given above, but he adds that *tin nāl* may be intended.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. VII p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> No. 564 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> No. 565 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.



<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 2.

I may add that between A.D. 1146 and 1173 the only days for which the original date would be perfectly correct are Wednesday, the 27th July A.D. 1155, and Wednesday, the 23rd July A.D. 1169, but that with neither of these days could the other dates of Rājārāja II be reconciled.

The date would appear to show that the reign of Rājārāja II. could not have commenced after (approximately) the 11th July A.D. 1146.

### E.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III

107.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara templo at Vēdāranyam<sup>1</sup>

- 1 [Sva]stī śrī [||\*] T[1]r[1]buvāṇachchakkaravattigal śī-Kulottu[ṅga-Śō]la-  
dēvar]kku yāndu n[ā]-  
2 lāvadu Mīṇa nāyayṛu [pū\*]vva-pakshattu paṇḍamiyum V[1]yāla-kkīlamai-  
yum per[ra\*]  
3 [U]rōśa[ni]-nā

"In the fourth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 11th March A.D. 1182, which was the 17th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra<sup>2</sup>) ended 9 h 25 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhini for 20 h 21 m or 21 h 1 m, after mean sunrise

108.—In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagirī<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svastī śrī [||\*] Tīr[1]buvāṇach[cha][kka\*]ravattigal śrī-[Vī]rārāśē[nda]ra-  
Śō[la]dēvar[k]ku yāndu ā[rā]vadu Kaṛkadaga-nāyayṛu apara-pakshat[ta]  
dū]vādaśiyum [V1]yāla-kkīlamaiyum perṛa Urōśa[ni]-nā[1]

"In the sixth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virārājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka."

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Thursday, the 5th July A.D. 1184, which was the 9th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the *nakshatra* was Rōhini the whole day. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 18 h 7 m after mean sunrise, was the 11th, *not* the 12th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshāḍha) — The result shows that in the original the 12th *tithi* has been wrongly quoted instead of the 11th

The result would also show that the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla III. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th July A.D. 1178.

109.—In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagirī.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svastī śrī [||\*] Tīrbuvāṇachchakkarava[r]ttigal śr[ī]-Virārāśēnd[1]ra-Śō[la]-  
paksbattu [du]vā[da]śa(śi)y[u]m Vīyāla-kkīlamaiyum perṛa Urōśa[ni]-nā

<sup>1</sup> No 415 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>2</sup> This *tithi* is a *Kalpda*.

<sup>3</sup> No 644 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> Read *-pakshattu dēva*

<sup>5</sup> No. 651 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>6</sup> The engraver has corrected *pa* into *ṛa*.

"In the sixth [year] (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōla[dēva],—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkāṣaka."

This date is practically identical with the preceding one, and contains the same mistake.

110.—In the Chāndramaulīśvara temple at Tiruvakkara.<sup>1</sup>

1 . . . . . k[o]nd-aru[i]ṇa śrī-Kul[ō]ttunga-  
Śōladēvaṅku iy[ā]ṇḍu 16vaḍu Magara-nāyya(ya)ṅṇu irubattunālan=  
diyadiyum Tinga[-[k]]amaiyum ama(pa)ra-pakshattu navamiyum peṅṅa  
Aṇḷattu nāḷ.

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of . . . . . the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take . . . . .,—on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, to a Monday, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194. The preceding Makara-samkrānti took place 6 h 45 m after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 25th December A.D. 1193, which was the first day of the month of Makara. The 24th day of the same month therefore was Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194, and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 19 h 8 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Anurādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h 40 m, and by the equal space system and according to Garga from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

111.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.<sup>2</sup>

1 [Sva]sta śrī [i] Tribh[u]vanachchakkaravat[ti]gaḷ Madurai[yum] ḷamum  
Pāṇḍiyan muḍi-ttalai[yum]  
2 k[o]nd-aruḷya śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvaṅku [yā]ṇḍu i[ru]ba[d]āvaḍu Ishaba-nāyagṇu  
3 apara-pakkattu ākāda[ā]yum [N]āya[r]u-kk[ī]lamaiyu[m] peṅṅa U[t]tirāḍa[t\*]ti=nāḷ

"In the twentieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, ḷam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Uttarāśhādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd May A.D. 1198, which was the 9th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) ended 14 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. But the *nakṣatra* on this day was Uttara-Bhadrapadā, for 7 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise—The result shows that in the original U[t]tirāḍa[t\*]ti= is an error for Uttirāḍḍi.<sup>3</sup>

112.—In the Kailāsanāthasvāmī temple at Kaila-Perumbūr.<sup>4</sup>

1 [Ha]ra Svast[i] śrī [i] T[i]r[i]buvaṇa[chcha]kkaravatt[i]gaḷ Ma]-  
2 durai[yum] ḷa[mu]m Pāṇḍiyan m[u]ḍi-ttalai[yu]n=  
3 [Garu\*]vā[ru\*]n=gond-aruḷya śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvaṅku  
4 . . du yāṇḍu 23vaḍu Vriśchika-nāyagṇu apara-pakshattu tray[ō]-  
5 daś[iyum] Ti[n]ga[t-k[i]]lama[yu]m [p]eṅṅa Viśā[gat]tu [nāḷ]

<sup>1</sup> No 193 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>2</sup> No 430 of the same collection

<sup>3</sup> In the month of Rishabha an 11th *tithi* of the dark half cannot possibly be joined with the *nakṣatra* Uttarāśhādhā (Uttirāḍam)

<sup>4</sup> No. 585 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

"In the 28rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam, the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya and Karuvūr,— on the day of Viśākhā, which corresponded to a [Monday] and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 6th November A.D. 1200, which was the 11th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 11 h. 46 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Viśākhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta from 1 h. 58 m., according to Garga from 5 h. 55 m., and by the equal space system from 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise.

113.— In the Kailāsanāthasvāmīn temple at Kaḷḷa-Perumbūr.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 [Ha]ra Svasti śri [||\*] Tiribuvana[ch]ohakkaravattiga! Madu[r]ai[ya]\*-
- 2 [m\*] [i]lamum Pāṇḍyan mudi-talaiyu[m\*] konḍu aruḷi-
- 3 [ya] śri-Kulō[t]tunga-Śōḷadēvaṛkku. yāṇḍu 25-
- 4 vadu Kaṇḍadaga-nāyaḷ[ru\*] [pū]rvva-paksha[t\*]tu pa[ñ]ja[m]iyum Budan-kīḷa-  
[m]ai pe[ra\*]
- 5 Utt[i]ra[tu nā].

"In the 25th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Iḷam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,— on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkataka."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 24th July A.D. 1202, which was the 28th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 21 h. 31 m. after mean sunrise, was the 4th, not the 5th, *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvaṇa<sup>2</sup>).— Accordingly, we should have expected *chaturthiyum* in the original instead of *pa[ñ]ja[m]iyum*.

114 — In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||\*] T[i]r[i]buvana[ch]chakkaravartiga! Madurai[y]u[m]
- Ka[ru]vūrum Pāṇḍi[ya]n mudi-  
2 talaiyu-gonḍu virar abishēgamum viśaiyar abishēgamum panniy-a[ru]ḷiṅga Tiri-  
3 buvaṇaviradēvaṛkku yāṇḍu 3[2]vadu Dapn-nāyaḷḷu apara-pakṣhattu na[va]mi-  
yum Ti-  
4 ngat-ku[ḷa]maiym perṛa Sitturai-nā

"In the 3[2]nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, Tribhuvanaviradēva, who took Madurai, Karuvūr and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya, and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors,— on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Pṛaṇa."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209, which was the 27th day of the month of Pṛaṇa, and on which the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 1 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 12 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise, was the 8th, not the 9th, *tithi* of the dark half (of Pausa).— Accordingly, we should have expected *aṣṭamiyum* in the original instead of *na[va]miyum*.

<sup>1</sup> No. 584 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the *Gandā chaturthi*.

<sup>3</sup> No. 427 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

## F—RAJARAJA III

115 — In the Agastyéśvara temple at Agattiyaṅpaḷḷi.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tiriba(ba)va[ṇa]chohakkara[va]rt[ti]gal śrī-Rājarājadēva[k]ku  
yāndu iran[d]āvadu Kumba-nāyaṅgu=ppūrva-pakkasha(paksha)-dudigaṇyūm<sup>2</sup>  
Tiṅgal-kīlamaiyūm peṇṇa Śadaiyattu nāḷ

"In the second year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 29th January A.D. 1218, which was the 6th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 5 h. 15 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 9 h. 51 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

116.— In the Āmalakéśvara temple at Tirunellikkāval.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tiruvana[ḥ]chakkaravattugal śrī[ti]-Irāja[r]ājadēva[r]kku yāndu  
ettāvaḍiṇ edirām=āndu Kumma(mba)-nāyaṅ[ru] pūrva-pakshattu chaturdeṣiyūm  
Nāyaṅgu-kkīla-  
2 maiyūm<sup>4</sup> peṇṇa Pārat[ti] nāḷ

"In the year opposite the eighth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday, the 23rd February A.D. 1225, on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 18 h. 4 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the equal space system from 7 h. 53 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., and according to Garga for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise. The day, however, did not fall in the month of Kumbha, but was the first day of the immediately following month of Mīna.<sup>5</sup>

117 — In the Akshayaṅgēśvara temple at Kivalūr.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||\*] Tiribu[va]ṇachchakkara[va]ttugal [śrī-Rāja\*?]rājadēvarkku  
yāndu pa[ti]tāvadu Mēsha-nāyaṅgu apara-pakshattu chatutthiyūm Velli-  
kkīlamaiyūm peṇṇa Mūlattu nāḷ

"In the tenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, [the glorious Rāja]rājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 17th April A.D. 1226, which was the 24th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of Vaiśākha) ended 20 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mūla, by the equal space system from 1 h. 19 m., by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 53 m., and according to Garga for 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> No 505 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>2</sup> *Dudiga* is a Tamil corruption of the Sanskrit *duditya*

<sup>3</sup> No 523 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>4</sup> The *as* of *mas* is engraved at the end of the preceding line

<sup>5</sup> The Mīna-samkrānti took place 13 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 22nd February A.D. 1225

<sup>6</sup> No 517 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

118.— In the Kapardiśvara temple at Tīruvalaṅḡḷi.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 . . . . Tīmbuṇaṇaṣa[k]karava[t]taga| śrī-[Rāja\*]rā[ja\*]dēvarkku yāṇḍu  
 12ā[va]ḍu Śinna-nā[ya]ṅḡu apara-pakkashat[t]u<sup>2</sup> [śa]duttu[ya]m Tīṅḡa|  
 [k]ḷamaiyum peṅḡa Uṭṭa . . . . .

"In the 12th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Rāja]rā[ja]dēva,— [on the day of] Uṭṭa . . . . , which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Śiṃha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 2nd August A.D. 1227, which was the 6th day of the month of Śiṃha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvana) ended 17 h. 13 m, while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrpadā for 7 h. 13 m, after mean sunrise — The result shows that the last words of the original date must have been *Uṭṭarāṭṭāṇḍi*.

119 — In the Vāliśvara temple at Rāmagiri.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 [Sva]stī śrī [||\*] Tīr[b]uṇaṇacheha[k]karavattaga| śrī-īrājāīrājādēvarkku yāṇḍu  
 pad[ī]ṇāḡāḍu Kaṅkaḍaga-nāyaṅḡu paṇḍālān=d[ī]-  
 2 yady-āṇa Vīyāla-kkḷamaiyum pūrvva-pakshattu daśamay[u]m Aṇ[ī]lamum-āṇav-  
 aṅḡu

"In the sixteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which was the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and a Thursday, corresponding to the fourteenth solar day of the month of Karkātaka."

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1231 or 1232, and it actually corresponds to Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1231. In A.D. 1231 the Karkata-samkrānti took place 9 h. 21 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June, which was the first day of the month of Karkātaka; and the 14th day of the same month therefore was Thursday, the 10th July. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvana) ended 15 h 48 m, while the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h 38 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 18 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise

The date shows that the reign of Rājārāja III. could not have commenced after (approximately) the 10th July A.D. 1216.

120.— In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tīr[ī]bu[va]nachchakkara[va]ttaga| śrī-Rājārājādē[vakku yā]ṇḍu  
 16vaḍu Ishapa(ba)-nāyaṅḡu iru[ba]ttettān=diyadyum Śaṇ[ī]-k[kī]lamaiyum peṅḡa  
 Mīrugaś[ī]rshattu nāḷ.

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,— on the day of Mṛigaśīras, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the twenty-eighth solar day of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1232. In A.D. 1232 the Rishabha-samkrānti took place 15 h. 22 m after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 24th April. The first day of the month of Rishabha therefore was Sunday, the 25th April, and the 28th day of the same month was Saturday, the 22nd May, on which day the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśīras, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h 30 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m, after mean sunrise

<sup>1</sup> No 630 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

<sup>2</sup> Read *-pakkashattu*.

<sup>3</sup> No 646 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>4</sup> No 485 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

121.— In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] T[ī]r[ī]buvaṇachchakkaravatt[ī]gal śrī-Irājairājadēvaṅku yāndu  
 lṣadu Kārttigai-mādam piṇanda padinēlāṇ(n)=diyadi[y]=āṇa Nāyaṅgu-  
 kk[ī]lamaiyum Rēvatiyum daṣamiyum [p]eṇṇa
- 2 iṇṇu

"In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on this day, which corresponds to the tenth *tithi*, to (the day of) Rēvati and to a Sunday, which is the seventeenth solar day after the commencement of the month of Kārttigai."

The date will be expected to fall in A.D. 1233, and it actually corresponds to Sunday, the 13th November A.D. 1233. In A.D. 1233 the Vriśchika-samkrānti took place 18 h 28 m after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 27th October. The first day of the month of Vriśchika or Kārttigai therefore was Friday, the 28th October, and the 17th day of the same month was Sunday, the 13th November. On this day the 10th *tithi* (of the bright half of Mārgaśīra) ended 2 h 16 m, and the *nakṣatra* was Rēvati from<sup>2</sup> 3 h 17 m., after mean sunrise

122.— In the Akshayaṇēśvara temple at Kivalūr.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Ōm svasti śrī [||\*] Tr[ī]bhuvanaachchakravatt[ī]gal śrī-Irājārājadēvaṅku  
 yāndu pad[ī]ṇ-[e]tāva[du] Dha[nu]-[n]āyaṅgu apara-pakshattu ashtamiyum  
 Nāya-
- 2 iṇṇu-kk[ī]lamaiyum peṇṇa Atta[t\*]tu nāi

"In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣ."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 25th December A.D. 1233, which was the last day of the month of Dhanuṣ (and the day of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti that took place 15 h 5 m after mean sunrise), and on which the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of Pausa) commenced 5 h. 27 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 1 h 19 m., after mean sunrise.

123.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 . . . [ṇa]chcha[k]karavatt[ī]ga[ī] śrī-Rājārājadēva[ṅ]ku y[ā]ndu 19[ā]vadn  
 Mī[du]ṇa-nāyaṅgu=pp[ā]rva-pakshattu tiraiyōdeṣiyum Nāyaṅgu-kk[ī]lamaiyum  
 peṇṇa Kāt[t]ai-nāi.

"In the 19th year (of the reign) of the emperor of [the three worlds], the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Jyēṣṭhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna "

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 11th June A.D. 1234, which was the 17th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Āshādhā) ended 7 h 22 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* was Jyēṣṭhā, by the equal space system the whole day,

<sup>1</sup> No 494 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>2</sup> As there can be no doubt whatever here about the proper equivalent of the date, it may be specially noted that the day of the date is combined, not with the *nakṣatra* (Uttara Bhādrapadā) at the commencement of the day, but with the *nakṣatra* (Rēvati) which only commenced 3 h 17 m after mean sunrise. Compare above, Nos 102, 105 and 112

<sup>3</sup> No. 515 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>4</sup> No 496 of the same collection

by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., and according to Garga for 11 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise — By the result previously<sup>1</sup> found for the commencement of Rājārāja's reign this day fell in the 18th, not the 19th, year of the king's reign.

124.— In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tittagudi.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tiribuvanaachchakkaravattiga| śrī-Rāja-
- 2 rājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu pattu-onbadāvadu Vrieh-
- 3 chuga-nāyaṅgu pūrvva- pakshattu trayōdaśiyum
- 4 Nāyaṅgu- kīlamaiyum \ [peṅṅa Aśva]ti- nāl.

"In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Sunday, and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 5th November A.D. 1234, which was the 9th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārttika) ended 8 h. 22 m, while the *nakshatra* was Aśvinī for 7 h. 13 m, after mean sunrise.

125.— In the Vighnēśvara temple at Aṇḍil.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] . . . . .
- 15 . . . . . Ti[r]i[bu]vāṇaach[cha]kka[ravattiga][!]
- 16 śrī-Rājārājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu pat-
- 17 to[n]badāvadu Kumbha- nā[ya]ṅgu pū-
- 18 [r\*]va- pakshattu pañjam[i]yum Vīyāḷa-[k]kī-
- 19 lamaiyu[m] peṅṅa Rēvati- nāl.

"In the nineteenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha "

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 25th January A.D. 1235, which was the 2nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 6 h. 44 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 4 h. 36 m, after mean sunrise.

126.— In the Rajatagiriśvara temple at Tiruttengūr.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tribhuvanachchakkaravattiga[|]-
- 2 tiga| śrī- Rāśārāśadēvaṅ[ku\*]
- 3 yāṇḍu 24 edirām=āṇḍu [Ma\*]-
- 4 gara-nāyaṅgu apara-pakshattu [chatu\*]-
- 5 rōdaśiyum Śani-kkīlamaiyum [pe\*]-
- 6 rra Uttarāḍattu nāl.

"In the year opposite the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,— on the day of Uttarāśhādhā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 12th January A.D. 1241, which was the 20th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the dark half (of Pausa) ended 15 h. 22 m, while the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśhādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m, after mean sunrise

<sup>1</sup> See above, p 1

<sup>2</sup> No. 601 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>3</sup> Part of the o of to is entered at the end of the preceding line.

<sup>5</sup> No. 532 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> No. 20 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903



127.— In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tiṭṭagudi.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tiribuvana<sup>2</sup>chakkarakavattigal śrī-Irājarājadēvaṅku yāndu 27vadu  
Simha-  
2 nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu prathamai[y]um [B]ndan-kīlamaiyum peṇṇa Magattu  
nāl

"In the 27th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha "

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 30th July A.D 1242, which was the 2nd day of the month of Simha, and on which the 1st *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Bhādrapada) ended 6 h. 6 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Maghā, by the equal space system for 5 h 55 m, after mean sunrise

128 — In the Vēdāraṇyēśvara temple at Vēdāraṇyam<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Sva[stī] śrī [||\*] Tiribuvana<sup>2</sup>chakkarakavattigal śrī-Rāja[rā]jadē[va]ṅku [yā]ndu  
27[ā]vadu Ma[ga]ra-[n]āyaru[u] [apa\*]-  
2 [ra]-pakshattu paṇṇadeśayum Tiṅgal-kīlamai[yum] peṇṇa Pūśattu nā[ī]

"In the 27th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifteenth *tithi* of [the second] fortnight of the month of Makara."

In the month of Makara a fifteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight cannot possibly be combined with the *nakṣatra* Pushya, and the probability therefore is that the second fortnight has been quoted erroneously for the first. But even with the first fortnight the date would be incorrect for the 27th year of the king's reign, a calculation for which and for the first fortnight has yielded Wednesday, the 7th January A.D 1243

In my opinion it is highly probable that this date really belongs to the 21st year of Rājarāja's reign.<sup>3</sup> For that year it would correspond to Monday, the 12th January A.D 1237, which was the 20th day of the month of Makara, and on which the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 20 h 11 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m, and by the Brahma-middhānta for 14 h 27 m, after mean sunrise — It may be noted that on this 12th January A.D 1237 there was a total eclipse of the moon, visible in India.

129.— In the Vālisvara temple at Rāmagirī<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tir[ī]buvana[chcha]kkara[va]ttigal śrī-Irājarāja-  
2 dēvaṅku<sup>5</sup> yāndu [2]9[va]du Miduna-ñ[ā\*]yaru muppattirand[ā]-  
3 n=diyady-āṇa Tiṅgal-kīlamaiyum pūrvva-pakshat-  
4 tu pradamaiyum Pā[śa]mum āṇa aṅṇu

"In the [2]9th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which was the first *tithi* of the first fortnight and a Monday, corresponding to the thirty-second solar day of the month of Mithuna."

<sup>1</sup> No 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

<sup>2</sup> No 495 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>3</sup> Mr Venkayya now informs me that the reading in line 1 of the original may really be 20, and that, what was taken for 7, may be part of the flourish which denotes *dēvaṅku*. On the other hand, he states that *apara-pakṣattu* probably is the actual reading

<sup>4</sup> No 646 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>5</sup> The *ś* of *dē* is engraved at the end of the preceding line

This date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1244 or 1245, and it actually corresponds to Monday, the 26th June A.D. 1245. In A.D. 1245 the Mithuna-samkrānti took place 9 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th May, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 32nd day of that month therefore was Monday, the 26th June<sup>1</sup>. On this day the first *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Āshādha) ended 16 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga the whole day, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 59 m. after mean sunrise.

The date shows that the reign of Rājārāja III. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 27th June A.D. 1216.

130.—In the Aruṇāchalēśvara temple at Tiruvannāmalai.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||\*] [T]irubuvanachohakkaravattiga| śrī-Irārājādēvar[k\*]ku  
yāṇḍu 30vadu Daṇu-nāyaṅgu apara-paksha[t]tu trayō[dasi]yum
- 2 Anlamum peṇṇa Nāyaṅgu-kkīlamai-nāḷ.

"In the 30th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,—on a Sunday, which corresponded to (the day of) Anurādhā and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanu."

The date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 17th December A.D. 1245, which was the 22nd day of the month of Dhanu, and on which the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h. 44 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 15 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise, was the 12th, not the 13th, of the dark half (of Mārgaśira).—The word *trayōdasiyum* of the original therefore would be a mistake for *tuvōdasiyum*.

G.—RAJENDRA-CHOLA III.

131.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Sva[stī] śrī [||\*] Tirubuvanachohakkaravattiga| śrī-Irāśēndira-Śōḷadēvaṅku  
yāṇḍu
- 2 nālavadu Magara-nāyaṅgu-ppūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Budan-kalamai-
- 3 yum peṇṇa Tiruvōnattu nāḷ.

"In the fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōḷadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara,"

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1250, which was the 12th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 1st *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 12 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise.

132.—In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 [T]ir[ī]buvanachohakkaravatta[ga]| śrī-Rāśēnd[ī]ra-Śōḷadē[va]ṅku [y]āṇḍu [o]ṅ-
- 2 badāvadu Magara-nāyaṅgu pūrvva-[pa]kshattu dvitīyaiyum Śev[vā-kki]lamai pe-
- 3 ṅṅa Śadaiyattu nāḷ.

<sup>1</sup> The Karkāṭa- or Dakṣiṇāyana samkrānti took place 0 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of the 27th June.

<sup>2</sup> No. 504 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>3</sup> No. 423 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> No. 418 of the same collection.

"In the ninth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 12th January A.D. 1255, which was the 19th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 1 h 21 m, while the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 17 h 4 m, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h 55 m., and according to Garga for 8 h. 32 m., after mean sunrise

133 — In the Rajatagirīśvara temple at Tiruttengur.\*

- 1 Svasti śrī ||— Tribhu[va\*]nachohakravattigal śrī-Rājendra-Śōladē[va\*]i[ku]  
yāndu llvadiṇ ediram-āndu Kaṇkadaga-nā[ya]ṇu apara-pakshattu T[i]-
- 2 ngat-k[ā]m[ai]yum Urōsaniyum peṇṇa nā[ī]

"In the year opposite the 11th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday of the second fortnight<sup>2</sup> of the month of Karkataka "

The date corresponds to Monday, the 9th July A.D. 1257, which was the 13th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which [the 11th *tithi*] of the dark half (of Āshādhā) ended 10 h 59 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h 30 m., after mean sunrise

134.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī ௨. Tr[bhuva]nachchakkaravatt[igal] śr[ī-Rā]jē[ndira-Śō]lādēvarkku  
y[ān]-
- 2 ḍu 16[āvadu] Rishaba-nā[ya]ṇu [p]ū[rva]-pakshattu ēkādas[i]yu[m] Tingat-  
k[ā]m[ai]yum peṇ[ṇa]
- 3 Uṭṭarattu nāl.

"In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Rā]jendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date clearly corresponds to Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1262, which was the 7th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 17 h 0 m, while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise — By the result previously<sup>4</sup> found for the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla III. this day fell in the 17th, not the 16th, year of the king's reign.

135.— In the Vēdāranyēśvara temple at Vēdāranyam.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Tir[ībuva]nachoha[kka]ravattigal śrī-<sup>6</sup>[Rā]śēnd[i]ra-  
Śōlādē[va]rkku [y]āndu 1[8āvadu] Maga[ra]-[n]āyaṇu [a]pa[ra]-pakshattu  
[ḍu]ḍi[ya]iyum Budan-k[ī]lamai[y]um peṇṇa T[i]ravō[nat]tu [nāl]

\* No 531 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>2</sup> The *tithi* is omitted in the original

<sup>3</sup> No 460 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>4</sup> See above, p 7

<sup>5</sup> No 494 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>6</sup> The *rd* of *rdiś* seems to have been written twice in the original.

"In the 1[8th] year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of [Maka]ra."

In the month of Makara a second *tithi* of the second fortnight cannot possibly be combined with the *nakshatra* Śravana, and the probability again is that the second fortnight has been quoted erroneously for the first. Undoubtedly the date corresponds to Wednesday, the 2nd January A.D. 1264, which was the 9th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) commenced 0 h 51 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h 12 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h 30 m., after mean sunrise — Accordingly, the reading in the original should have been *pūrva-pakshattu*, not *apara-pakshattu*.

136.— In the Tyāgarājasvāmīn temple at Tiruvārūr.<sup>1</sup>

1 Svasti śrīḥ ௨ Tiruvaymochakkaravarttigal śrī-Rājendra-Śōladēvarkku yāndu  
20[ā]vadu Ma[ga]ra-nāyaru pūrva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyum Budhaṅ-  
kīlamayum [p]eṇṇa Punarpūṣattu nāl

"In the 20th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th January A.D. 1268, which was the 27th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha<sup>2</sup>) ended 19 h 29 m., while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 21 h. 1 m., after mean sunrise

No 27.— DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E., GOTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VII page 17)

Of the nineteen new Pāndya dates here published, Nos 44-56 confirm the general results previously arrived at concerning the kings Jaṭavarman Kuḷaśēkhara, Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāndya I., Māṇavarman Kuḷaśēkhara I., and Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāndya II., and reduce the periods during which the first and third of these kings commenced to reign to the times from (approximately) the 30th March to the 29th November A D 1190, and from (approximately) the 19th March to the 27th June A D 1268, respectively. The date No. 47 of Māṇavarman Kuḷaśēkhara I., which expressly connects a day in the 40th year of the king's reign with Śaka-samvat 1229,<sup>3</sup> has been particularly gratifying to me, because I had independently found another date of his 40th year to fall in exactly the same Śaka year. The dates Nos. 57-59 belong to a king Kōṇērimēlkonḍaṅ Vikrama-Pāndya, who commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401, and Nos. 60-62 to a king Māṇavarman Vira-Pāndya, who apparently commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th March and the 28th July A D. 1443

I have 35 other dates which seem to belong to 18 different Pāndya kings. These cannot be published till more dates of the same kings have been discovered

No 555 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>2</sup> This *tithi* is a *Kalpādi*.

<sup>3</sup> This until recently was the earliest known Śaka year, quoted in a Pāndya date. Quite lately Mr. Venkayya has discovered a date of the 8th year of the Pāndya Varaguṇa, coupled with the Śaka year 792.

## A.—JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

44.—In the Agastyēśvara temple at Tiruchchunai<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Tir[ibu]va[ṇa]chchakkara[va]tt[i]gal śrī-Kulaśēgaradē[va]ṅku yā[ndu] 13 edir  
 14va-  
 2 du <sup>3</sup>Mā[la-n]āya[ṇu] a]para-pakkattu paṇjamyum Budan-k[i]la[m]aiyum  
 perṛa Mu(mā)lattu  
 3 [n]āi

“In the 14th opposite the 13th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha.”

The manner in which the regnal year is given in this date—‘the 14th opposite the 13th year’—in my opinion renders it highly probable that the date belongs to Jātavarman Kulaśēkhara of whom I have examined two dates, ‘of the twelfth year opposite to the thirteenth,’ and of ‘the year opposite to the thirteenth,’ i. e. of the 25th and 14th years, and whose reign I have found to commence between (approximately) the 27th February and the 29th November A.D. 1190.<sup>2</sup> If this should really be the case, the date, being of the 14th opposite to the 13th, i. e. of the 27th year, would have to fall in either A.D. 1216 or A.D. 1217. It is actually correct for Wednesday, the 29th March A.D. 1217. This was the 5th day of the month of Mēsha, and on it the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Chaitra) ended 9 h. 38 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Mūla, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the equal space system from 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

With this result, I would definitely assign the date to Jātavarman Kulaśēkhara,<sup>4</sup> the time for the commencement of whose reign would be reduced by it to the period from (approximately) the 30th March to the 29th November A.D. 1190.

45.—In the Agastyēśvara temple at Tiruchchunai.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 o|| Svasti śrī [||\*] Tribhuvanaohchakkaravattiga| śrī(śrī)-Kula[la][śēgara]dēva[ṇu] 1-  
 2 y[ā]ndu padu[m]ū[ṇa]ṇa[ṇā]vadu Tulā-nāya[ṇu] . . . -[pakṣat]tu ashtamū-  
 3 yum Viyāla-kūlama(mai)yum perṛa Pūṣattu nāi

“In the thirteenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the . . . fortnight of the month of Tulā”

This date is in the same temple as the preceding date, and is also one of the *Tribhuvana-chakravartin* Kulaśēkharadēva. It may therefore be reasonably assumed that here also Kulaśēkhara is identical with Jātavarman Kulaśēkhara. A date of that king's 13th year would be expected to fall in A.D. 1202 or A.D. 1203, but for either year the date would be quite incorrect.

My calculations have led me to suspect that the date may be one, *not* of the 13th, but of the 13th opposite the 13th year of Jātavarman Kulaśēkhara, and that its equivalent may be Thursday, the 6th October A.D. 1216. This was the 10th day of the month of Tulā, and on it the *nakṣatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h.

<sup>1</sup> No. 131 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

<sup>2</sup> The *la* of *Māla* is entered below the *m* of *mā*

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. VI. pp. 301 and 302, Nos. 1 and 2

<sup>4</sup> In the Pāṇḍya date No. 14, above Vol. VI. p. 307, Jātavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. is simply called the *Tribhuvana-chakravartin* Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva.

<sup>5</sup> No. 132 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

56 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise. The only difficulty is, that by our Tables the 8th *tithi* of the [dark] half (of Kārttika) had ended 0 h. 26 m. *before* mean sunrise of the Thursday, and that therefore we should have expected the writer to quote the 9th *tithi*, not the 8th.

### B.— MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

46.—In the Sundarésvara temple at Madura.<sup>1</sup>

- 120 . . . . . śrī-kō Mā-<sup>2</sup>  
 121 ṣapaṇmar=āṇa <sup>3</sup>Trabhuvāṇa-  
 122 chchakkaravattigal Śōnā-  
 123 ḍu kondu Muḍigo[n]-  
 124 ḍaśōḷapurattu vīrar=ava-  
 125 <sup>4</sup>bhishhēgamum vīaiya[r=a-  
 126 <sup>4</sup>va]bhishhēgamum pa[n]ni-  
 127 [y-a]ruḷiya śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍi-  
 128 yadē[vaṅku] yāṇḍu 1-  
 129 ḍvadu Dhanu-nāyaṅgu a-  
 130 para-pakshattu trayōda-  
 131 śiyum Śevvāy-kkūla-  
 132 mayum perra [Vī]śū-  
 133 gattu [n]ḍ[ī].

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māṇavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who took the Chōḷa country and was pleased to perform the anointment of heroes and the anointment of victors at Muḍigonḍa-śōḷapuram,—on the day of Viśākhā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanus."

I have previously<sup>5</sup> found that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216. With that commencement of his reign this date of the 15th year regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1230, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mārgaśīra) commenced 4 h. 53 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Viśākhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhanta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

### C.— MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

47.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||\*] [Kō Mā]ṣapaṇ[mar Tirubu]vaṇachchakkaravattigal śrī-  
 Kulasegaradē[va]ṅku yāṇḍu 40vadu Miṇa-nāyaṅgu apa[ra]-pakshattu  
 daśamiyum Tīngal-kkūla[m]aiyum perra Tiruvōnattu nāḷ  
 " . . . . . 1-ṇṇāḷvadu Śakādhī(tī)tam 1229.

"In the 40th year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadēva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Miṇa . . .  
 . . . . . this day (i.e. year) corresponds to Śaka 1229 expired "

<sup>1</sup> No 61 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>2</sup> The *ś* of Mā is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Trishu*°

<sup>4</sup> Read *abhiśhēga*°.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

<sup>6</sup> No. 551 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

Above, Vol. VI. p 310, No 22, I have found that a date of the 40th year of Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I corresponded to Saturday, the 24th February A D 1308 (in Śaka-samvat 1229). This date No. 47, which also is of the 40th year, and which is expressly stated to have fallen in Śaka-samvat 1229, regularly corresponds to Monday, the 18th March A.D 1308, which was the 24th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) ended 11 h 29 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h 29 m., after mean sunrise

48.—In the Jagannāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruppullāṇi.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 . . . . . k[ō] Māṇapaṇ[ma]r-ā[ṇa] Tribhu . . .  
gal [e]mmandalamum kond-arul[i]ya śr[i]-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku yāndu  
[2]2vadu Kaṇkadaga-nāyaṅgu mudal tyaḍ[i]yum  
2 . . . [ttu] a[ṣtam]i[yu]m [Ti]ngal-ki[ḷama]iyum Śi[ttirai]yum peṇṇa  
nāl

"In the [2]2nd year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman (alias the emperor of the three worlds), the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day which corresponded to (the day of) [Ch]itrā, to a Monday, to the eighth *tithi* of the [fortnight], and to the first solar day of the month of Karkataka."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 27th June A.D. 1289, which was the first day of the month of Karkataka,<sup>2</sup> and on which the 8th *tithi* of the [bright] half (of Āshāḍha) ended 19 h 46 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 20 h 21 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise

49.—In the Ādivarāha-Perumāḷ temple at Singavaram.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śri [[\*] . . . . . kō Māṇapaṇmar Tribhuvana-  
chchakkaravatt[i]ga] [śri]-Kulaśēgara[d]ēvaṅku yā-  
2 ndu 30āvadu Simha-nayaṅgu-ppūrvva-pakshattu ākāśa(ā)yum peṇṇa  
Mn(mū)lattu nāt=

"In the 30th year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha"

The date corresponds to [Wednesday], the 31st July A D 1297, which was the 4th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvana) ended 18 h 38 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Mūla, by the equal space system for 17 h. 4 m., and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise

50.—In the Āṇaikāṭṭa-Perumāḷ temple at Kaḷappāl.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrih — [K]ō [M]āṇapaṇ[mar] Tm]buvana-chchakkaravatt[i]gal śr[i]-Kulaśēgara-  
dēvaṅku] yāndu 3[4]vadu Kaṇkadaga-nayaṅgu pūrvva-paksha[t]tu tr[i]t[i]-  
yayyum Śaṇ[i]-kkūlamaiyum peṇṇa Magattu nāl

"In the 34th year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkataka "

<sup>1</sup> No. 107 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

<sup>2</sup> The Karkāṣṭha or Dakṣiṇāyana-samkranti took place 9 h 28 m after mean sunrise

<sup>3</sup> No. 231 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>4</sup> No 661 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

\*The date apparently corresponds to Saturday, the 8th July A.D. 1301, which was the 12th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the *nakshatra* was Maghā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 47 m, according to Garga for 16 h. 25 m., and by the equal space system from 3 h 56 m, after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended on this day, 12 h. 24 m after mean sunrise, was the 2nd, not the 3rd, *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvana).—Accordingly, the word *ti* [t] [t] *ya* *iyum* of the original seems to be a mistake for *dvitīyāiyum*.

51.—In the Paśupatiśvara temple at Allūr.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō [M]āṇapanmar=āna
- 2 Tiribuvana[ch]chakkaravattiga-
- 3 1 śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku y[ā]-
- 4 ndu 29vaḍu Kaṅkada-
- 5 ga-nāyarṅu apara-pakshattu tra-
- 6 <sup>2</sup>yōdēsiyum Śani-k[i]lamaiyum pe-
- 7 ṅṅa Punapūśattu nāl

“In the 29th year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkhara-dēva,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka.”

For the 29th year of Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I<sup>3</sup> this date would be expected to fall in A D 1296 or A D 1297, but neither of these years yields a satisfactory result. I can therefore only suggest that the date may be one of the 39th year of the king's reign. For that year it would regularly correspond to Saturday, the 9th July A.D. 1306, which was the 12th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshādha) ended 8 h. 34 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day, according to Garga from 2 h. 38 m, and by the equal space system from 14 h. 27 m, after mean sunrise.

The two dates Nos 47 and 48 reduce the period, during which Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara I. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 19th March to the 27th June A.D. 1268

D.—JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.<sup>4</sup>

52.—In the Dēvanāyaka-Perumāi temple at Tiruvēndipuram<sup>5</sup>

- 1 6\_ Svasti śrī [||\*] Kōṇ-Chchada[pa]nmar Tiribuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-
- Śundara-Pāndiyadēvaṅku yāṇdu 10[āvaḍu] pattā[va]ḍu Kaṅkadaga-nāyarṅu
- 2 apara-pakshattu paṅjaiyum Tiṅgal-kīlamaiyum peṅṅa Rēvati-nāl

“In the 10th—tenth—year (of the reign) of king Jātavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka.”

For Jātavarman Sundara-Pāndya II, whose reign has been found to commence between (approximately) the 13th September A D 1275 and the 15th May A D. 1276,<sup>6</sup> this date corresponds to Monday, the 23rd July A.D. 1285, which was the 27th day of the month of

<sup>1</sup> No. 379 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Part of the *o* of *yo* is engraved at the end of the preceding line

<sup>3</sup> For Māṇavarman Kulaśēkhara II the date would be incorrect

<sup>4</sup> No 56 may be a date of Jātavarman Sundara-Pandya I

<sup>5</sup> No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol. VI, p 314.



Karkataka, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvana) ended 9 h 4 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī for 18 h 24 m, after mean sunrise

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I the date would be incorrect

53.—In the Dēvapuriśvara temple at Tēvūr<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Sva[s]t[ī] śr[ī] [lī\*] Kōṭ=[Ch]chadaipa[n]ma[r]=āṇa [Tribuva]nachchakkaravatt[ī]gal  
 2 sri-Sundara-Pandiyadēvaṅku yāndu l[ī]vadu Mricchīya-<sup>2</sup>nā  
 3 [ya]ṅṅu apara-palshattu shashti(shthi)yum [Buda]n-kīlāmayum peṇra Pū-  
 4 śattu nāl

"In the 1[1]th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Vriśchika "

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II this date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, the 29th October A D 1287, which was the first day of the month of Vriśchika,<sup>3</sup> and on which the 6th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 7 h 52 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 47 m, after mean sunrise But by the previously<sup>4</sup> found result this day would fall in the 12th, not the 11th, year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II \*

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I the date would be quite incorrect

54 — In the Kāliśvara temple at Kālayārkōvil<sup>5</sup>

- 1 . . . [sri]-kō-Chchadaipa[n]mar=āṇa stri(tri)[bhuva]na-  
 chchakka[rava]ttigal [sri]-Sundara-Pāndi-  
 2 yadēvaṅku yāndu l2vadu Simṇa(mha)-nāyarṅu [3]l tēdi<sup>7</sup> [apa]ra-[pa]ksha[t]tu  
 tri[t]iyai[ya]m Buda-  
 3 n-kīlā[m]aiyu[m] peṇra Irēba(va)dī-nāl

"In the 12th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight (and) to the [3]1st solar day of the month of Simha "

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II the date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, the 27th August A D, 1287, when the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 16 h 22 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī for 8 h 32 m, after mean sunrise But this day was the 30th, not the 31st, day of the month of Simha, the Simha-samkrānti having taken place

<sup>1</sup> No 518 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>2</sup> Read *Vriśchika*—

<sup>3</sup> The Vriśchika samkrānti took place 17 h 43 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 28th October A D 1287

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol VI p 314

<sup>5</sup> Mr Venkayya, who has checked the readings of the original dates after they were in print, has informed me that the second figure of the regnal year cannot be read 2, but may be 9 And I find that for the 19th regnal year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya II the above date would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 10th November A D 1294, which was the 14th day of the month of Vriśchika, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 17 h 17 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h 19 m, after mean sunrise Nevertheless, I am not fully convinced that the date really belongs to the 19th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II For the 19th year of Jatāvarman Sundara Pandya I it would be incorrect

<sup>6</sup> No 575 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>7</sup> The word *tēdi* is denoted by a symbol.

8 h 15 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 29th July A.D. 1287 (which was the first day of the month of Simha).

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I the date would be quite incorrect.

55.—In the Akshēśvara temple at Achocharapākkam.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasta śrī [||\*] Kôḥ=Ohatapanmar Tiri[buvaṇa]chohaka.avatti śrī-Śu[n]dara-  
[Pān]diyadēva[r][k\*]ku yā[n\*]du 13ku edir [2āva]du Kaṇ-  
2 nī-nāyayru apara-[pa\*]kshattu Tingat-kī[a[m]aiyu[m\*] saptamiyum perṇa  
Rô[śa]nī-nā[ī]

"In the [2nd] opposite the 13th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Rôhiṇī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. the date apparently corresponds to Monday, the 28th August A.D. 1290, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of Bhādrapada) ended 9 h 38 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Rôhiṇī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m., after mean sunrise. But this day was the last day of the month of Simha, which immediately precedes the month of Kanyā.<sup>2</sup>

For Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

56.—In the Dārukāvanēśvara temple at Tiruppalātturai.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasta śrī [||\*] K[ô= Chohad]aipanmar=ā[ṇa] Tribhuvanaohohakkaravattigal  
śrī-Śundira-[P]āṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu  
2 9[āvadū] on[ba]dāvadū [M]ēsha-[nā]yayru pū[rva]-pakshattu tṛti(ti)yayum  
Velḥ-kkīlamayum perṇa Kāṭṭa(th)gai-nā-  
3 [ī]

"In the 9th— ninth— year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,— on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

My examination of this date does not enable me to decide whether it belongs to Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I or to Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. According to the previously obtained result,<sup>5</sup> the 9th year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. should have commenced between (approximately) the 20th and 28th April A.D. 1259, but there is no day from April A.D. 1259 to the end of A.D. 1260 for which the date would be correct. The date *would* be correct for Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1259, which was the 3rd day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 16 h. 56 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Kṛittikā, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 6 h. 34 m., according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the equal space system for 19 h. 42 m., after mean sunrise. By what we have found before, this day would fall in the 8th, *not* the 9th, year of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

If the date were one of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., it should fall in either A.D. 1284 or A.D. 1285. Here again it would be incorrect for either year. It *would* be correct for

<sup>1</sup> No 252 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901.

<sup>2</sup> The Kanyā-samkrānti took place 3 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 29th August A.D. 1290, which was the 1st day of the month of Kanyā.

<sup>3</sup> No 283 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

<sup>4</sup> The *a* of *nā-* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Vol. VI. p. 314.

Friday, the 29th March A D. 1288, which was the 4th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Vaisakha) ended 19 h 8 m. after mean sunrise while the *nakṣatra* was Kṛttikā exactly as stated above under the other date. But this day would fall in the 10th or 11th, not in the 9th, year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya II

The result is that the date is one of either the 8th year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I, or the 10th (or 11th) year of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya II

### E.—KONERANMAIKONDAN<sup>1</sup> VIKRAMA-PANDYA.

57 — In the Vriddhapuriśvara temple at Tiruppuṇavāśal<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śr[ī] [||\*] Śakabdam
- 2 1339<sub>n</sub> mēl śri-
- 3 Kōneranmaiko[n]-
- 4 dan-Tribhuvanachchakravatti
- 5 sri-Vikrama-Pandyadēvar
- 6 [2avadu e]dir 15 Makara-nāyargu
- 7 pūrvva-pakṣhattu pañjamyum
- 8 Budha-v[a\*]ramum peṇra Utlarā(ra)-
- 9 tt[ādi]-nal

“In the 15th opposite the [2nd year] (*of the reign*) (*of*) the glorious Kōneranmaikondān, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāndyadeva, (*which was current*) after the Śaka year 1339,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrpadā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara ”

For Śaka-samvat 1339 expired this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 12th January A D 1418, which was the 17th day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) ended 11 h 12 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Bhadrpadā for 11 h 10 m, after mean sunrise.

58 — In the Virattaneśvara temple at Kīlūr<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śr[ī] [||\*] Kōnerimēlkondan Tribhu[va]nachchakkaravatugal śr[ī]-  
Vikk[ī]rama-Pandiyadē[va]rku
- 2 yāndu 8avadu Kaṇkadiga-nāyargu pūrvva-pakṣhattu pañjamyum Velli-  
kk[ī]lamayum [p]eṇra
- 3 Attattu nal

“In the 8th year (*of the reign*) of Kōnerimēlkondān, the emperor of the three worlds the glorious Vikrama-Pāndyadeva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkataka.”

Judging by the preceding date, this date would be expected to fall in about A D 1408, and it actually corresponds to Friday, the 27th July A D 1408, which was the 30th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Śrāvana) ended 18 h 16 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h. 51 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 6 h 34 m, after mean sunrise

<sup>1</sup> Kōneranmaikondān or Kōnerimēlkondān

<sup>2</sup> No 612 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

<sup>3</sup> No 287 of the same collection.

59 —In the Śivāṅkurēśvara temple at Tirthanagari.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [—] . . . . . Kōṇḍi[1]-  
 2 mēlkond[ā]n Tiribuvanachchakkaravattiga  
 3 śrī-Vikkira[ma\*]-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu nā-  
 4 l[ā]vadu Kumba-nāyayṛu pūrvva-pakshattu tṛiti(tī)yaiyum  
 5 N[āya]ṛru-kkīlamaiy[u]m peṛṛa Uttirattu nāl.

“In the fourth year (*of the reign*) of Kōṇḍimēlkondāṇ, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikra[ma]-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha.”

The date is intrinsically wrong because in the month of Kumbha a *tithi* of the first fortnight cannot be joined with the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī, and the probability is, that either the first fortnight has been erroneously quoted instead of the second, or Uttara-Phalgunī instead of Uttara-Bhādiapadā. For the month of Kumbha<sup>2</sup> of the king's 4th year the choice of an equivalent of the date lies between Monday, the 2nd February, and Sunday, the 15th February, A.D. 1405

Monday, the 2nd February A.D. 1405, was the 9th day of the month of Kumbha, and on it the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) ended 14 h. 27 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhādrapadā for 17 h. 44 m., after mean sunrise. On the other hand—

Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405, was the 22nd day of the month of Kumbha, and on it the 2nd *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) commenced 6 h. 18 m., while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī, by the equal space system and according to Gaṅga for 18 h. 2½ m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 15 h. 6 m., after mean sunrise

I am inclined to assume that this second day, Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405, is the true equivalent of the date, and that the writer of the original has wrongly quoted the first fortnight instead of the second, and the third *tithi* instead of the second (*dvitīyayum*).

Under any circumstances the two dates Nos. 57 and 58 would prove that Kōṇḍimēlkondāṇ Vikrama-Pāṇḍya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401.

#### F.—MARAVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA.

60 —In the Viśvanātha temple at Teṇkāśi.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō Māṇavarmanai=āna Tribhuvanaścha(oha)kravattigal śrī-Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu irandāvaḍiṇ edū pad[1]nonṛāvadu Karkkataka-nāyayṛu muppadān=diyaḍiyum pū[rn]aiyum Sōma-vāramum peṛṛa Tiruvō[na]ttu nāl.

“In the eleventh opposite the second year (*of the reign*) of king Māṇavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the full-moon *tithi* and to the thirtieth solar day of the month of Karkāṣaka”

Between A.D. 1300 and 1500 the only year for which this date would be correct is 1455. In this year the Karkāṣaka-samkrānti took place 8 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 29th June, which was the first day of the month of Karkāṣaka. The 30th day of the same month

<sup>1</sup> No. 124 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>2</sup> For the month of Makara and the 3rd *tithi* of the *dark* half the date would correspond to Sunday, the 18th January A.D. 1405, with Uttara-Phalgunī.

<sup>3</sup> No. 190 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895

therefore was Monday, the 28th July A D 1455, and on this day the full moon *tithi* (of Śravana) ended 21 h 25 m, while the *nakshatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Gaiga for 13 h 8 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h 27 m, after mean sunrise

61 — In the Kalisvara temple at Kālayārkōvil<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śri [||\*] Kō [M]āra[pa]nmar-āṇa [T]i[bh]uva[na]śa[kra]vatti[gal] śri-  
[V]i[ra\*]-Pa[n]diyade[va]rku [y]an[du] lāva[du] Ma[gara]-nā[ya\*]rru  
[a]para-pakshattu=[ppaṇḍam]i[yum N]ā[ya]rru-kk[ilamai]yum peṇra Attattu  
2 nāl

“In the 14th year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vi[ra]-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Makara ”

If the day given under No 60 is the true equivalent of that date, and if the present date belongs to the same king, this date will be expected to fall in about A D 1456. And the date would actually be correct for Sunday, the 16th January A D 1457, which was the 21st day of the month of Makara, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 5 h 36 m, while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h 30 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 13 m, after mean sunrise

62 — In the Virattānēśvara temple at Tiruvadi

- 2 [K]o M[āra]panmar T[imb]uvana-  
3 chchakkaravattigal sū-V[i]ra-Pā-<sup>3</sup>  
4 ndiyadevarku yan-  
5 du padinālavadu Mīna-nāyar-  
6 ru apara-pakshattu prathamai-  
7 [yu]m Śaṇi-kk[ila]mai[yum]<sup>4</sup> [per]ra Attattu nāl.

“In the fourteenth year (of the reign) of king Māṇavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna ”

Judging by the two preceding dates, this date, if the three dates belong to one and the same king, would be expected to fall in A D 1456 or 1457, and the date would actually be correct for Saturday, the 12th March A D 1457, which was the 16th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of Phālguna) ended 10 h 21 m, while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Gaiga for 1 h 19 m, after mean sunrise

The results set forth under Nos 60-62 would appear to prove that the three dates really belong to one and the same king, and that this king, Māṇavarman Vira-Pāndya, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 13th March and the 28th July A D 1443

I may state here that I have a date,<sup>5</sup> which does not admit of verification, of the 17th opposite the 2nd, i.e. the 19th year, and of Śaka samvat 1361, of a king Māṇavarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Tirunelvēli-Paṇmal, the glorious Vira-Pāndyadēva. This king would have commenced to reign about A D 1421, and cannot be identical with the Māṇavarman Vira-Pandya of Nos 60-62

<sup>1</sup> No 578 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>2</sup> No 57 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

<sup>3</sup> The secondary *a* is repeated at the beginning of the next line

<sup>4</sup> The word Śaṇi-kk[ila]mai[yum] is entered above the line

<sup>5</sup> No 178 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895. Compare also Mr Venkayya's Report for 1904-05, p 50

No 28—BETUL PLATES OF SAMKSHOBHA,  
THE GUPTA YEAR 199.

By HIRA LAL, B A, EXTRA ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER, NAGPUR

These plates were found by me in the possession of Sahib Lal Singh, Malguzar of Betul in the district of the same name in the Central Provinces, in March 1905. Sahib Lal Singh, though belonging to an old respectable family, is a Kūmi—a prominent cultivating caste of Northern India, who of course are not entitled to accept any charitable gifts. The plates clearly do not belong to his family, and Sahib Lal Singh is unable to explain how it came by them. His forefathers belonged to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and came to Betul five generations ago. They left their native place in the Unao district in Oudh about 180 years ago and are believed to have lived in the Hoshangābād, Narsinghpur and Nāgpur districts. Apparently they brought the plates with them, having obtained them somewhere in Narsinghpur which adjoins Jabalpur.

These are two copper-plates, with a hole ( $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter) in each for the ring or seal, which is lost. The first plate measures  $7\frac{3}{4}$ " by  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " and the second  $7\frac{3}{4}$ " by  $6\frac{1}{4}$ ", the weight of each being 12 ozs 6 dis and 13 ozs 17 grs respectively. Both the plates are quite smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on one side only, and some of the letters show through on the backs of them, and but for a fault in the second plate, which has caused a hole  $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter in the last line, obliterating portions of the numerical symbols of the year (which has been fortunately stated in words in the beginning), the inscription throughout is very legible. I have deciphered the text from the original plates, an impression of which was very kindly made for me by Mr H Cousens. At Prof Hultzsch's instance Mr H. Krishna Sastri prepared fresh impressions, which are reproduced on the accompanying Plate.

The average size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The letters are smaller—about  $\frac{1}{16}$ "—at the beginning of each plate. They gradually grow bigger, attaining the highest size—about  $\frac{1}{4}$ "—at the end.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Final forms of *m* occur in ll 13, 17, 25, and of *t* in ll 21 and 25. Orthographical peculiarities are the use of *n* before *sa* in ll 12 and 14, and of *b* for *v* in *sambutsara* (ll 2, 3 (twice), 29) and *paribrājaka* (l 5). The letter *t* is doubled in *gōttra* (l 5, but not in l 15), *puttra* (ll 6, 16, 28), *pauttra* (l 16) and *°pittīḥ* = (l 12). The last line contains the numerical symbols for 100, 10, 90 and 9, the two last of which, as stated before, are partially obliterated. The language is Sanskrit prose, excepting four benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in ll 21-27.

The inscription is one of the *Paribrājaka Mahārāja Samkshôbha* and is dated in the year 199 of the Gupta era (A D 518-19), in the *Mahāmārgasirsha-samvatsara*, on the tenth tithi of the month Kārttika, without specifying the fortnight and the week day. Another grant of the same king, which was found near Khôh by General Cunningham in 1879 and is dated in the Gupta year 209 (A D 528-29), was republished by Dr Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 112 ff. The text of both inscriptions is very similar, and both were written by the same *Īśvaradāsa*.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of half of the village *Prastaravātaka* and a quarter of *Dvaravatikā* in the province of Tripuri by the *Mahārāja Samkshobha* to the Brahman *Bhānurvāmin* of the *Bharadvāja gotra*. The value of the inscription chiefly lies in the mention of geographical names, as, with regard to the history of the donor himself, it adds nothing new to what is given in the Khoh plates. The genealogy of the *Mahārāja Samkshôbha* in both

is the same, and in both he is stated to be ruling the Dabhāla-rājya, which had come to him by inheritance together with all the country included in the eighteen forest kingdoms. The present inscription goes to show that Tripurī was a province of the Dabhāla kingdom. We know Tripurī well.<sup>1</sup> It was the name of the capital of the Haihayas or Kalachuri king,— the present Tewar, six miles from Jabalpur,— and it apparently also gave its name to the surrounding province. If this be correct, as is very probable, the Kalachuri domination in the country about Jabalpur disappears at least between A D 475 and 528, when the Parivrajaka *Mahārājas* ruled the country, as proved by their inscriptions actually found. The Kalachuris of Ratanpur may have been dominant at that time in Mahākhōṣṛa, but not in the northern country about Tripurī. Dr Fleet says that “in Dabhāla we have undoubtedly the older form of Dahala, Dahāla, Dahala or Dhalā, which was in later times a province of the Haihayas or Kalachuris or Tripurīa near Jabalpur, whose original capital was Kulūjar.”<sup>2</sup> This gives a clue to the identification of Prastaravātaka and Dāravatikā, which I take to be the present Patparā and Dwārā near Bilahri, 9 miles from Muwara town and about 60 miles from Tewar— the old Tripurī Prastaravātaka probably was corrupted into Pattharvātaka or Pattharwārā, which finally became Patpurī, conveying the same meaning in the local patois as its Sanskrit equivalent, viz. ‘a stony tableland,’ and Patparā is a stony tableland up to this day. On the site of this Patpurī, which had the palace of Kamkandalā, there appears to have been formerly a village, as foundations of numerous buildings are still found. Patparā is only a mile off from Bilahri, and the ruins of temples and buildings commence at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the present Bilahri village. That names of villages ending in *ūtaka* or *pātaka*, which may have been corrupted into *ūtā* or *wārā*, were common on the Bilahri side, may be inferred from the Bilahri inscription,<sup>3</sup> which mentions Khulapataka, Dhingatapataka, Ambipataka, etc. One of these, Khulapataka, General Cunningham identified with the present Khilwāra or Kailwāra, 6 miles from Bilahri, and I think Dhingatapataka is perhaps represented by the present village Thanaurā, about ½ miles from Bilahri, the name having been corrupted into Dhanwāra, Thanwāra, and finally Thanaurā. Within a radius of 20 miles from Bilahri, one may find such villages as Gulwāra, Muwāra, Kailwāra, Nanhwāra, Kanhwāra, Bhawāra, etc., the *wārā* of which is apparently a corruption of the old *ūtaka*. The village Dwārā stands on the same tableland as Patparā, being 5 miles east from the Kamkandalā buildings and between 3 and ½ miles from the Bilahri village. The Mulguzar of this village is still a Brahman and has held it for several generations. He does not however belong to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. He is a Gaiga and may have been engrafted when the male line of Bhānuvamin became extinct, the village going to a female line and consequently by her marriage to a different *gotra*, or it may have changed hands since. Dwārā atika may therefore be confidently identified with this Dwārā. The six inscriptions of the Parivrajaka *Mahārājas* were found either at Khoh, Majhgawān or Bhumari, which places are all quite close to Uchchakalpa or the present Uchahā, the capital of the Nagole State, where another family, that of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa, closely connected with the Parivrajaka *Mahārājas* both chronologically and territorially, ruled. Uchahā is about 60 miles from Bilahri, and we know from the Bhumari pillar inscription, edited by Dr Fleet,<sup>4</sup> that that village formed the boundary between the two territories. This would show that the Dabhāla country was almost co-extensive with the boundaries of the present Jabalpur district to the north and extended to about 120 miles from Tripurī town, the villages granted in the present inscription being situated midway between Tripurī town and the boundary of the Dabhāla kingdom in the north. This will clearly show that the present inscription does not really belong to Betul. As Dr Fleet remarks (*loc cit*), “copper-plates, being small and portable, are

<sup>1</sup> See General Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. IX p 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Gupta Inscr* p 113 f. In the *Likhitatāṭkā* (Vol. III 93 and 95) Dahala and Dahāla occur almost interchangeably, and it is clear that the two names were differently used.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind. Vol. I* p 251 n.

<sup>4</sup> *Gupta Inscr* p 111.

always liable to be carried to a considerable distance from the places to which they properly belong, and can only be applied territorially when the places mentioned in them can be identified."

One knotty problem however remains yet to be solved. What were the eighteen forest kingdoms included in the *Paṇḍiājaka Mahārājas'* dominions? These must have been contiguous to Dabhāla, and as such the choice seems to lie between the ancient Gauṇ country, latterly known as Gondwānā, on the one hand and the Baghēlkhand and Chutā Nāgpur country together with Chhattisgarh on the other. All this country formed part of the Gupta empire. "The dominion under the direct government of Samudragupta in the middle of the fourth century comprised all the most populous and fertile countries of Northern India. It extended from the Hooghly on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west, and from the foot of the Himālayas on the north to the Narmadā on the south. Beyond these wide limits, the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gangetic delta, as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himālayas, and the five tribes of Rāṣṭrāna and Mālwā, were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance, while almost all the kingdoms of the south had been overrun by the emperor's armies and compelled to acknowledge his irresistible might."<sup>1</sup> With regard to the conquest of South Kosala or Chhattisgarh and the forest tribes Mr. Smith (*op cit* p 218) narrates the details thus: "The invader (Samudragupta), marching due south through Chutā Nāgpur, directed his first attack against the kingdom of South Kosala in the valley of the Mahanadī, and overthrew its king, Mahēndra. Passing on, he subdued all the chiefs of the forest countries, which still retain their ancient wildness, and constitute the tributary states of Orissa and the more backward parts of the Central Provinces." Now these backward parts originally constituted what were known as Atharvagarh, i.e. the eighteen forts or forest kingdoms, to wit Sakti, Sūringarū Rāgarū, Bāmā, Rānakhōl, Sonpur, Patnā, Baigarh, Phuljhā, Bora Sūmbhar, Khurda, Bindā Nāwāgarh, Sūmbalpur, Obandrapur, Baud, Athmalik, Gāngpur and Bonai. Of these the first eight are still feudatory states, the next four *zamindaris* and the next two Government *khāls*, all attached to the Central Provinces.<sup>2</sup> On the abolition of the south frontier agency in 1837 Baud and Athmalik were transferred to the control of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa. Gāngpur and Bonai were attached to Chutā Nāgpur. Baigarh, being confiscated for rebellion, was given over to the Raja of Raigarh. Again, among the Orissa tributary states there are eighteen *garhmāls*, though they are somewhat too far away from the Dīhal country. Chhattisgarh, i.e. the thirty-six forts, included twice eighteen forts, viz. eighteen *garhs* in one group subordinate to the senior branch of the Haihayas ruling at Ratanpur, and the same number in the second group held by the junior branch living at Raipur. So the grouping of states or estates into eighteen would appear to be customary and traditional towards Chhattisgarh. As regards the western Gauṇ country, which included the present districts of Betul, Chhindwāra, Seoni and Mandlā,<sup>3</sup> there is no record or tradition of its ever having been divided into eighteen forest kingdoms. It therefore seems very probable that the eighteen forest kingdoms of the inscription lay somewhere in the direction of Chhattisgarh, which was subdued by Samudragupta as mentioned before. As the *Paṇḍiājaka Mahārājas* owed allegiance to the Gupta kings, it seems within the range of probability that those kingdoms were handed over to them, unless they formed part of the *Paṇḍiājakas'* dominions before Samudragupta's conquest. It is with the greatest diffidence that I hazard this conjecture, and I am not at present prepared to localise exactly the eighteen forest kingdoms. I however hope that the information, which I have partly acquired from my personal acquaintance with the country, may perhaps prove of some use to an antiquarian willing to solve the question.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 250 f.

<sup>2</sup> Since I wrote the above, Bāmā, Rānakhōl, Sonpur, Patnā, Bora Sūmbhar and Sambalpur have been transferred to Bengal.

<sup>3</sup> General Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 150.





[illegible]

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> namô [bha]gavatê Nârâyana<sup>3</sup> [i\*] Svasti [i\*] Śrīmati pravarddhamāna-  
vijaya-  
2 rājya(jyê) sambatsara-<sup>3</sup>satê navanavaty-uttarê Gupta-na(nri)pa-iājya bhuktau  
Mahā-  
3 mārṅgaśirsha-sambatsarê<sup>4</sup> Kārttika-māsa-daśamyām<sup>5</sup> asyām sambatsara-<sup>6</sup>māsa-  
4 divasa-pūrvvāyā[m\*] chaturdāśa-vidyāsthāna-vidita-paramārthasya Kapilasy-ēva  
5 maharshêh sarvva-tatva(ttva)-jñasya Bhāradvāja-sagottrasya nripatiparibhā(vrā)jaka-  
6 Suśarmmanah kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-śrī-Dēvādhyā-puttra-pranaptiā mahā-  
7 rāja-śrī-Prabhāñjana-pranapitrā mahārāja śrī-Dāmōdara-naptrā go sahasra-  
8 hasty-aśva-hurany-ānēka-bhūma(mi)-pradasya guru-pitri-matṛi-pūja(jā)-tatparasy-ānēka-  
9 samara-śata-vijayinah s-āshtādaś-ātavi-rāja-ābhyantharam [Da]bhālā-iājyam sama-  
10 nupalay[shnō]r-anēka-guna-vikhyāta-yāsasah śrī-mahārāja-Hastinah sutēna  
11 varṇn-āśrama-dharma-sthāpan-ābhuratēna parama-bhāgavatēn-ātyanta-pitri-bhaktēna  
12 sva-vanśa-mōda-<sup>7</sup>karēna mahārāja-śrī-Samkshobhēna(na) mātāpitṛōi-ātmanāś=cha  
puny-a-  
13 bhuvriddhy-artham Tripuri-vishayê Prastaravātaka-grāmasya<sup>8</sup> arddham Dvāravatī-  
14 kāyās=cha chaturthō=nśah<sup>9</sup> ēvam=ētan pūrvv-āghāta-parichchhēda-maryyā-

## Second Plate

- 15 dayā Bhāradvāja-sagotīāya Mādhyandina-Vāpi(ja)sanēya-sabra[hma]-  
16 chārinē brāhmaṇa-Bhānusvāmīnē puttra-pauti-ānvay-ōpabhogya<sup>10</sup> ētan  
17 s-ōdrangau s-ōparikarau<sup>11</sup> a-chāta-bhata-prāvaśya<sup>12</sup> chōra-diōhaka-varjjam<sup>13</sup> tāma-  
18 śāsanena<sup>14</sup> āgrāhārau atisrīstau [i\*] Tad=asmat kul ōtthair=mmat-pādapind-ōpa  
19 jivibhuv-vvā kālāntarēshv=api na vyāghātah karaniyah [i\*] ēvam=ājñā(jñā)pt[ē] yo=  
20 nyathā kuryāt=tam=aham dēhāntara-gato=pi mahat=āvadhyānēna nuddahēyam [i\*]  
Uktañ=cha  
21 bhagavatā paramarshinā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna [i\*] Pūrvva-dattām dvijātibhyō  
yatnāt<sup>15</sup>  
22 raksha Yudhishtira [i\*] mahi(hi)m=mahimatām siēsthā dānach=chhiyō=  
nupālanam [i\*] Bahubhih<sup>16</sup>  
23 vasudhā bhuktā rājabhūh Sagar-ādibhih [i\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmih<sup>17</sup> tasya  
24 tasya tadā phalam [i\*] Shashtim varsha-sahasrāni svargga(rggē) mōdati bhūmī  
dah [i\*] āchchhētā  
25 ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [i\*] Bhūmī-pradānan=na param  
pradānam<sup>18</sup>  
26 dānād=visīstam paripālanam=tu [i\*] saivvē=tsrīstām paripālya bhūmim nripā  
27 Nrig-ādyāh<sup>19</sup> tridivam prapannā it [i\*] Likhā(khi)tañ=cha Jivita-naptiā Bhujanga-  
28 dāsa-puttrēna vyāpāranaya<sup>20</sup> īśvaradāsēna [i\*] Dūtakah Puna-  
29 rrvasuh [i\*] Sambatsara<sup>21</sup> 100 [90 9] Mahāmargga-varshē<sup>22</sup> Kārttika dī  
10 [i\*]

<sup>1</sup> From the original copper plates<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol<sup>3</sup> Read *sambatsara*<sup>4</sup> Read *-sambatsarē*<sup>5</sup> Read *-daśamyam=*<sup>6</sup> Read *sambatsara*<sup>7</sup> Read *sva-vanśa amōda-*<sup>8</sup> Read *grāmasy=arddham*<sup>9</sup> Read *=mśa*<sup>10</sup> Read *°bhōgyāt=*<sup>11</sup> Read *°karāt=*<sup>12</sup> Read *-pracesya*<sup>13</sup> Read *=varjjam*<sup>14</sup> Read *śāsanēn=āgrahārav=*<sup>15</sup> Read *yatnāt=*<sup>16</sup> Read *Bahubhih=*<sup>17</sup> Read *bhūmih=*<sup>18</sup> Read *pradānam*<sup>19</sup> Read *-adyās=*<sup>20</sup> Read *°nay=Īśvara*<sup>21</sup> Read *Sambatsara*<sup>22</sup> Read *Mahāmārgga[śirsha]-varshē*

sun  $51^{\circ} 2' 52''$ .<sup>1</sup> And his heliacal rising after the conjunction took place before sunrise of either the 25th May,<sup>2</sup> when his true longitude was  $54^{\circ} 21'$  (while that of the sun was  $64^{\circ} 23' 35''$ ), or the 26th May, when his true longitude was  $54^{\circ} 35'$  (while that of the sun was  $65^{\circ} 20' 31''$ ). Whichever of the two days may be absolutely correct, it is clear that before sunrise of the 25th or the 26th May A.D. 518 Jupiter—since his true longitude in either case was more than  $53^{\circ} 20'$ —by all three systems of the *nakshatras* rose heliacally in the *nakshatra* Mṛgaśīras, and that therefore the year which then commenced was a Mahā-Mārgaśīrsha year. That year of course included both the 15th September and the 15th October A.D. 518; for Jupiter's next conjunction with the sun only took place some time before sunrise of the 17th June A.D. 519,<sup>3</sup> and his next heliacal rising about the 1st July A.D. 519,<sup>4</sup> when a Mahā-Pauṣha year commenced. I may add that, according to Mr. Dikshut's calculations, a Mahā-Māgha year commenced on the 3rd August A.D. 520, and a Mahā-Phālguna year on the 4th September A.D. 521.

The result is that the month Kārttika of the Gupta year 199 which is quoted in the date must have fallen in A.D. 518, and that the date probably corresponds to Monday, the 15th October A.D. 518, but may possibly correspond to Saturday, the 15th September A.D. 518.

## NO 29.—TRIPLICANE INSCRIPTION OF DANTIVARMAN.

By V VENKAYYA, M A

Madras was "a mere fishing village up to the year 1639 A.D., when the English<sup>5</sup> became possessed of it by a grant from the puppet sovereign Śrīranga of Vijayanagara, then at Chandra-giri"<sup>6</sup> Some of the suburbs of Madras are, however, very ancient. Leaving aside St. Thomé connected with the St. Thomas legends,<sup>6</sup> Maialapur (or Mayilāppūr) and Tiruvāmūr (Tiruvāṇmīyūr) are mentioned in the Tamil poem *Dīvāram* composed in the 7th century A.D.<sup>7</sup> The former is also believed to have been the residence of the immortal Tiruvalluvar,<sup>8</sup> a couplet of whose is quoted in the ancient Tamil work *Manimēgalai*.<sup>9</sup> Tiruvallikkēni (the modern Triplicane) is referred to in the Tamil scriptures of the Vaiṣṇavas known as *Nālāyiraprabandham* by the saints Pēyālvār,<sup>10</sup> Tūmaḷśai-Ālvār<sup>11</sup> and Tirumangai-Ālvār, the last of whom informs us that the (Pārthasārathisvāmin) temple was founded by an unnamed king of the Tondaiyār, i.e. by a Pallava king.<sup>12</sup> Egmore (Eḷumbūr in Tamil) is mentioned in records of the Chōla king Kulōttunga I and was apparently the headquarters of a subdivision (*nāḍu*)

<sup>1</sup> The calculations which have yielded the above results have all been made according to the Sūrya-siddhānta. By the Ārya-siddhānta, at mean sunrise of the 11th May A.D. 518 the true longitude of Jupiter was  $51^{\circ} 13'$ , and that of the sun  $51^{\circ} 4' 18''$ , and at mean sunrise of the 12th May A.D. 518 the true longitude of Jupiter was  $51^{\circ} 57'$ , and that of the sun  $52^{\circ} 1' 36''$ . This shows that, according to the Ārya-siddhānta, the conjunction would have taken place between one and two hours before mean sunrise of the 12th May A.D. 518.

<sup>2</sup> At mean sunrise of the preceding day, the 21st May A.D. 518, the true longitude of Jupiter was  $51^{\circ} 3'$ , and that of the sun  $63^{\circ} 26' 38''$ .

<sup>3</sup> At mean sunrise of this day the true longitude of Jupiter was  $85^{\circ} 33'$ , and that of the sun  $85^{\circ} 58' 33''$ .

<sup>4</sup> At mean sunrise of this day the true longitude of Jupiter was  $88^{\circ} 45'$ , and that of the sun  $99^{\circ} 18' 3''$ .

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 175.

<sup>6</sup> The Roman Catholic Church at St. Thomé is believed to be built over the grave of St. Thomas, *ibid* p 176. Rāmārāya of Vijayanagara is said to have led an expedition against the place in A.D. 1558; Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p 193.

<sup>7</sup> The saint Tiruñānasambandar is reported to have revived at Mayilāppūr a dead girl, whose bones had been preserved by her father in a pot. The temple is called Kapālchcharam (i.e. Kapālśvara) in the hymn composed by the saint. Jains and Buddhists seem to have lived at that time in the vicinity of Mayilāppūr.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 221.

<sup>9</sup> *Essay on Tamil literature* by the late Professor M. Seshagiri Sastri of Madras, No I p 33 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Iyarpā*, III. 16.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid* IV 35.

<sup>12</sup> *Pēyāṭṭirumoli*, verse 130.

in the district called Puliyūr-kōttam<sup>1</sup> Nungambākkam occurs in a copper-plate inscription belonging to the time of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I<sup>2</sup> The Tamil *Dēvāram* contains a hymn dedicated to the Śiva temple at Tiruvorriyūr composed by Tiruñānasambandar.<sup>3</sup>

The Pārthasārathisvāmin temple at Triplicane contains (1) the subjoined Pallava inscription,<sup>4</sup> (2) a number of fragments of Chōla records built into the floor in various parts of the temple,<sup>5</sup> (3) a mutilated epigraph of the Pāndya king [Māra]varman Kulasēkhara,<sup>6</sup> and (4) a few Vijayanagara inscriptions. Some of the Chōla fragments belong to the time of Kulōttunga III. and Rājārāja III.<sup>7</sup> The Pāndya epigraph mentions Tirumayilāppūr (i.e. Maḷapur) in Puliyūr-kōttam<sup>8</sup> and (the temple of) Telhiyaśinga-Nāyaṇār in Eḷumūr-nādu, a subdivision of Puliyūr-kōttam.<sup>9</sup> The Vijayanagara records belong to the time of Sadāśiva, Ranga and Venkatapati.<sup>10</sup> Two of the suburbs, viz. Pudukkottam and Vēppēri, and three of the outlying villages, viz. Śembiyam, Nadumbarai and Veysarpādi,<sup>11</sup> were granted to the Triplicane temple during the Vijayanagara period, while a pious Vaishnava made some additions to it in or before A D 1564-5 during the reign of Sadāśiva.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone built into the floor close to the entrance into the *garbhagrāha* of the temple. As people walk on it very frequently, the stone has become much worn, and the writing has suffered considerable damage. Very few *aksharas* are, however, really doubtful, though some are broken.

The alphabet is Tamil, with a number of Sanskrit words written in Grantha characters. The following is a list of the latter — *svasti śrī*, *Pallavakulatilā*<sup>o</sup> (line 1), *Bhāradvāja-gōtr-ālamkārapatya=ākṣya* (l. 1 f), *śrī-Dantivarmma-Mahārāja* (l. 2 f), *varshavaraddhana* (l. 3), *mri of tiruvamrīdu* (ll. 7 and 14 f), *śarma* (l. 11 f and twice in l. 12), *svāmībhōga* (l. 14), *ddharma* (l. 15), *ha of lōha, ish of ratsh*<sup>o</sup> (l. 17), *ndharmma*<sup>o</sup> (l. 18), *ratsh*<sup>o</sup> (l. 18 f), *svasti* (l. 19) — The *pulli* (or *virāma*) is marked in a large number of cases and is denoted by a short vertical line added at the top of the letter. One graphic peculiarity deserves notice. When lingual *r* and rough *r* are doubled, the symbol for the secondary *r* or *u*, which is now placed over the second letter or by its side, is, in this inscription, added, in most cases, so as to include the first as well. In other words, the two letters are treated as a group. In line 9, double *kk* is written similarly as a group. Two forms of *ṇ* occur, one with the central loop

<sup>1</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III p 133

<sup>2</sup> This inscription has recently been discovered at Tiruvālangadu near Arkonam and will be published in *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III Part III.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III p 132

<sup>4</sup> No 234 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903-4, paragraph 25

<sup>6</sup> No 238 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903. It is dated in the 4[9]th year of the king's reign and may perhaps belong to the "Kales Dewar" of the Muhammadan historians, see the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1899-1900, paragraph 13

<sup>7</sup> Nos. 241 and 242 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903 are two of them. In some of them Tiruvānmīyur (the modern Tiruvāmūr) is said to have been in Kōttūr-nādu, a subdivision of Puliyūr-kōttam *alias* Kulōttunga-Chōla-vaṇanādu

<sup>8</sup> Called after Puliyūr, which is close to Madras, above, Vol. IV p 8, note 1. According to an inscription of Kulōttunga I, Tiruvorriyūr, 6 miles north of Fort St George, belonged to Puḷal-nādu, a subdivision of Puḷal-kōttam, which was called after Puḷal near Madras on the road to Nellore, *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III p 132

<sup>9</sup> Mention is also made of Ayanapuram in Tudarmunṇi nādu, a subdivision of Puḷal-kōttam *alias* Vikrama-Chōla-vaṇanādu. Ayanapuram is the name of a shrotriem village to the west of Madras (No 72 on the Sydapet taluk map)

<sup>10</sup> *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1903-4, paragraph 25. The inscription of Ranga is in Telugu, while the rest are all in Tamil.

<sup>11</sup> Called Veshārūpādi in the inscription. The modern name connects the village with the sage Vyāsa or some person called after him. Vēḷāra, which occurs in an inscription of Kulōttunga I at Tiruvorriyūr, is perhaps an older form of Veshārūpādi, *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III p 134.

fully developed and the other without it. The former is more common, while the latter occurs at least twice<sup>1</sup> The vowel *u* is added to the consonant *t* in two different ways: one, as in modern Tamil, with a vertical stroke going upwards, and the other without it. The latter is perhaps meant to be Grantha, though it is used in Tamil words also. The *akshara tu*, which occurs twice (ll. 8 and 16), differs from the modern form of it in the vertical stroke of the *u*-symbol being omitted as in *tu*.

The inscription consists of 19 lines of Tamil prose and is dated during the reign of Ling Dantivarman-Mahārāja, who was "the ornament of the Pallava family" and belonged to the Bhāradvāja gōtra. There is thus no doubt that he belonged to the Pallava dynasty. The only other record of Dantivarman-Mahārāja hitherto known is mutilated,<sup>2</sup> and the description of the king which we find in the Triplicane inscription is there missing. It is therefore uncertain if the two kings were the same. In any case, as the name Dantivarman does not occur in the hitherto known genealogies of the Pallavas, and as the alphabet of the Triplicane inscription does not look very ancient, it may be concluded that the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the subjoined record was later than the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla, who fought against the Western Chalukya Vikramāditya II. (A.D. 733-34 and 746-47).<sup>3</sup>

Nandivarman Pallavamalla is believed to have been the last powerful king of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram, who probably ceased to be a ruling power about the middle of the 8th century A.D.<sup>4</sup> The Ganga-Pallavas appear to have taken their place, though the exact period when this happened is not yet known. Leaving out Vijaya-Narasimhavarman<sup>5</sup> and Vijaya-Īśvaravarman,<sup>6</sup> whose relationship to the main line is not yet ascertained, four Ganga-Pallava kings<sup>7</sup> are known, viz. Danti(vikrama)varman, Nandi(vikrama)varman, Nripātunga(vikrama)varman and Kampa(vikrama)varman. The last was probably a brother of the third<sup>8</sup> and might have been his co-regent in a portion of the Pallava dominions; but he is not mentioned in the Bāhūr plates of Nripātunga.<sup>9</sup> Adding together the latest known years of the other three (Dantivikramavarman 51 years,<sup>10</sup> Nandivikramavarman 62 years,<sup>11</sup> and Nripātungavikramavarman 26 years<sup>12</sup>), we get 139 years. The Chōla king Parāntaka I was actually ruling over the dominions of the Ganga-Pallavas, and therefore it may be supposed that the overthrow of the latter by the Chōlas took place during the reign of his predecessor Āditya I. Accordingly, the event may be placed roughly in A.D. 900.<sup>13</sup> Deducting the total duration of the reigns of the Ganga-Pallava kings, we obtain roughly A.D. 760 as the date of the accession to power of the first king Dantivikramavarman. This event cannot be placed earlier, because the Rashtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III. is reported to have levied tribute from Dantiga, the ruler of Kāñchi, about A.D. 804, and thus Dantiga has been identified with the Ganga-Pallava king Dantivikrama-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Prof. Hultzsch's remarks in *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Prof. Hultzsch's remarks in *ibid.* Vol. II p. 341, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Fleet's *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 323.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. V p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IV pp. 178 and 360, and Vol. VII p. 22 f. Dr. Fleet thinks that Vijaya-Narasimhavarman was the earliest of the Ganga-Pallavas, and that his initial date must be placed somewhere about A.D. 760 to 770; above, Vol. V p. 160.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. VII p. 23 f.

<sup>7</sup> Skandasiṅgyavikramavarman of the Rāyakōṭa plates was also a Ganga-Pallava. He is said to have belonged to the family of another Skandasiṅgya, who was the son of the Maṇḍbhārata hero Jivatthiṇan by a Naga woman; above, Vol. V p. 52. We have however no clue as to the time when Skandasiṅgyavikramavarman lived. Neither are we told what relationship he bore to the main line.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. VII p. 196.

<sup>9</sup> Extracts from this inscription were given by Prof. Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV p. 180 f.

<sup>10</sup> No. 202 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>11</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 90.

<sup>12</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 191.

<sup>13</sup> See the *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06*, Part II, paragraph 10.

varman<sup>1</sup> It thus appears extremely doubtful if there could have been any interval between the date of Nandivarman Pallavamalla<sup>2</sup> and the accession of Dantivikramavarman

There is, however, no reason to suppose that the Ganga-Pallavas annexed the entire dominions of the ancient Pallavas already during the reign of the first king Dantivikrama. It looks as if the expansion of the former was gradual and reached its highest point during the reign of the last king Nripatunga<sup>3</sup> We may therefore conclude that the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the subjoined inscription, who could not be a Ganga-Pallava, belonged to the family of the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram, who seem to have continued in some form or other down to a very late period,<sup>4</sup> and that he reigned as an independent king in a portion of the ancient Pallava dominions before they were completely occupied by the Ganga-Pallavas

At Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district are two inscriptions, one dated in the 7th year of the reign of Dantivarman,<sup>5</sup> and the other in the 9th year of Dantippōttarasar<sup>6</sup> The former records that a certain Brāhmana purchased land for building a tank, and the latter registers an endowment for the removal of silt in the tank called Vayiramēga-tatāka at Uttaramallūr It is just possible that Dantivarman is only the Sanskrit name of the Pallava king Dantippōttarasar, and that the tank referred to in both of these inscriptions is the same Even if this surmise should not prove correct, the fact that the earliest Uttaramallūr inscription mentioning the Vayiramēga-tatāka belongs to the time of the Pallava king Dantippōttarasar may be taken—at least provisionally—to show that the tank probably came into existence during his time, and that its name was derived from Vayiramēga,<sup>7</sup> one of his *birudas*

If the foregoing inferences are confirmed by future researches, they would establish that the Pallava king Dantippōttarasar (or Dantivarman) bore the title Vayiramēga We have at present no materials to decide if this Dantippōttarasar is identical with the Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription, though the similarity of the names and the undisputed Pallava origin of both are in favour of the identity The Vaishnava saint Tirumangai-Ālvār refers to a king of the Tondaiyar (i.e. a Pallava king) named Vayiramēgan<sup>8</sup> Another unnamed Pallava king is mentioned by the same saint as the founder of the Triplicane temple, as I have already pointed out<sup>9</sup> In the hymn dedicated to Paramēśvara-Vinnagaram (i.e. the Vaikuntha-Perumāl temple) at Conjeeveram,<sup>10</sup> reference is made by the same saint to several battles fought by an unnamed Pallava king These three Pallava kings appear to be distinct<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV p 181, and Vol. V p 159 I think the possibility of Dantiga being the same as the Dantivarman of our inscription is not altogether excluded.

<sup>2</sup> The latest known record of his reign is dated in his 50th year, above, Vol. IV p 137, and Vol. V p 157, note 7

<sup>3</sup> This may be concluded from the fact that Nripatunga's inscriptions are found over a larger extent of country than those of the other two, see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1903-04, paragraph 13

<sup>4</sup> We hear of a queen named Marambāvai of a certain Nandippottarayan, who belonged to the Pallavatilaka family This queen appears to have been living at the time of the early Chōja king Rājakesarivarman, *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1900-01, paragraph 10, and above, Vol. VI p 321 An inscription of Dantivarman, "born in the Pallavatilaka family which rose from the Bharadvāja *gōtra*," has recently been discovered at Tiruvellārai in the Trichinopoly district (No 541 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905) Thus, along with the Ganga-Pallavas, the regular Pallavas seem to have continued in the Tamil country down to the Chola conquest. The exact relationship which the latter bore to the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram is not known Perhaps the descendants or successors of the Dantivarman Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription (who bore the title *Pallavakulatilaka*) spoke of themselves as belonging to "the family of Pallavatilaka" in order to distinguish themselves from the Ganga-Pallavas

<sup>5</sup> No 80 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1898

<sup>6</sup> No 74 of the same collection.

<sup>7</sup> *Periyatirumol*, verse 180

<sup>8</sup> Compare *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. II. p 344, note 3

<sup>9</sup> In verse 479 of the *Periyatirumol*, the same saint refers to a Tondai-mannavan, i.e. a Pallava king, who

might be one of these three

<sup>10</sup> This is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit Vayramēgha.

<sup>11</sup> See page 290 above

- 8 yarayan muppadin kâḍi nellum aṇ-kalañju<sup>1</sup>  
 9 ponṇun-guduttu mittu-ttaṇad=ākki nāṇpa[t]-  
 10 t[ai]n-gāḍiyun-nisadi aṇṇāḷi nellūl=runnā-  
 11 ḷi<sup>2</sup> tū-kkuttal-arisi[y]āl=irā-ppōnagañ=[Ja]nga[śa]-  
 12 rmmaṇuñ=Jattisarmmanum Ilaiya-Śattisarmmaṇuñ=gā-  
 13 ttuvārāṇā[r\*]ga[l]\* muttal[l=Av]ippulattun=Dattan-pula-  
 14 ttun=Gā[rai]kīlā[n-pu]la[t]tum svāmi-bhōgattu=ttirava-  
 15 [m]ṛidu kāttuvōmānōm [\*] i-ddharmatt-ullā[r] yāva-  
 16 rēṇun=gō=chchēvadu śeyidu śeluttav=ottu kudut-  
 17 tōm [\*] [ī]lā-vilakkum vattū[\*] lō[ha]-ppāṇaiyum ratshipa-<sup>3</sup>  
 18 du [[\*] Pugaḷttunai-Viśaiyarayan 4ndharmam idu [\*] idanai ra-  
 19 tshuttār=āḍi irandum eṇ mudu-mēḷuṇa [[\*] svastī ||—

## TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the twelfth year of the increasing years of the glorious Dantivarman-Mahārāja, who was the ornament of the Pallava family (and) the lord adorning the Bhāradvāja gōtra,—the priests of the Tiruvallikkēṇi (temple) having mortgaged the field in Karumārachchēri, the offering for the god accruing from (?) the interest of forty-five kâḍis of paddy fell short Pugaḷttunai-Viśaiyarayan gave thirty kâḍis of paddy and five kalañjus of gold, redeemed (the field), and made (it) his own With two nāḷis of clean pounded rice (made) from five nāḷis of paddy, (the interest on)<sup>5</sup> forty-five kâḍis (of paddy) per day, Śaṅgaśarman, Śattisarman and the younger Śattisarman shall present the night offering. If (this) fails, we shall present the offering out of the master's share in Avippulam,<sup>6</sup> Dattan's field and Kārakīlāṇ's field. Having agreed that any one concerned in this charity might do what the king could and carry it out, we gave (it) The Iḷa-lamp,<sup>7</sup> the cup (and) the metal pot have to be taken care of.

This (is) Pugaḷttunai-Viśaiyarayan's charity The two feet of those who protect this (charity) shall be on my head Hail !

## No. 30.—TAXILA VASE INSCRIPTION.

By PROFESSOR H LUDERS, PH.D., ROSTOCK.

There can be no doubt that the deciphering and interpretation of the smaller Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions has made considerable progress during the last ten or fifteen years Whoever has had occasion to deal with those records, knows how much we owe in this respect to the ingenuity and penetration of scholars like Buhler, Senart and others. On the other hand, there is no denying the fact that we are still far from having solved all the difficulties presented by those inscriptions. It may be safely asserted, I think, that at present there is hardly a single Kharōṣṭhī inscription the reading and meaning of which might be called definitely settled in every detail Under these circumstances I consider it not superfluous to republish the subjoined inscription It is undated and cannot be said to be of great historical value, but it is excellently preserved and perfectly clear in every respect. The accompanying Plate, moreover, contains its first purely mechanical reproduction.

<sup>1</sup> Read *ain galañju*

<sup>2</sup> Read *rakṣi*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *iru-nḍi*

<sup>4</sup> Cancel the letter *n*

<sup>5</sup> The word *kāḍiyun* in l 10 appears to be used in the sense of *kāḍiyin*

<sup>6</sup> *Avippulam* means literally "oblation field." The produce from this field was evidently used for oblations.

<sup>7</sup> For the explanation of this term see above, Vol. VII. p. 134.







The inscription is engraved round a steatite vase, which was formerly kept in the Museum at Pesnawar and is now in the Central Museum, Lahore. Nothing is known about its origin. Cunningham, it is true, was inclined to identify it with a vase said to be found by the villagers in one of the Stûpas near Shâhpur, but this is nothing but a mere guess.

The inscription was first edited, together with a facsimile, in 1863 by J Dowson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol XX p 24, and Plate m. fig 2. In the same year Cunningham published his version in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol XXXII p 151, and added a correction *ibid* p 172. Cunningham's readings were criticised by Dowson, *ibid.* p 428. In 1871 Cunningham edited the record again, with a facsimile, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol II p 125, and Plate lx. The present edition is based on excellent impressions and photographs, sent to me, at the request of Dr Vogel, by Mr Ram Singh, Officiating Curator of the Central Museum, Lahore.

#### TEXT.

Sihlêna Siharachhutena cha bhratarehi Takhasîlâe ayam thuvo pratthavito savabudhana puyae.

#### TRANSLATION.

By the brothers Sihla (Simhula) and Siharachhuta (Simharakshuta) this Stûpa was erected at Takhasîlâ (Takhasîlâ) in honour of all the Buddhas.

#### REMARKS.

The characters, which vary in size from  $\frac{1}{4}$ " to  $\frac{1}{2}$ ", take an intermediate position between those of the Aśoka edicts and those of the later Kushan inscriptions. From the latter they are easily distinguished by the absence of the cursive element so strongly predominant there. The differences from the Aśoka characters are less numerous and less marked, but the *la* with its hook bent down and rounded and the *sa* with its vertical shortened at the top show clearly later forms than the corresponding letters at Shahbâzgarhi and Mansehra. The type of the characters is thus the same as that of the Taxila copper-plate of Patika, and this fact seems to me decisive for the transliteration of the only nasal occurring in the present inscription. From a grammatical point of view it might appear more natural to read *Sihlêna*, *Siharachhutena* and *savabudhana*, but as the copper-plate inscription discriminates between *na* and *na*, and as the sign for the lingual used there is identical with the sign found in the present inscription, we cannot but assume that the latter also represents a lingual *na*. The copper-plate also furnishes one instance of *n* instead of Sanskrit *n* in the word *Sakamunisa* (l 3). Whether this spelling reflects the actual pronunciation, or whether the North-Western dialect possessed but one *n*-sound, expressed in writing sometimes by the sign for the lingual, sometimes by that for the dental, I do not venture to decide at present, although the second alternative seems to me the more probable one.

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, p 453, Mr Thomas has endeavoured to show that the inscription is composed in an unknown metre. He considers the whole text to be one stanza divided into two rhyming lines, each line consisting of five feet of five *mâtrâs* with a concluding spondee. According to him the text, with the long vowels and double consonants expressed in writing, would run —

Sihlêna Siharachchhutêna cha  
ayam thûvô pratthâvitô

bhrâtarehi Takkhasîlâe |  
savvabuddhâna pûyâe ||

It appears at once that the regularity of the metre is less great than supposed by Mr Thomas. His scansion is based on the wrong readings *Gihlêna* and *bhatarehi*. The correct readings *Sihlêna*, which can only stand for *Sihlêna*, and *bhratarehi* would imply that

the first and third feet of the first line consisted, not of five, but of six *mātrās*, although, as regards the third foot, it might be urged that the lengthening influence of the initial *bhr* was removed by the cæsura standing between *cha* and *bhratarehi*. Moreover, neither the choice nor the order of the words are such as to suggest the text to be anything but plain prose. Considering these facts, Mr Thomas' suggestion, ingenious as it is, cannot be called certain, and until the metre assumed by him should turn up elsewhere, I should prefer to treat the record as written in prose.

No 31.—SORAIKKAVUR PLATES OF VIRUPAKSHA,  
SAKA-SAMVAT 1308.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M A, MADRAS

These plates were discovered at Soraikkāvūr near Kuttālam, a station on the South Indian Railway in the Tanjore district. Mr O N Appasvami Ayyar of Tanjore was kind enough to obtain for me the original plates themselves, and I have copied the inscription direct therefrom.

The inscription is engraved on three copper-plates, held together by a ring which had already been cut when it came into my hands. The plates are about  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " long, 4" broad, and  $\frac{3}{16}$ " thick. The ring is 1" in diameter, and the whole set weighs  $16\frac{1}{2}$  ozs with the ring, which alone weighs  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz. The rims of the plates are neither raised nor shaped thicker. The plates are numbered in Tamil numerals engraved at the top of the front side of each. The writing is deep and distinct, and bearing slight damage to the front side of the first plate and the second side of the last one—the two exposed sides—the inscription is in proper preservation, nor is there much difficulty in supplying the lost portions.

The inscription consists of twelve Sanskrit verses which give the genealogy of prince Virūpāksha, a passage in Tamil prose (lines 39-150) detailing the apportionment of the shares of land granted among the donees, and the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. Following the above, and at the very end, there appears a solitary verse in Sanskrit, once again mentioning the name and the parentage of the donor.

With the exception of the colophon, which consists of the name of the god Śiṣ-Harihara and is in Kanaresse characters, the alphabet of the Sanskrit verses is Grantha. The prose passage is in Tamil characters occasionally interspersed with Grantha ones. It deserves to be mentioned that, as in other Tamil inscriptions of the age to which the plates belong, there is little difference between *r* and the secondary form of *ṛ*, the secondary *ṛ*, *e*, *o*, *a*, and *au* are very frequently broken up, the first symbol of them standing at the end of a line and the rest at the beginning of the next line, or again the first symbol and the consonant being placed at the end of a line and the second symbol beginning a new line, and so on, e.g. *syā* in line 23, *bhu* in line 115, *hyā* in line 116, *vā* in line 132, *mā* in line 138, *bā* in line 146, *dā* in line 15, *nā* in line 28, *ko* in line 129, *ra* in line 53, *ka* in line 128, *dhan* in line 18, *du* in line 164. In line 70 the *lu* of *padmāluklu* is engraved below the line, in line 57 the letter *ku* is corrected into the symbol of the secondary *ṛ*, and in line 26 *visarā* is written as *pāsarā*. The Grantha letter *ṛ* is used for the Tamil *ṛ* in the words *utpāṣa* and *Āṣa* occurring in lines 68, 121 and 138.

The inscription belongs to the time of Virūpāksha (v 5) or Vira-Viruppanna-Udayar (l 43 f), the son of Harihara (II) (v 4) or Vira-Harihara-rāya (l 12) of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, and records the grant of the village of Soraikkāvūr (v 10, l 53 f and 60 f) together with  $10\frac{1}{2}$  *velis*<sup>1</sup> of land adjoining it, under the name of Vijayasudarsanapuram, to

<sup>1</sup> In the Tamil portion this is given as  $10\frac{1}{2}$  *velis* (l 52 f and 67 f)

fourteen Brāhmanas of various *gōtras*. This is the second copper-plate grant hitherto published of Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara II. of the first Vijayanagara dynasty. It is dated in Śaka 1308, the Kshaya-samvatsara,—i.e. two years later than his Âlampūṇḍi grant.<sup>1</sup> Professor Kielhorn very kindly contributes the following remarks on the date (v. 8 f and ll 45-49) —

“The date, for Śaka-samvat 1308 expired, which was the year Kshaya, regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 20th March A.D. 1387. On this day the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Phālguna and the *karana* Nāga ended 7 h 35 m, the *nakshatra* was Rēvati for 19 h 3 m., and the *yōga* Vaidhṛti from 6 h 6 m., after mean sunrise. The day was the 25th day of the solar month Pangunī (Chaitra) ”

Both the Âlampūṇḍi and Śoraikkāvūr grants resemble each other so far as the historical details contained in them are concerned. As in the earlier grant, the present record begins with Saṃgama, the reputed founder of the dynasty, and continues the succession down to Virūpāksha, the donor of this grant. Herein again Kāmākshi, the wife of Saṃgama, and Mallādēvi, the wife of Harihara II., are referred to. While in the Âlampūṇḍi grant Mallādēvi is spoken of simply as belonging to ‘the family of Rāmadēva,’ in the present record she is described as his ‘grand-daughter’ (son’s daughter) in the beginning (v. 5), but the verse at the end (17), which occurs also in the Sanskrit drama *Nārāyaṇīlāsa* by Virūpāksha,<sup>2</sup> makes Mallādēvi the daughter of king Rāma. In a supplementary note on the Âlampūṇḍi grant,<sup>3</sup> Rai Bahadur V Venkayya expressed the opinion that Mallādēvi may have been the daughter of the Yādava king Rāmachandra. Adverting to this Mr R. Sewell writes as follows<sup>4</sup>—

‘The plate in question asserts that Mallādēvi belonged to ‘the race of Rāmadēva,’ while the drama (*Nārāyaṇīlāsa*) explicitly declares her to have been the daughter of king Rāma, calling Virūpāksha the ‘daughter’s son of king Rāma,’ and from this Mr Venkayya deduces that the lady in question was the daughter of king Rāmachandra of the family of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. But I think it far more likely that the plate is correct and the drama incorrect. Rāmachandra reigned from A.D. 1271 to 1309, his death occurring in the latter year. The reign of Harihara II of Vijayanagara began, probably, in 1379 A.D. and lasted till the end of 1399, when he died. It seems quite impossible that he could have married a daughter of king Rāmachandra, and therefore I think we must assume that his wife Mallādēvi, or Mallāmbikā, though she may have been ‘of the race of,’ was not the daughter of, king Rāma,—if Rāma was identical with Rāmachandra of Dēvagiri.”

The present plates add a further relationship, viz. that Virūpāksha was the son of the son’s daughter (*pautri*) of Rāmadēva. If we think with Mr. Sewell that the drama is perhaps wrong,<sup>5</sup> we may conclude that Virūpāksha was the great-grandson of king Rāmachandra.

In the present record Virūpāksha seems to make the grant as a provincial governor, perhaps with the consent of his father, for the Śaka year 1308 falls in the reign of Harihara II.<sup>6</sup> From an inscription belonging to the Shimoga district we learn that Harihara died in the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 224 ff

<sup>2</sup> *Report on Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts* by the late M. Seshagiri Sastri, No. I p. 80

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. V, Add. and Corr., p. v

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIV p. 19

<sup>5</sup> [I would suggest another solution of the puzzle. Rāmachandra of Devagiri (the Rāmadēva of verse 5) may have had an (otherwise unknown) son named Rāmahūpati (verse 17), who was the father of Mallādēvi, the mother of Virūpāksha.—E. H.]

<sup>6</sup> In the Tiruvīmīlālai temple there are two inscriptions dated Śaka 1305 and 1307, which belong to the reign of Harihara II., and in which his son Virūpāksha is mentioned as ruling the country. The first inscription records a grant of land by the headmen of the village, and the second states that a certain Muṇaiyadaraiyan made a gift of land for a flower-garden. Tiruvīmīlālai is only a mile distant from Tiruppamburam mentioned in our record.

month Bhādrapada of the year Tārana (Śaka 1326)<sup>1</sup> The same fact is repeated in an inscription at Śiavaṇa-Belgola<sup>2</sup> Another record from the Shimoga district states that in the month Kārttika of Śaka 1026 (evidently a mistake for Śaka 1326), Tārana, Bukka II. was on the throne<sup>3</sup> This date is only a couple of months or so removed from the date of Harhara's death, and naturally it might be concluded that Bukka immediately succeeded his father on the throne. That he was still reigning in Śaka 1328, is evidenced by an inscription of the Ēkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram<sup>4</sup> It is dated in the year Vyaya and purports to have been issued in the reign of Bukka II Again we learn that the coronation of Dēvarāya I. took place in Śaka 1328, in the month Kārttika of the year Vyaya<sup>5</sup> Evidently therefore Bukka's reign must have come to a close at this time But it must also be noted that in the month Māgaśira of the year Tārana, Śaka 1327, Virūpāksha is represented as ruling in Vijayanagara<sup>6</sup> This reign overlaps that of Bukka II Under these circumstances it is not easy to explain how Virūpāksha could have reigned in the same period, except on the supposition that either Virūpāksha was acting as a regent, or that he seized the throne from his brother Bukka II, ruled for a short time, and was dethroned by the partisans of Bukka II This latter may have been in his turn ousted from the government by Dēvarāya I Hence we might conclude that after the death of Harhara II there was a rapid succession of kings one after another, thus.—Bukka II., Virūpāksha, Bukka II once again, and Dēvarāya I Virūpāksha seems, therefore, to have been a ruling king, though only for a short time

Besides calling Virūpāksha the lord of the Tundira, Chōla and Pāndya countries (v 6), the record under consideration gives more details of his deeds than the Ālampāṇḍi grant He boasts of having weighed himself against gold in the presence of the god Rāmanātha (at Rāmeśvaram) He is said to have made gifts of a thousand cows and is described as the establisher of the Bhāhmīnical faith (*vēdu-mārga*, v 7).<sup>7</sup> He is stated to have gilded (the *umana* of the temple at) Śrirangam and the 'Golden Hall' (at Chidambaram), which latter act has been looked upon as highly meritorious ever since the days of the earliest Chōlas.

As regards the donees, it might be remarked that most of them bear Vaiṣṇava names, and some of them have family names which are distinctly those of a few well-known Śrīvaiṣṇava *Aṣṭaryu-puruṣas*<sup>8</sup>

Of the places which are mentioned in this record, Śīraikkāvūr, the village granted, is the same as the modern Soraiikkāvūr where the plates were found, and is 4 miles from the Kuttālam Railway Station Tiruppāmpuram (v 10, ll 49 f and 65) is now known as Tiruppāmbāpuram and is about 9 miles west of the Nannilam station, also in the Tanjore district I am unable to identify Elumuri in Elumuri-parṇu (ll 60 and 64), which is literally translated into Sanskrit as Saptakhanda-nivṛit<sup>9</sup> (v 9), while Uyyakkonda-valanādu (ll 59 and 63 f.), a district of Chōla-mandalam (l. 58 f), is Sanskritized as Ujjivana (v 9)

The inscription mentions a large number of fiscal terms (ll 122-146), most of which have remained to the present day unexplained

<sup>1</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol VIII Tirthahalli taluka, No 120

<sup>2</sup> *Id* Vol II No 120

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol VIII Tirthahalli taluka, No 11

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol III p 36, note 3 —[Compare also above, Vol VI p 329 f.—E H]

<sup>5</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol V Hassan taluka, No 133, p 85

<sup>6</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol VIII Tirthahalli taluka, No 196

<sup>7</sup> Compare above, Vol III p 118 and note 4

<sup>8</sup> *Vīr* Vedagōmapurattār (ll 75 and 79), Gōmatattār (l 82 f), Vangippurattār (l 90 f), Uṇṇuputtārār (l 97), Soṭṭayār (l 111), and Kārambichehetṭu (l 104)

[For *nivṛit*, 'a division,' see verse 9 of the Ālampāṇḍi plate.—E H]

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>*First Plate, First Side*

- 1 [Śubham=a]stn [||\*] Ōmkâr-âmkura-dam[shtr]-
- 2 [āya sa]kal-âmnāya-ghôshinē [||\*]
- 3 â[dyāy=a]s[tn na]mas=tasmai Varā-
- 4 hāya [ma]haujasē || [1 ||\*] Âdhâra-śa-
- 5 ktm=ambhōdhi-mēkhalam ratna-ga-
- 6 rbhinim [||] Hara-mūrtim Harēh lānti-
- 7 m Bhūtadhāt.im=upās[ma]hē || [2 ||\*] Âs[i]-
- 8 t Sōm-ânva[y]-ô[ttamsah] Kāmā-
- 9 kshi-Samgam-âtmajah | B[u]k[ka-bhū]pa 1-
- 10 ti khyâtō rājā Raghur=1[v-âparah] || [3 ||\*]
- 11 Asti rājādhirāj[o=sya putrō]
- 12 Harihar-ēśvarah | yash=shōda[śa-ma]-
- 13 hādāna-sukrit-âmrta-sā[garah] [|| 4 ||\*] Sa
- 14 pauryām Rāmadēvasya [Mali]ā-
- 15 devyā[m\*]<sup>2</sup> mahāśayam [(i) Virūp[ā]ksha-ma-
- 16 h[|p]ālam labdhvān-atma[sa]mbha-
- 17 vam [|| 5 ||\*] Sa Kuntal-ēndus=Tund[ira-Chō]-
- 18 [la]-Pāndya-kshitisvarah | san[nidhan]<sup>3</sup>
- 19 [Rāma]nāthasya tulam=arū[dhavā]-
- 20 n=dhanath [|| 6 ||\*] Sa gō-saha[sra-dō]
- 21 veda-mā[rgga]-sthāpana-[tatparah] [||\*] Śri-
- 22 ramga-Kāñchanasabha-puna[1-ut]bhū<sup>4</sup>
- 23 [sana]-kshamah [|| 7 ||\*] Dānaślā[gh]yē [Śa]kasya-
- 24 â[bdē] Kshaya-samvatsarē [śu]bhe [||]

*First Plate, Second Side*

- 25 Pā(phā)lgunē māsy=amāvāsy[ām]
- 26 tithau Saumyasya pā(vā)[sa]rē || [8 ||\*]
- 27 Vaidhriti-sprisi Rēvatyām [ka]ra-
- 28 nē<sup>5</sup> Nāga-nāmnī sah | Chōlēsh[u]
- 29 Saptakhand-akhya-nivṛity-Ujjīva-
- 30 n-ihvayē [|| 9 ||\*] Chirai[kā]vūr=iti
- 31 gr[ī]man=Thrupp[a]mpura-s[ī]mani | [pā]-
- 32 d-ōn-rikāśa-vṛiti-kshētra-[s]-
- 33 m[gha]tāt-āntikam [|| 10 ||\*] Kṛita-prāśistim [Vī]-
- 34 ja[ya]suda[r]śana[pu]r-ākhyayā [||] chatu-
- 35 [r]ddāśabhyō viprēbhyah prādā[d-u]-
- 36 daka-pūrvvakam [|| 11 ||\*] Samast-ōpā[dhi]-
- 37 rahitas=sarvvamānyatayā sthūrah | [va]-
- 38 rddhatā[m]=agrahārō-yam=â-cha[n-dra]-ravi-
- 39 tārakam || [12 ||\*] Svasti śrī-vijay-ātbbhu.<sup>6</sup>
- 40 daya-śrīman-mahāmandaliśvaran r[ā]-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates<sup>2</sup> The *ś* of *dś* is at the end of l 14.<sup>3</sup> The third member of the syllable *dhan* is at the beginning of l 19<sup>4</sup> Read -udbhā-<sup>5</sup> The *ś* of *nē* is at the end of l 27<sup>6</sup> Read -dēhyu-

- 41 jādhirājan rājaparamēśvaran  
 42 śrī-Vira-Harihararāya-kumāra-śīma-  
 43 [n-ma]hāmandaliśvaran śrī-Vira-Vi-  
 44 ruppanna-Udayar pri[thvi]-iājya-  
 45 m panniy-arulānira Śak-ābda[m]  
 46 1308n mēl=chchellānir-  
 47 ra Kshaya-samvatssaram<sup>1</sup> Panguni-mā-  
 48 sam amā[vā\*]syaiyum Budhan-kī[la]-  
 49 mayum perra Rēvati-nāi Tīru[p]-  
 50 pāmpurat[til vada]-vayalī Pujudī-

*Second Plate , First Side*

- 51 vana-Pperumāl jīvitān=tirandu  
 52 iuvaiyal vēli patt-a-  
 53 iaiyē<sup>3</sup> arakkāl kūdiya Śīraikkā-  
 54 vār=āna Vijayasudarśanapurattu nā-  
 55 nā-gōtṛigal āna<sup>3</sup> bhattagaḷukku [u]-  
 56 daka-pūrvvam=āka<sup>4</sup> sarvvamānnya-agra[hā]-  
 57 ram=ā[ga\*] [Rā]hu-<sup>5</sup>śānty-aittham=āka<sup>6</sup> dharmma-[śā]-  
 58 sanam (p)panni=kkudutta Sō[la-ma]-  
 59 n[dala]m Uyyakkonda-vala[nādu]  
 60 Elumuri-ppaṛru kīl-kūru agaiam [Śī]-  
 61 raikkāvūr nāng-ellai[kk=ut]-  
 62 ppatta<sup>7</sup> nāṇjai puṇjai nattanga[l]  
 63 sakala-prāptagaḷum Uyyakko-  
 64 nda-valanādu Elumuri-ppaṛru=kkīl-  
 65 kūru Tiruppāmpuram vada-vayalī [Śī]-  
 66 raikkāvūr ellaiy=udan kū[dina]  
 67 nilam pattaraiyē arakkāl  
 68 vēliyum utpata<sup>8</sup> [nā]nā-<sup>9</sup>gōtṛigal āna  
 69 bhattagaḷukku<sup>10</sup> nichchayitta bhāgam 1[4] [||\*]  
 70 Inda bhāgam padinālukku<sup>11</sup> vagai [i] Ā-  
 71 trē-<sup>12</sup>gōtṛattu Āpastamba-[sūtra]-  
 72 ttu Udāli Vināyaka bhattan [pu]tia-  
 73 n [N]āiāyana-bhattan bhāgam—1—Ā-  
 74 trē-<sup>12</sup>gōtṛattu Āpastamba-sū-  
 75 trattu Vēdagōmpurattu Tīuva-  
 76 ranga-Nārāyana-[bhatta]ṇ putraṇ  
 77 Gōvinda-<sup>13</sup>bha[ttan bhāgam]—1—Ātrē-<sup>12</sup>

*Second Plate , Second Side*

- 78 gōtṛattu Āpastamba-sūtrat-  
 79 tu Vēdagōm[pu]rattu Lakshmana-

<sup>1</sup> Read *samvatssaram*

<sup>4</sup> Read =*aga*

<sup>7</sup> Read =*utpata*

<sup>10</sup> Read *bhāffargaḷukku*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *Ātrēya*.

<sup>3</sup> The *a* of *rai* is at the end of l 52

<sup>5</sup> The *d* of *rd* is corrected from *ku*

<sup>8</sup> Read *utpada*

<sup>11</sup> The syllable *lu* is engraved below the line

<sup>13</sup> The first member of the syllable *gō* is at the end of l 76

<sup>2</sup> Read *dga bhatta, galukku*

<sup>6</sup> Read =*aga*

<sup>9</sup> Read *nānd*.



- 80 bhattaṅ putraṅ Śrī-Narasimha-bhatta-  
 81 ṇ bhāgam—l—Kaundinya-gōtra-  
 82 ita Āpastamba-sūtrattu Gō-  
 83 mathattu Karunākara-bhattaṅ [pu]traṅ  
 84 Śrī-Vāsudēva-bhattaṅ bhāgam—l—  
 85 Parāśara-gōtrattu Ā[pa]stamba-  
 86 sūtrattu I[rn]malapo[śaṅ] Āk-  
 87 <sup>1</sup>kontavillu-sōma[yā]ṇa<sup>2</sup>[pu]-  
 88 traṅ Dēvarāja-bhatta-yakshyamāna-  
 89 r bhagam—l—Vatssa-<sup>3</sup>gō[tra]ttu Ā-  
 90 pastamba-sūtrattu Vangippu[ra]-  
 91 ttu Bhagavān-bha[t]taṅ putraṅ Śrīra-  
 92 mgarāja-bhattaṅ bhāgam—l—Vat-  
 93 ssa-<sup>3</sup>gotrattu Āpa[sta]mba-sū-  
 94 trattu Pippirai Varad.rāja-bhatta-  
 95 [ṇ] putraṅ Yajñamūrtti-bhattaṅ bh[ā]-  
 96 gam—l—Vatssa-<sup>3</sup>gōtrattu Ā[pa]-  
 97 stamba-sūtrattu Uṇṇupputtū [Nī]-  
 98 rāyana-bhattaṅ putraṅ Damō[ḍara]-  
 99 bhattaṅ bhāgam—l—Bhāradvāja-g[ō]-  
 100 trattu Āśvalāyana-sūtrattu Ku-  
 101 rōvi Dēvarāja-bhattaṅ putraṅ [Śrī]-  
 102 raṁ[ga\*]nātha-bhattaṅ bhagam—l—[Bhāradvā]-  
 103 ja-[gō]trattu Āpasta[m]ba-sū[t]attu  
 104 Kārambichchettu Mahadeva-bhattaṅ  
 105 putraṅ Yajñātma-bhattaṅ bhagam—l—

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 106 Samkriti-gōtrattu Āpastamba-  
 107 sūtrattu Irunganti<sup>4</sup> Dēvarā-  
 108 ja-bhattaṅ putraṅ Śrī-Narasimha-bha-  
 109 itaṅ bhagam—l—Śata(tha)ma[ī]shana-gōtrat-  
 110 tu Bōdhā[ya]na-sūtrattu Irāyūr  
 111 Śottai<sup>5</sup> Nṛuttarāja-bhattaṅ putraṅ Śī[i]-  
 112 raṁga[nātha]-bhattaṅ bhāgam—l—Viśvā-  
 113 mitra-gōtrattu Bōdhāyana-sūtrat-  
 114 tu [Ś]jēñalūr Dēvarāja-bhattaṅ putra[ṇ]  
 115 <sup>6</sup>Mantalapurusha somayājyūr bh-  
 116 āgam—l—Sava[rni]-gotrattu Diāhy-  
 117 āra[na]-sūtrattu Gamgōli [S]ōma-  
 118 nātha-bhattaṅ putraṅ Śrīparvata[nātha]-bha-  
 119 itaṅ bhagam—l—Āga bhāgam—l—[In]-  
 120 da bhāgam paḍiṇālu pērkkuṁ Pra[bhava]-  
 121 varusham Āti-māsam pūrvva-paksha[tt]u pra-  
 122 thamaḥ mudal-āga śungam [ubhaya]-mīrggam<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *konḍa*°

<sup>2</sup> Read *Vatssa*-

<sup>3</sup> Read *Nṛitta*°

<sup>4</sup> Read *Adi*-

<sup>5</sup> The letter *y* is entered below the line

<sup>6</sup> Read °*gand*i

<sup>7</sup> Read *Mandala*°

<sup>8</sup> Compare *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 31, l 5a.

- 123 idaitturai puramb=āga [na]kalan-au-  
 124 vaiṇ-ādāyam sakula-bha[k]t-a[d]ayam  
 125 śekku-kkadamai vo[tṭi]-vari katti-  
 126 gui avasaram vaśal<sup>1</sup> ottu ō[ai] u-  
 127 [lu]ttu iḍasam paṭṭaya-kānik-  
 128 kai<sup>2</sup> t[ō]iaṇa-kāṇik[ai] [sum]bo-  
 129 ṇ-var[ī] aśu]podu ma[kka] peia]l ko<sup>3</sup>  
 130 [lu[m] vihaiyāṣeyu araśu-pō[ru]  
 131 pādi-kā[va\*]l aiśi-kānam araimaṇai-  
 132 y-ū[h]yam [maga]mai taluayanikkam v-  
 133 aśul-ppa[ṇam] pul-vaṇi adai[ppu]-tti-  
 134 [vu u]ḷavan ḍōdi kai adai miv-a-  
 135 dai<sup>4</sup> kulaṇ-adaṇ o[lu[kka-nir-nilai-nir]-p-  
 136 pāttam tu[rī]-kkadamai [ka]ttayam [ti]-  
 137 uḡay-ā[yam] ḍōaku . [ṇavāvi]-

*Third Plate, Second Side.*

- 138 rattup[padi] Âti-Kattigai.<sup>5</sup>[ppichchai] m-  
 139 ānāvi-ttēvai Pi[laiya][r\*] nō-  
 140 nbi tuuviakka-ṇ[ṇai]-ttō-  
 141 vai paṭṭi tteṇ[da]m kurrī-tteṇ-  
 142 dam ul-amaṇṇi ōr-adaiṇṇ-udaiyar k-  
 143 ānikkai maṇṇam eppōi paṭṭa variga-  
 144 lum niddi-nikshēp-ṭṭa-puṣhāṇ-  
 145 m<sup>6</sup> aśhami-āgamu niddi-[-sā]ddhyam p[ū]-  
 146 ivv-āyam apū[rvv-āya]m utpatti sarva-b-  
 147 ādhā-paṇi[ā]m=āga a cha[nḍi-ārka-atṭai]-  
 148 y=āka<sup>7</sup> sa[ivva]m[ānṇa-agra]hāram=āga [kudu]-  
 149 ttōna [i]\* [Sukha]mō bhujittu=kko[-  
 150 lavam [i]\* Sa[ivva]mānyam purva-mariyidi [i]\*  
 151 Dana-p[ilana]yor=innaddhyō danat<sup>8</sup>  
 152 śic[ṇō=ṇṇa]lanam | da[na]t-[ava]-  
 153 iggam=avāpnōti p[ilana]id-ach[ṇu]lam [pa]-  
 154 dam—[13 i\*] S[va-dattā]m priya-dattam va yō [ha]-  
 155 rēta va[sundharām] [i\*] śhush[ṭ]im var[ṇa]-sai[hi]-  
 156 aiṇi [viśvāyā]ṇ=jayatō kṛmih [i 14 i\*] Ē[kai]-  
 157 va [bha]gini lōkō sarvvaśhām=ēvi bhūbbhaja-  
 158 [m] | na bhōgyā na kara-[ggā]hyā vipra datt-  
 159 ā vasundharā—[15 i\*] Sami[nyo]=yan-dharmama-sit[u]<sup>9</sup>  
 160 nṇipāṇāin kālō kālō [pā]lan[i]yo  
 161 bhavatbhīh<sup>10</sup> | sarvvaṇ=ētān bhavinaḥ pī-  
 162 itthiv endrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō Rī-  
 163 mabhadāh [i 16 i\*] Pautrō B[u]kka-[na]iṇḍraṇya  
 164 dauhtrō<sup>11</sup> R[āma]-bhūpatōh | vidyato hi [Vi]-

<sup>1</sup> *Vāsal* is corrected from *rachchal*

<sup>2</sup> The *a* of *kai* is at the end of l 127

<sup>3</sup> The third member of the syllable *ko* is at the beginning of l 130

<sup>4</sup> The *a* of *dai* is at the end of l 131

<sup>5</sup> Read *Adi Karttigai*

<sup>6</sup> Read *pāśhanam*

<sup>7</sup> Read *aga*

<sup>8</sup> Read *danach=ohkrōyō*

<sup>9</sup> Read *śitru*

<sup>10</sup> Read *bhavatbhīh*

<sup>11</sup> The first member of the syllable *dau* is at the end of l 163

165 [rū]pākshō rājā Harihar-ātmajah [|| 17 ||\*] Śubham-a-  
 166 s[ru]—  
 167 Śrī-Harihara [|| \*]

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes the Bear incarnation of Vishnu, and v 2 the goddess of the Earth

(V 3) There was a king called Bukka, who was the son of Kāmākshī and Saṃgama, and an ornament of the race of the Moon

(V 4) His son is the Rājādhirāja Harihara, who performed the sixteen great gifts

(V. 5) He had by Mallādēvi, the son's daughter of Rāmadēva, a son named Virūpāksha

(V 6) He, the moon of the Kuntalas and the lord of the Tundira, Chōla and Pāndya countries, had, in the presence of (the god) Rāmanātha, weighed himself against gold

(Vv 7-12) In the Śaka year (expressed by the chronogram) dānaślāghya (i.e. 1308), in the auspicious Kshaya-samvatsara, in the month Phālguna, on the new-moon *tithi*, on a Wednesday, while (the *nakṣatra*) was Rēvatī, (the *yōga*) Vaidhriti (and) the *karana* Nāga,—he, the donor of a thousand cows, the establisher of the Brahmanical faith (*vēda-mārga*), who was able to regild (the *īmana* at) Śrīrangam and the Golden Hall (at Chidambaram),—gave, with libations of water, as a *sarvāmānya* (and) an *agrahāra*, to fourteen Brahmanas the village of Vijayasudarśanapuram,<sup>1</sup> (which was made up of) Chiraiikkāvūr in Saptakhanda-nivrit, (a subdivision) of Ujjivana in the Chōla (country), and of a field of ten and three quarters *crīts*<sup>2</sup> on the outskirts of Tiruppāmpuram

(Ll 39-53) On the day of (the *nakṣatra*) Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the new-moon (*tithi* in the solar) month Pangunī (of) the Kshaya-samvatsara which was current after the Śaka year 1308 (had passed),—while the Mahāmandalésvara Vira-Virupanna-Udayar, the son of the Mahāmandalésvara Rājādhirāja Rājaparamésvara Vira-Harihara-rāja, was pleased to rule the earth,—(he) gave, with libations of water, as a *sarvāmānya-agrahāra*, in order to propitiate (the bad influence of) Rāhu, by a religious edict, (the following land) to the Bhattas of various *gōtras* (living) in Śiraiikkāvūr alias Vijayasudarśanapuram which included ten and five-eighths *velis* (of land) in the northern fields of Tiruppāmpuram,—excluding the possessions of (the god) Puludivāṇa-Perumāl —

(Ll 58-69) The wet land, dry land and house sites, with all acquisitions, enclosed within the four boundaries of Śiraiikkāvūr, a village (belonging to) the eastern group (of) Eḷumuri-parṇu, (a subdivision of) Uyyakkonda-valanādu (in) Śōḷa-mandalam, together with ten and five-eighths *velis* of land bordering on Śiraiikkāvūr (and situated) in the northern fields (of) Tiruppāmpuram (in) the eastern group of Eḷumuri-parṇu, (a subdivision of) Uyyakkonda-valanādu, were assigned in 14 shares to Bhattas of various *gōtras*

<sup>1</sup> [Professor Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* mentions Sudarśanacharya who wrote the *Āpastambagrhyasūtratīkā* and the *Srutaprasaṅgikā*. The *Vadagala-Guruparamparaprabhāra* records that the latter work consists of notes taken by Sudarśanabhatta, the grandson of Parāśarabhatta, from the discourses of the Vaiṣṇava teacher Ambālāchārya on the *Śrībhāṣya*. According to the Vadagala tradition Sudarśanabhatta was an elder contemporary of the great Veṅkātadēśika, who is believed to have been a friend of the Vidyā scholar Vidyāranya, and who is said to have composed a verse in praise of the Vijayanagara officer Gōpana (above, Vol. VI p. 322). It thus appears that, in case the author of the *Śrutaprasaṅgikā* was not living at the time of the Śiraiikkāvūr grant, his memory must have been quite fresh in the minds of Vaiṣṇavas. And as most of the donees of the grant are Vaiṣṇavas, it is not unlikely that the granted village was called Vijayasudarśanapuram after the *Āchārya*, provided Vijayasudarśana was not a surname either of Virūpāksha or of his father Harihara II — V V.]

<sup>2</sup> [For *crīts* as the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *velis* see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II p. 364, note 3 — E. H.

(LI 70 119 ) The recipients of these fourteen shares were —

No	Name of the donee	Father's name	Gōtra	Sūtra
1	Narayana bhaṭṭa .	Uḍāli Vināyaka-bhaṭṭa	Ātrēya	Āpastamba.
2	Gō.inda bhaṭṭa .	Vēdagōmpurattu Tiruvaranga-Narayana-bhaṭṭa	Do .	Do
3	Sri-Narasimha bhaṭṭa	Vedagōmpurattu Lakshmana-bhaṭṭa	Do .	Do
4	Sri-Vasudeva-bhaṭṭa	Gōmaṭhattu Karunākara-bhaṭṭa	Kauṇḍinya	Do
5	Devaraja-bhaṭṭa-yakshyamāna	Iruṃa[apō[śan] villi sōmayājīn	Ākkonḍa-	Do.
6	Srirangarāja bhaṭṭa	Vaṅgippurattu Bhagavān-bhaṭṭa	Parāśara	Do
7	Yajñamurti bhaṭṭa	Pippirai Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa	Vatsa .	Do
8	Damōlara bhaṭṭa	Uṅguttūr Narāyana-bhaṭṭa	Do .	Do
9	Sriranganātha bhaṭṭa	Kurōvi Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	Āśvalāyana
10	Yajñatima bhaṭṭa .	Kārambicheṭtu Mahādēva-bhaṭṭa	Do	Āpastamba
11	Śri Narasimha bhaṭṭa .	Iruṅgandi Dēvaraja-bhaṭṭa	Samkriti	Do
12	Sriranganātha bhaṭṭa .	Iṛāyūr Śōṭṭai Nrittarāja-bhaṭṭa	Śāthamarshana	Bōdhāyana
13	Mandalapurusha-sōmayājīn .	Śōñālūr Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa .	Viśvāmitra	Do
14	Sriparvatānātha bhaṭṭa	Gangōḷi Sōmanātha bhaṭṭa	Sāvarni	Drāhyāyana

(LI 119-149 ) We (*viz* Virūpāksha) gave these shares to (*these*) fourteen persons as a *sarvamānya-agrahāra*, including all taxes,<sup>1</sup> (*and including*) hidden treasure, deposits, water, stones, permanent profits, future profits, established income, feasible income, old taxes and new taxes (*to have effect*) from the first (*tithi*) of the first fortnight (*of the solar*) month Āṣi (*in*) the Prabhava year<sup>2</sup>

Vv 13-16 contain the usual imprecations and benedictions

(V 17 ) There exists king Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara, the son's son of king Bukka, (*and*) the daughter's son of king Rāma

### No 32 —MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF SRIGIRIBHUPALA, SAKA-SAMVAT 1346

By M. NARAYANASWAMI AYYAR, B A , B L , HIGH COURT VAKIL, MADRAS

The finding-place of these plates is not known But from Mr Sewell's description of them<sup>3</sup> it appears that they were preserved in the office of the Head Assistant Collector of North Arcot

<sup>1</sup> These taxes (II 122 143) are left untranslated

<sup>2</sup> Prabhava is the name of the cyclic year immediately following Kshaya, in which the grant was made  
see II 24 and 47 of the text

<sup>3</sup> *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol II p 12.

Hence it is likely that they were found in the North Arcot district. They are now preserved in the Madras Museum, and I edit the inscription on them from two ink-impressions kindly furnished to me by Mr Edgar Thurston, Superintendent of the Government Central Museum, Madras, with the permission of Government.

The copper-plates are three in number. The inscription is engraved on both sides of each of them. The second and third plates are marked at the left top corner of their first sides with the Tamil numerals 2 and 3 respectively. The first two plates measure 9' by 4½', while the dimensions of the third and last plate are 8½' by 1½'. The ring, if any, on which the plates were strung, is lost, and they are now kept together by a string passed through the ring-hole, about ½" in diameter, bored on the top of each plate.

The alphabet in which the inscription is engraved is Grantha, but in the following cases Tamil letters have been used — *a*, *g*, *d* and *nā* of the word *Vengadanātha* in line 102, *tiṛu* of *Tiṛuranāṭṭa* in l 108, *Pillai* in l 112, *peru* of *Perumkar* in ll 115 and 121 f, nearly the whole of the phrase *Kuppan=ullissaruk' u* in l 123, and *r* of *Nāyinar* in l 130. The colophon *Srī-Tr yānāṭṭa* is written in Kannada characters. A few peculiarities of the alphabet are worth noting. The secondary *a*-symbol is added near the bottom of the consonant in a few cases, compare *jā* and *nā* in the word *prajñanam* in l 34, *nā* of *nāthasya* in l 40, *nānā* in l 44, and *śānāṭṭa* in l 16. The guttural *n* of *Sarṅginoḥ* in l 65 resembles *ndya*. The subscript consonant in conjunct letters is in some cases added by the side of the first instead of at the bottom as in modern Grantha, compare *bd'* in *Saṭṭay=ābhis* in l 56, *bda* of *pratyabda* in ll 67 and 81, *ṃj* of *Sarṅginoḥ* in l 65, and *ś'u* of *sarvastu sam* in l 16. Final *m* is in some cases not distinguished from *ma*, but, in order not to swell the footnotes unnecessarily, the distinction has been introduced into the text, compare e.g. *m* in *Lakṣmīn* (l 3), *sambhūtam* (l 5), *śaibha am* (l 5 f) and *blāṣhanam* (l 7) with *m* in *ṣpāham* (l 1), *sampa* (l 19), *śatim* (l 38) and *gramam* (l 51). The group *rana* is written somewhat like *nīha*, compare *sampūnna* in l 59 and *śīrīnnam* in l 54. The letter *di* of *Dvāḥara* in l 113 resembles the Tamil vowel *i* of the 12th century A.D. The conjunct *rgya* is also peculiarly shaped, see *Bhārggava* in ll 106, 112 and 124. The difference between the vowel *ri* and the secondary consonant *r* is marked by making the *r*-symbol end in a loop in the former case, compare *prithvīm* in l 37, *nīrīd* in l 49, *Bhṛigu* in l 57, *ṛittair* in l 72, and *ṛyatrittair* in l 72 f with *samprāpte* in l 56 f, *grānam* in line 62 f, and *praty'am* in l 76, etc. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the hard dental *t* is used for the soft *d* in *Patma* (l 17), *vidvatbhir* (l 45), *Caṭambara* (l 77 f), *Ubbāhu* (l 120) and *bhaṭatbhik* (l 146). The form *ranna* is used for *raṭna* in l 27, and the lingual *l* for the dental *l* in *bhūpālō* in the same line. Both these forms are probably due to the influence of Kannarese, which may also account for the change of *d* into *ḷ* in *Pa'udāt-ḷoffa* (l 48). *Bā* is substituted for *iā* in the word *Bādhūla* in l 120. As a rule *n* is doubled when it occurs in conjunction with *d*, see *Gōvinda* in . 89, *Ubbāhusunnara* in l 120 f, and *S'aunda* in l 126.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Nearly one-half is in verse, and the other half, enumerating the donkeys and the shares which each of them received, is in prose. In only one place a Tamil phrase, *Kuppan=ullissarukku*, occurs (l 123). The inscription uses abbreviated forms for the *gōtras* and *sūtras* of the donkeys, except in the case of the chief person, *Sampathumara-pandita* (ll 133-135).

The record begins by tracing the first Vijayanagara dynasty from the Moon, in whose lineage Yadu is said to have been born (v 5). In the race of Yadu was born Samgama (I), whose son was Bukka (I) (v 6). His son was Harihara (II) (v 7). His son was Devaraya (I), and his son Vijayabhūpa (v 8) or Vijayabhupāla<sup>1</sup> (v 9), who had two sons

<sup>1</sup> He is also called Vijayabhūbhuj (v 16), Vijayaraj (v 21) and Vijayaraya (v. 24).

Dēvarājendra (v 10) or Dēvarāya (II) (v. 11) and Śrīguṇḍra (v 10), Śrīgiriśvara (v 12) or Śrīgiriḥpāla (v 13). The former, being the elder, succeeded to the throne (v. 11), while the second went over to Maratakapurī and was ruling the country of which it was the capital (v 12). He made the subjoined grant of land to Sampatkumāra-pandita<sup>1</sup> and his relatives and other learned men with him, on a Friday coupled with the Rēvatī *nakshatra*, on the Utthāna-dvādaśī *tithi*, in the cyclic year Krōdhin corresponding to the Śaka year 1346. The Śaka date is expressed by the chronogram tattvālōka (v 19), the same as that of the Satyamangalam plates of Dēvarāya II,<sup>2</sup> which were issued in the month of Āshādha. Our record belongs to the month of Kārttika, for the Utthāna-dvādaśī is the twelfth *tithi* in the bright half of the month of Kārttika, when Vishnu is said to rise from his four months' sleep. It is otherwise called *Prabōdhani*. Prof. Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks —

“On the *utthāna-dvādaśī-tithi* see *Ind. Ant* Vol XXVI p. 135. For this *tithi* of Śaka-samvat 1346 expired, which was the year Krōdhin, the date regularly corresponds to Friday, the 3rd November A. D. 1424, when the 12th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h 8 m, and the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī from 0 h 39 m, after mean sunrise.”<sup>3</sup>

The chief donee, Sampatkumāra-pandita, is described as a very learned medical man, whose father Gōvinda-pandita (v 14) was also well versed in the Āyurvēda and in the Vēdāṅgas. The village Nipatatāka (v 17), the gift of which is recorded by the present inscription, had been given away to the same donee by (the donor's father) Vijayabhūbhuj (v 16). So we may infer that by some means or other it had lapsed in the interval. It is said to have been watered by the Nāgakulyā channel (v 18), a branch of the Kāvērīpāka channel (v 17), and was situated in Kalavā-nivrit<sup>4</sup> (Kalavai-paru in Tamil), a division of Paḷuvūt-kōtta (Paduvūr-kōttam). When the village was granted, its name was altered into Vijayarāyapura (v. 24) or Vijayarātpura (v 21), evidently in honour of its original donor Vijayarāya.

As regards the name Śrīgiriḥpāla, a word of explanation is necessary. Śrīguṇi is another form of Śīparvata in the Kurnool district. The god of the temple at that place is called Mallikāryuna, and hence it is not impossible that the prince was actually named Mallikāryuna after the god, and that this name was changed by the poet into its equivalent Śrīgiriḥpāla. The manner in which the present inscription speaks of him, makes it possible that Śrīgiriḥpāla was the same person as the Pratāpadēvarāya who is spoken of with respect in the Satyamangalam plates of Dēvarāya II as the younger brother of the king. For verse 10 states that Vijayabhūpāla had only two sons, Dēvarājendra and Śrīguṇḍra. If the latter is not the same person as Pratāpadevarāya, he must be another brother of Dēvarāya II, not hitherto known. Śrīgiriḥpāla (*alias* Mallikāryuna ?) is of course distinct from Mallikāryuna *alias* Immaḍi-Dēvarāya, who was the son of Dēvarāya II,<sup>5</sup> and whose dates range from Śaka 1370<sup>6</sup> to Śaka 1387<sup>7</sup>.

As regards the places mentioned in this grant, Maratakapurī is already known to us from the expression Maratakanagara-prānta occurring in the Satyamangalam plates of Dēvarāya II, and Rai Bahadur Venkayya has suggested that it may be identical with Virūchīpuram in

<sup>1</sup> See vv 16, 21 and l 135 — [*Sampatkumāra* is a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil *Śelvaṇṇai*, the name of the god at Melukōṭe in the Mysore State. It seems therefore possible that the chief donee belonged originally to the Kanarese country, and his father's native place, Rambhāmāyāranagari (v 13), may have to be looked for in the same country. One of the minor donees, Hampāna-bhaṭṭa (l 93), was evidently called after the Pampāpati temple at Vijayanagara — V V.]

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol III p. 85

<sup>3</sup> “For another date of exactly the same *tithi*, but with a wrong week day, see *Southern List*, No 488.”

<sup>4</sup> Compare above, p 300, note 9

<sup>5</sup> Compare Appendix II p 15, No 21

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol III Seringapatam tāluka, No. 11

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI p. 321 f

the North Arcot district<sup>1</sup> Kalavā-nivṛit is derived from the town of Kalavai in the Arcot taluka of the North Arcot district<sup>2</sup> For Paduvūr-kōttam see above, Vol IV pp. 82, 138, 180, 271; Vol. V p 50, Vol VII p 192, and *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III p 89 The name of the village granted, Nipatatāka, is evidently a Sanskrit translation of a Tamil name which should be Kadappēr<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact there is at present a village called Kadappēr in the Wālājāpēt taluka of the North Arcot district, which is situated five miles east of the anicut or masonry dam across the Pālār river, and two miles south-west of Kāvēripāk itself It is situated on the Kāvēripākkam channel which at present takes off from the Pālār river on the southern side of the anicut, and is irrigated by a branch from it It thus retains its ancient name, notwithstanding the attempt of a king to impose on it a new one

TEXT.<sup>4</sup>*First Plate, First Side*

- 1 भूवराहाय नमः ।
- 2 शुभमस्तु । विनायकाय नमः ।
- 3 लक्ष्मीम् पद्मञ्जयत्वादयमन्त-
- 4 रायतमोपहम् । प्रयमद्वन्द्व-
- 5 समभूतम् प्रणयाद्वैतवै-
- 6 भवम् । [१\*] करुणामयवामाग क-
- 7 त्यागगुणभूषणम् । वन्दे चन्द्र-
- 8 कलाकल्पम् महस्त्रितयलोचनम् । [२\*]
- 9 भुव. प्रेमपरिपुगपुष्काकि-
- 10 तत्राह्वे । नमो वराहवपु-
- 11 ये श्रीवैभवपुपे त्विषे । [३\*] व-
- 12 न्देनन्तफणाभूषा स्यन्दन-
- 13 'म्लेच्छन्वन. । मेदिनी हरिदोस्तम्-
- 14 'वमेवनादानुलामिनीम् । [४\*] आ-
- 15 सीत् सीमान्वये रम्ये यदु. पर-
- 16 सधार्मिकः । अश्ववतीर्णे यद्व-
- 17 शे भगवान् 'पल्लोचनः । [५\*] त-
- 18 त्कुले सगमो राजा समभूत्
- 19 सम्पदान्विधिः । विक्रमैकरसस्त-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol III Additions and Corrections, p vii.<sup>2</sup> Compare above, Vol IV p 211

Nipa is the name of a tree, *Nauclea Cadamba* — [An inscription of Vira-Kampana-Udayar at Kāvēripā-kam registers the sale of the village of Kadappēr in Kalavai pargā, a subdivision of Paduvūr-kōttam, see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, p 34, No 386 of 1905 — V V]

<sup>3</sup> From ink-impressions.<sup>4</sup> The ३ of mmē is at the end of l 12<sup>5</sup> Read 'नमः'<sup>6</sup> Read पद्म

*Second Plate, Second Side*

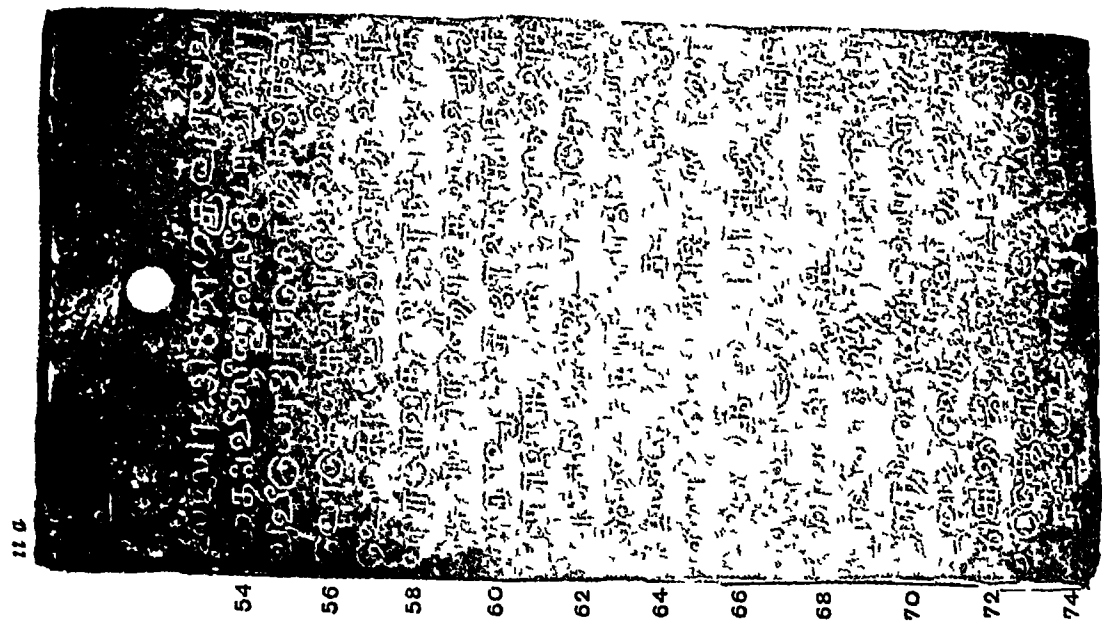
- 75 क्त्वा<sup>1</sup> तु विजयरायपुरम् । [२४\*] अतः  
 76 परम् प्रत्येकम् भागनिर्णय<sup>2</sup> उच्य-  
 77 ते । ग्रामदैवतस्य औचितम्ब<sup>3</sup>  
 78 रनाथस्य शिवस्थैको भागः ।  
 79 गोविन्दनाथाख्यस्य विष्णोरे-  
 80 को भागः । कामाक्षीधर्ममण्ड-  
 81 पे प्रत्यन्दन्दिजभुक्त्यर्थम् भा-  
 82 गम् ।१। काश्य आप यजुः उमाप-  
 83 तिभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आप य-  
 84 जुः चन्द्रभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य  
 85 आप यजुः पुण्डरीकाक्षभट्ट-  
 86 स्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आप यजुः[ः]<sup>4</sup> दे-  
 87 वराजभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। काश्य आ-  
 88 प यजुः लक्ष्मणभट्टस्य भागम् ।  
 89 काश्य आप यजुः गोविन्दभट्टस्य  
 90 भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य आप यजुः भास्कर-  
 91 भट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। भारद्वा आप  
 92 त्रिवेदिवामनभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। आ-  
 93 त्रेय आश्वल ऋक् हम्पणभट्टस्य  
 94 भागम् ।१। आत्रेय आश्वल ऋक् विज-  
 95 येश्वरभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। कौशिक<sup>5</sup>  
 96 आप यजुः मार्त्तण्डभट्टस्य भाग-  
 97 म् ।१। षष्ठम[र्ष] वो शौरिराजभट्टस्य  
 98 भागम् ।०॥०। वाधूल आप यजुः लक्ष्म-  
 99 णभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०। काश्य आप

*Third Plate, First Side.*

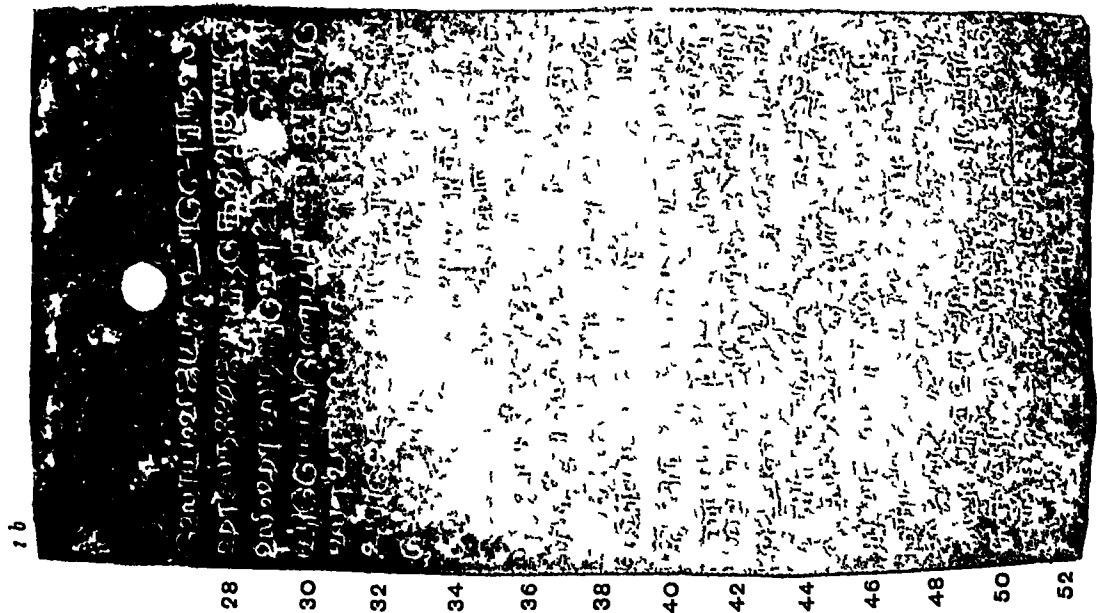
- 100 यजुः भास्करभट्टस्य भागम् ।२। क[१\*]श्य  
 101 आप यजुः एकान्द्रभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०।

<sup>1</sup> Corrected from ना<sup>2</sup> Read निर्णय<sup>3</sup> The *visarga* seems to be an interlineation<sup>4</sup> The secondary *s* of *as* is omitted in the original<sup>5</sup> Read षष्ठ<sup>6</sup> Read एकान्द्र<sup>7</sup> Read औचिदम्ब<sup>8</sup> Read गोविन्द



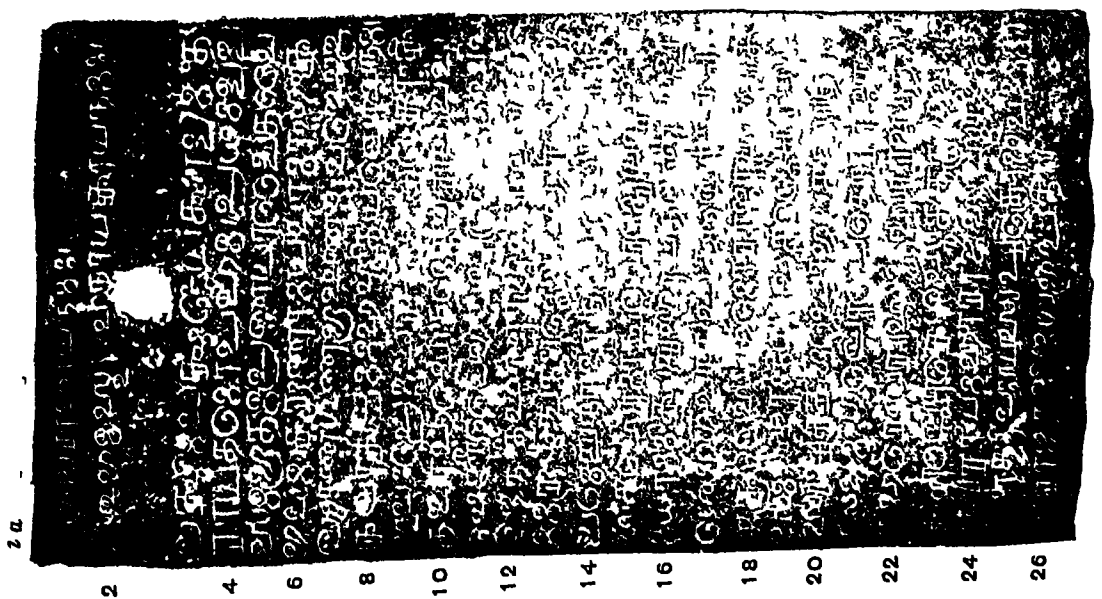


W GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH



SCALE 6

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY RAI BAHADUR V. VENKATYA.



E HULTZSCH

11 b

76  
78  
80  
82  
84  
86  
88  
90  
92  
94  
96  
98

Text in Hebrew script, likely a manuscript page.

122 a

100  
102  
104  
106  
108  
110  
112  
114  
116  
118  
120  
122  
124  
126  
128

Text in Hebrew script, likely a manuscript page.

122 b

130  
132  
134  
136  
138  
140  
142  
144  
146  
148

Text in Hebrew script, likely a manuscript page. A large decorative initial 'ו' is visible on the right side.

- 102 भारद्वाज आप यजुः वेङ्गडनाथ-<sup>1</sup>  
 103 दीक्षितस्य भागम् ।०॥०॥ वाधूल आप  
 104 यजु समरपुगवभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०॥  
 105 वत्स आप यजुः यज्ञनारायणभट्ट-  
 106 स्य भागम् ।०॥०॥ भारद्वाज आप यजुः का-  
 107 ऋक्षिनाथपावनाशयोर्भागम्<sup>2</sup> ।१।  
 108 भार्गव आप यजुः तिरुवेकटभट्टस्य<sup>3</sup>  
 109 भागम् ।१। वासिष्ठ वीधा ऋक् वरद-  
 110 राजभट्टस्य भागम् ।१। भारद्वाज आ-  
 111 प यजु. पापनाशस्य भागम् ।०॥०॥  
 112 भार्गव आप यजुः आण्डान्<sup>4</sup> पिक्कै  
 113 भागम् ।०॥०॥ वीधा यजुः दिवाकर-  
 114 न् पुचन् चन्द्रभट्टस्य भ[रि\*]गम् ।०॥०॥ भार्ग-  
 115 व आप यजुः पेरुक्कै<sup>5</sup> देवरा-  
 116 जस्य भागम् ।०॥०॥ भारद्वाज आप यजुः  
 117 श्रीरुद्रभट्टस्य भागम् ।०॥०॥ काश्यप आ-  
 118 प यजुः श्रीरंगनाथस्य भागम् ।०॥०॥  
 119 वत्स आप यजुः त्रियम्बकस्य<sup>6</sup> भागम् [रि\*]०॥०॥  
 120 वाधूल<sup>7</sup> आप यजुः उत्वाडुसुन्दर-<sup>8</sup>  
 121 रस्य भागम् ।०॥०॥ भार्गव आप यजुः<sup>9</sup> पेरु-  
 122 क्कै वेकटस्य भागम् ।०॥०॥ भारद्वाज  
 123 आप यजुः कुप्पनुक्किट्टारुक्कु<sup>10</sup> भागम् १  
 124 भ[रि\*]र्गव आप यजुः श्रीमूलपुचन् गु-  
 125 <sup>11</sup>णोत्तुंगन् भागम् ।०॥०॥ भारद्वाज आ-  
 126 प यजुः <sup>12</sup>स्कन्दकुमारस्य भागम् ।०॥०॥ निद्र-<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The letters *Vēṅgaḍaṇḍ* are Tamil

<sup>2</sup> पावनाश is the vulgar Tamil form of the Sanskrit पापविनाश The form पापनाश occurs in line 111

<sup>3</sup> The letters *ṭiru* are Tamil

<sup>4</sup> Read *Andāṇ*, the word *Piṭṭa* is written in Tamil

<sup>5</sup> The letters *peru* are Tamil, read *Perunga*

<sup>6</sup> Read त्रियम्बकस्य

<sup>7</sup> Read वाधूल

<sup>8</sup> Read उवाडुसुन्दरस्य.

<sup>9</sup> The *visarga* is engraved above the line The letters *peru* are Tamil, read *Perunga*

<sup>10</sup> The whole of this name is written in Tamil, except the letter *nu* which is Grantha.

<sup>11</sup> The *ṣ* of *ṣo* is at the end of l 124

<sup>12</sup> Read स्कन्द

<sup>13</sup> [Read निद्रुव<sup>o</sup> and compare Apastamba's *Śrautasūtra* edited by Prof Garbe, XXIV 9, 14.—E. H.]

- 127 पकाश्च आप 'श्रीरगडपाद्धायस्य  
128 भागम् १०१०१ वासिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् विशेष-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 129 ऋषुत्रवरदराजस्य भागम् १०१०१ वा-  
130 सिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् नायिनार्<sup>२</sup> पुत्रन्  
131 अनन्तनारायणस्य भागम् १०१०१  
132 वासिष्ठ बोधा ऋक् अनन्तनाराय-  
133 णभट्टस्य भागम् १०१०१ काश्यप-  
134 गोत्रस्य आपस्त[म्]<sup>३</sup>वसूत्रस्य यजुः(:)-  
135 व्वेदिन. सम्पत्कुमारपण्डितस्य  
136 भागम् १२२१ काश्यप आप यजुः  
137 सम्पत्कुमारतनयस्य श्रीनिवा-  
138 सभट्टस्य भागम् १६१ स्वदत्ताम् प-  
139 रदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधरा[म्]<sup>४</sup> ।  
140 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि <sup>५</sup>[वि]ष्टायाञ्चा-  
141 यते क्रिमिः । [२५\*] स्वदत्तात्<sup>६</sup> द्विगुणम् पु-  
142 ण्यम् परदत्तानुपालनम् । परदत्ता-  
143 पद्वारेण स्वदत्तम्<sup>७</sup> निष्फलम् भ-  
144 वेत् । [२६\*] सामान्योयम्<sup>८</sup> धर्मसेतु-  
145 नृपाणां काले काले पालनी-  
146 यो भवत्भिः<sup>९</sup> । सर्वानितान् भा-  
147 विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो<sup>१०</sup>  
148 याचते रामभद्रः । [२७\*]  
149 श्रीत्रियवक्त<sup>११</sup> [११\*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Salutation to Bhūvarāha<sup>1</sup> Let there be prosperity<sup>1</sup> Salutation to Vināyaka!

(Verse 1) May that primal one (Vināyaka) increase (our) prosperity, who dispels the darkness of obstacles, who was born of the primal pair (Śiva and Pārvatī), and who is possessed of an unparalleled wealth of kindness (to his devotees)!

<sup>1</sup> Read श्रीरगोपा<sup>०</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The syllable [v:] is a subsequent addition.

<sup>3</sup> Read स्वदत्त.

<sup>4</sup> The *d* of *yō* is at the beginning of l. 149.

<sup>5</sup> The *r* of *Nāyadr* is Tamil

<sup>6</sup> Read स्वदत्ताद.

<sup>7</sup> Read °न्योय.

<sup>8</sup> In Kannaḍa characters; read श्रीत्रियवक्त.

<sup>9</sup> Read भवतिः.

(V 2) I salute him (Śiva), the left half of whose body is the very embodiment of mercy (Pārvati), who is adorned with good qualities, whose ornament is the moon's digit, and whose eyes are the three lights (*viz* sun, moon and fire) <sup>1</sup>

(V. 3) Salutation to that effulgence, whose form is that of a boar, whose arm bristled (*with pleasure*) at the loving embrace of the earth (*when he brought her up from the bottom of the sea*), and which increases (*our*) happiness and plenty <sup>11</sup>

(V 4) Salutation to the earth which is an ornament on the (*expanded*) hood of Ananta, (*which served as*) a war-chariot to him (Śiva) who had the Mēru (*mountain*) for his bow (*at the time of burning Tripura*), and which is the pea-hen on the pillar of the arm of Hari (Vishnu) <sup>1</sup>

(V. 5) In the beautiful race of the Moon was Yadu, of exceeding virtue, in whose lineage the lotus-eyed lord (Vishnu) was born as a partial incarnation (*viz* Krishna)

(V 6) In his race arose king Samgama, who was a storehouse of all prosperity His son was king Bukka, who was the very essence of valour

(V. 7) His son was king Hariharēśvara, who was endowed with fortune and with all auspicious things, who was fully accomplished in learning, and who was verily the lord of the world <sup>2</sup>

(V 8) From him was born the king Dēvarāya-Mahārāja, whose son was the wise king Vijayabhūpati.

(V. 9) This Vijayabhūpāla, being seated on the jewel-throne, caused (*his*) enemies to occupy the dens of lions on the sides of mountains

(V 10) He had two sons, Dēvarājendra and Śrīgirindra, who resembled Vāsava (Indra) and were the abodes of generosity, fortitude and valour

(V 11 f) The Mahārāja Dēvarāya, being the elder of these two, ascended the exalted throne owing to the fructification of the good deeds of (*his*) subjects, but Śrīgiriśvara, having obtained the city called Marataka, ruled this earth just as Sutrāman (Indra) (*rules the city of*) Amaravati.

(Vv 13-20) In the Śaka year (*denoted by the chronogram*) tattvālōka (*i.e.* 1346), in the year Krōdhin, on a Friday, under (the *nakshatra*) Rēvati, on the *lithi* (called) Utthāna-dvādaśī, this Śrīgiribhūpāla again granted, out of respect, as *sarvamānya*, by pouring out a full stream of water with gold, to endure till the end of the Kalpa, this *agrahāra*, (*viz*) the village named Nipatatāka, the front-ornament of the Paluvūt-kōtta,<sup>3</sup> the best (*village*) in Kalavā-nivṛt, which is irrigated by the water obtained from a branch of the Kāvērīpāka channel, which possesses desirable advantages, which is rich in crops flooded by the waters of the Nāgakulyā, which is of wide extent with vast boundaries, which is adorned with various gardens, and which had been granted before by Vijayabhūhuja to Sampatkumāra, who had with him excellent and learned Brāhmanas of various *gōtras* and relatives, who was the foremost among all physicians, and who was the renowned son of the great Gōvinda-pāṇḍita, who was born in the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who was the lord of the city of Rambhāmayūra, who was possessed of (*good*) qualities, and who had seen the further shore of the ocean of the whole Ayurvēda and the Vēdāngas

<sup>1</sup> There is a play upon the word *śrī*, suggesting that Vishnu in his boar incarnation, while rescuing one of his consorts, *viz* the Earth, was not inattentive to his other wife.

<sup>2</sup> There is a subtle suggestion in the use of the attribute *śrī-sarvamangal-ōpāya*. The king's name (Harihara) being composed of that of Vishnu and Śiva, there is an appropriateness in his being said to be joined to Śrī (Vishnu's wife) and Sarvamangalā (Pārvati, Śiva's consort) So he is also 'verily the lord of the earth,' *viz* Vishnu whose other consort is the Earth.

<sup>3</sup> This represents the Tamil *Paduvār-kōṭṭam*.

(V 21 f) Afterwards Sampatsuta,<sup>1</sup> having divided this village Vijayarātpura into fifty-six shares, gave thereof two shares to (*the temples of*) Śiva and Viṣṇu, and set apart one share for the yearly feeding of Brāhmaṇas in the *Kāmakṣī-dharma-maṇḍapa*.

(V 23) This wise man reserved twenty-two shares for himself and gave the remaining ones to his brothers, relatives, and learned men

(V 24) May this *agrahāra* named Vijayarāyapura prosper till the end of the Kalpa, adorned by holy Brāhmaṇas of good lineage, learning and virtuous conduct!

(L 75) Hereafter follows the assignment of the shares to each individual

No	Name of donee.	Gōtra	Sūtra	Śakha.	Share
1	The temple of Śrī-Chudambaranātha Śiva in the village	...	...	.	1
2	(The temple of) Gōvīndanātha Viṣṇu	..	...	...	1
3	For feeding Brāhmaṇas yearly in the <i>Kāmakṣī dharma-maṇḍapa</i>	...		...	1
4	Umāpati-bhaṭṭa . . .	Kāśyapa . . .	Āpastamba . . .	Yajus . . .	1
5	Chandra-bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
6	Pundarikāksha-bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
7	Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
8	Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	[2*] <sup>2</sup>
9	Gōvinda bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
10	Bhāskara-bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
11	Trivēdi-Vāmana-bhaṭṭa . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
12	Hampaṇa bhaṭṭa . . .	Ātrēya . . .	Āśvalāyana . . .	Rich . . .	1
13	Vijayēśvara-bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
14	Mārtānda-bhaṭṭa . . .	Kauśika . . .	Āpastamba . . .	Yajus . . .	1
15	Saurirāja bhaṭṭa . . .	Śaṭhamarshana . . .	Bṛdhāyana . . .	" . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
16	Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . .	Vādhūla . . .	Āpastamba . . .	Yajus . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
17	Bhāskara bhaṭṭa . . .	Kāśyapa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	2
18	Ēkāma-bhaṭṭa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	" . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
19	Vāṅgaḍanātha-dikṣita . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	" . . .	" . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
20	Samarapungava-bhaṭṭa . . .	Vādhūla . . .	" . . .	" . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
21	Yajñanārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . .	Vatṣa . . .	" . . .	" . . .	
22	Kājahastinātha and Pāvanāśa . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	" . . .	" . . .	1
				Carried over	19 $\frac{1}{2}$

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Sampatkumāra of v 16

<sup>2</sup> The number of shares is missing; but, adding up the other shares and deducting them from the total 56 (v. 21), we arrive at the figure 2 for this donee.

No	Name of donee	Gotra	Sūtra	Śakha	Share
				Brought forward	19½
23	Tiruvēṇkaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa	Bhārgava	Āpastamba	Yajus	1
24	Varadarāja-bhaṭṭa	Vāsishtha	Bōdhāyana	Rich	1
25	Pāpanāśa	Bhāradvāja	Āpastamba	Yajus	½
26	Āṇḍaṇ Pillai	Bhargava	"	"	½
27	Chandra-bhaṭṭa, son of Divālara		Bōdhayana	"	½
28	Perungaī Dēvarāja	Bhargava	Āpastamba	"	½
29	Śrī Rudra-bhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	"	"	½
30	Śrīranganaṭha	Kāśyapa	"	"	½
31	Tryambaka	Vatsa	"	"	½
32	Udbāhusundara	Vadhūla	"	"	½
33	Perungaī Vēnkata	Bhārgava	"	"	½
34	Kuppaṇ and partners <sup>1</sup>	Bhāradvāja	"	"	1
35	Guṇōttunga, son of Śrīmūla	Bhargava	"	"	½
36	Skandakumāra	Bhāradvāja	"	"	½
37	Śrīrangōpadhyāya	Nidhruva-Kāśyapa	"	"	½
38	Varadarāja, son of Viśēahayā	Vasishtha	Bōdhāyana	Rich	½
39	Anantanārāyaṇa, son of Nāyinaṛ	"	"	"	½
40	Anantanārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa	"	"	"	½
41	Sampatkumara-pandita	Kāśyapa	Āpastamba	Yajus	22
42	Śrīnivāsa-bhaṭṭa, son of Sampat kumāra	"	"	"	6
				TOTAL	56

The inscription ends with three of the usual imprecatory verses (25-27) and the name of the god Śrī-Tryambaka (Śiva)

### NO 33—TWO ANAIMALAI INSCRIPTIONS.

By G VENKOBĀ RAO, OOTACAMUND

The two subjoined inscriptions were discovered by Mr T A Gopinatha Rao, M A, in the Nṛsiṃha temple at the village of Nāraṣingam, 6 miles east of Madura. The central shrine of this temple is cut into the hill known as Ānaimalai. In an inscription dated in the

<sup>1</sup> [For *uḷittār* see *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I Nos 54 and 71, and the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français*, s v — "associés, participans, parties intéressées. Il se dit principalement des frères associés ou qui vivent sous le régime de la communauté, lorsque l'un d'eux fait un marché, les autres sont *uḷittār*." The *Sukṛti bhṛatarah* of the Pīpravā inscription probably belonged to such an 'undivided family,' and this is the reason why only the name of Sukṛti, who must have been the head of the family, was quoted there.—E H.]

33rd year of the reign of the Chôla king Parântaka I.<sup>1</sup> found in the temple, the hill is called Tiruvāṇaimalai. It is also referred to in his *Dēvāram* by Tiruñānasambandar, the great Śaiva saint, as a stronghold of the Jainas.<sup>2</sup> Tradition has it that Tiruñānasambandar drove out the Jainas from the vicinity of Madura after converting the then reigning Pāṇḍya king Nedumāraṇ to the Śaiva faith.<sup>3</sup> There are still vestiges of Jaina dominancy on the hill. On a rock with sculptures overhanging a natural cave there are a number of Tamil inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> one of which mentions Ajjanandi.<sup>5</sup> The cave is evidently one of those which the Jainas occupied in old times.

The first inscription is engraved on the left side of the entrance into the central shrine. The letters are cut boldly and deeply, and, being in the interior, the record is in good preservation, at the end of lines 5 and 6 are a few damaged letters which can be easily supplied from the context. The alphabet is Grantha. The final *m* is represented by a smaller *m* with a vertical stroke on its top, see *eg* *ṁdam* in l 3. The letter *na* is of a more archaic type than that of the Ganga-Pallava period,<sup>6</sup> and *ya* is also slightly different from the common form of that time.

The record consists of three verses, of which the first mentions the son of Māra of the Vaidya family,<sup>7</sup> who was the minister (*mantrin*, v. 2) of the Pāṇḍya king Parântaka. He was apparently an expert in the art of composing poetry and hence is called Madhurakavi. His actual name, Mārangārī, occurs in the second inscription, where he also bears the title Mūvēndamangalappēraraiyaṇ. He was a native of Karavandapura (v. 1) or, according to the second inscription, of Kalakkudī.<sup>8</sup> The third verse contains the date—a Sunday in the month of Kārttika of the year 3871 (expired) of the Kaliyuga era=A.D. 770. On this day an image of the god Viṣṇu was set up in the cave.

The second inscription, which, though well preserved, is not cut so deeply as the first, is a supplement to the latter and is engraved on the right side of the entrance. The characters of this record are an archaic form of Vatteḷuttu and Grantha. The latter is employed in some Sanskrit words that occur in the inscription, *viz* *mantri* (l 2), *Vaidyan* (l 2 f), *svargg-drôhana* (l 6 f), *anujan* (l 8) and *mantra-padam* (l 9). The Vatteḷuttu of this inscription seems to be the same as that of the Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman published by Mr V Venkayya,<sup>9</sup> compare *r*, *n*, *t*, *u* and particularly *k* (which has not yet assumed the shape peculiar

<sup>1</sup> No 63 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

<sup>2</sup> *Ānaimamalaiy=ādyāyav=īdangalir=paluv=alīal-tt-r=īnargal-k=ēj-yēn=alēn=Rirūvalatdy=ara=ṇirkaṇḍ*—Tiruñānasambandar's *Tiruvāḍavdy Padigam*

<sup>3</sup> *Śēdamāl*, Vol III p 406

<sup>4</sup> Nos 67 to 74 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

<sup>5</sup> A Jaina teacher of this name is mentioned in the rock inscriptions at Vallimalai in the North Arcot district; above, Vol IV p 141 f

<sup>6</sup> See *eg* above, Vol VI p 320, and *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 90

<sup>7</sup> Probably the word *vaidya* is derived from *vēda*, and the name seems to indicate that the members of the family were proficient in the sacred literature

<sup>8</sup> In an inscription at Pirāṇmalai (No 143 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903) Karavandapura is mentioned as another name of Kalakkudī in the district of Kalakkudī, and in a record at Sūchindram (above, Vol V p 43) Karavandapuram is said to have been situated in the district of Kalakkudī. Kalakkudī is perhaps identical with the modern village of Kajakkāḍ in the Nāngunēri tāluka, which even to this day has a dilapidated fort (Mr Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 314)

<sup>9</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XXII p 57. The village granted in this inscription is Vēlangudī renamed Śrīvarāṁgalaṁ after the Pāṇḍya king Neduñjaḍaiyaṇ, one of whose *birudas* was apparently Śrīvara. In the *Tiruvāḍimol* (verses 508 to 514) reference is made to Śrīvarāṁgaṁ or Śrīvarāṁgalaṁnagar, which is identified with Nāngunēri known to Varṇaṇiṁvas under the names Vāṇamāmalai and Tōḍāḍri. It is not unlikely that the two Śrīvarāṁgalaṁs are identical



to the later alphabet wherein it is hardly distinguishable from *ch*) with the corresponding letters of the plates. The secondary *z* is written more on the top than on the side of the consonant as it is in later forms. The *pulli*<sup>1</sup> appears to be marked in a number of cases. The vowels *a* and *ā* are the same as those employed on the Kīl-Muttugūr stones<sup>2</sup>. Though the Vatteluttu of this inscription resembles to a certain extent the characters of the Madras Museum plates, yet as the Grantha alphabet used in the latter seems to be more developed than that of the Sanskrit portion of the subjoined records, it is safer to suppose, at least provisionally, that the Mārañjadaiyaṇ of the latter is earlier than the Jatilavarman of the Museum plates.

The king is here called Mārañjadaiyaṇ, i.e. Śadaiyaṇ, the son of Māraṇ (or Jatilavarman, the son of Māravarman in Sanskrit)<sup>3</sup>. His minister Māraṅgārī,<sup>4</sup> mentioned above, excavated the cave at Ānaimalai, but died before its consecration.<sup>5</sup> His younger brother Māraṇ Eyyaṇ alias Pāṇḍimangalaviśaiyaraiaṇ, who succeeded him as minister, subsequently built the *mandapa* in front and performed the consecration ceremony.

From the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya<sup>6</sup> we learn that he was also surnamed Mārañjadaiyaṇ. But an inscription of his found at Uttamapālayam<sup>7</sup> in the Madura district couples Śaka 792 with his 8th year. His accession must therefore be placed about A.D. 862. The Mārañjadaiyaṇ of the Ānaimalai inscription was thus a predecessor of Varaguna and may have been his grandfather.

It is worthy of note that Madhurakavi was the name borne by one of the Vaiṣṇava Ālīvāra, and the Madhurakavi of the subjoined inscriptions was also a Vaiṣṇava Nammālvār, who, according to Vaiṣṇava tradition, was a contemporary of Madhurakavi Ālīvār, was called Kārimāraṇ, i.e. Māraṇ, the son of Kāri. Is it possible that he was the son of the minister Māraṅgārī? If this be the case, it is not apparent why he has omitted to mention the shrine built by his father, while the Tirumōgūr temple, which is situated close to it, is the subject of a hymn<sup>8</sup> by Nammālvār.

#### TEXT OF No. 1.<sup>9</sup>

1 <sup>10</sup> करवन्दपुरनिवासी श्रीमान्वैद्यः शिला-

2 गृहं विष्णोः [1\*] अक्षत क्षती मधुरकविभ्यो-

<sup>1</sup> It occurs in *p* and *z* of the word *mangalappēraraiaṇ* (l. 3 f.), in *n* of *Māraṅgārī* (l. 4 f.), in *y* and *z* of *eyyaṇ* (l. 7), in *n* of *anuyān* (l. 8), in *y* of *eydiṇa* (l. 9), in *n* of *Pāṇḍi* (l. 9), and in *z* of *Māraṇ* (l. 11).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> In the Madras Museum plates, the king (called Jatilavarman, the son of Māravarman, in the Sanskrit portion and Neduñjadaiyaṇ in the Tamil portion) bears the surname Parāntaka along with a number of other titles. This would lead us to identify the Mārañjadaiyaṇ of the subjoined records with the donor of the Madras Museum plates. But the alphabet of the latter seems to be more developed than that of the former. A *śrāgaḷ* in the Vatteluttu alphabet (No. 277 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895) set up in the Trevandrum Museum belongs to the 27th year of Mārañjadaiyaṇ. The writing seems to resemble that of the Museum plates, and the inscription refers to Viṇuṇam.

<sup>4</sup> Here again the minister is called Vaidyaṇ. The Madras Museum plates tell us that Mūrti Eyyaṇ alias Viramangalappēraraiaṇ, who was the king's *Mahāśmanta* in the 17th year of his reign, was a Vaidya. The inscription quoted in the paper on the Madras Museum plates refers to a fourth member of the same family, viz. Śāttangavarai alias Amritamangalavaraiyaṇ, who was a *Mahāśmanta* in the 6th year of Mārañjadaiyaṇ. The last as well as the two brothers mentioned in the Ānaimalai inscriptions were natives of Karavandapuram.

<sup>5</sup> The Tamil word *nṛttaśīṭṭal* (or more correctly *nṛttaśīṭṭal*) is synonymous with the Sanskrit *samprōḷaṣaṇa*, which according to Monier-Williams' *Dictionary* means 'the act of sprinkling well over, consecration (of a temple, etc.)'.

<sup>6</sup> No. 414 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

<sup>7</sup> No. 705 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>8</sup> Pattāmpattu, Mudal Tiruvāymoḷi beginning *śūṣa tāmarai-ittadamaṇi-ṣaṇai-Tirumōgūr*.

<sup>9</sup> From an inked estampage supplied by Mr. T. A. Gopalan, Esq.

<sup>10</sup> The metre of this verse and of the next is Āryā.

- 3 वरतरो मा[र]चूनुदिम् — [१\*] मन्त्री स ए-  
 4 व मतिमाज्याय्य परा[न्त]कामिवान-  
 5 स्व [१\*] अमितद्विमयेभ्यः [प्रादादि]म-  
 6 मयहारमपि — [२\*] कलिः<sup>१</sup> [महस्रि]-  
 7 तयेद्गोचरे [ग]तेदय-  
 8 त्यामपि मैकमतौ [१\*] हतप्र-  
 9 तिष्ठो भगवानमृत्कमादिहै-  
 10 य यौगेहनि मासि कार्तिके [॥ ३\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Pre-eminentlly charming (in manners), a resident of Karavandapura, the son of Māra, (and a) learned (and) illustrious (member of the) Vaidya (family),— Madhurakavi made this stone temple of Vishnu.

(V 2.) The same (viz Madhurakavi), the wise minister of the Pāṇḍya (king) named Parāntaka, also gave away to the first-born (i.e. Brahmanas) this immensely rich agrahāra.

(V. 3.) When three thousand and eight hundred and seventy-one years of Kali had passed—on the day of the sun in the month of Kārtika, this (image of the) god was duly set up here

TEXT OF No. II.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Kō Mārañjadaiyaṅku u-  
 2 ttara-mantri Kaḷakkudī Vai-  
 3 dyan Mūvēndamangalap-  
 4 pēraraiyaṅ ēṅya Māraṅ-<sup>4</sup>  
 5 [gā]ri i-kkaṇṇali ēydu  
 6 nīr[ttā]līyādēy svargg-aro-  
 7 ka[ṇṇā]=jēyda pūṇṇai ara-  
 8 ṇakku anuṇan uttara-  
 9 mantra-padam=ēyḍina Pāṇḍi-  
 10 mangalaviśaiaraiyaṅ<sup>5</sup>  
 11 ēṅya Māraṅ=EI-<sup>6</sup>  
 12 raṅ muga-manḍamañ=je-  
 13 ydu nīrttaḷittāṅ [॥ ३\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Māraṅgān alias Vaidyan Mūvēndamañgalappēraraiyaṅ of Kaḷakkudī, the prime-minister (uttara-mantrin) of king Mārañjadaiyaṅ, made this stone temple and ascended heaven (i.e. died) without consecrating (it). Subsequently, his younger brother Māraṅ Eyaṅ alias

<sup>1</sup> The metre of this verse is Vāṇīśaḥa.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "when a total of two thousand and eight hundred together with seventy-one had come within the range of the years of Kali."

<sup>3</sup> From an inked stampage supplied by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

<sup>4</sup> In the original there seems to be a ka after the guttural ā.

<sup>5</sup> Read viśaiaraiyaṅ. The r of vai looks like ka.

<sup>6</sup> Read =Eyaṅ.

<sup>7</sup> Read =mañḍapaṇ.





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*Pāṇḍimangalaviśāyāraiyaṇ*, who attained to the dignity of prime-minister, made the *mukha-*  
*mandapa* and consecrated (*the shrine*)

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<sup>1</sup> The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes, and 'add.' to the Additions and Correction on pp vi and vii. The following other abbreviations are used — ch = chief, co = country, *dis* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty; E = Eastern, f = female, k = king, m. = male, *mo.* = mountain, *vi.* = river, *s a* = same as; *sur* = surname; *te* = temple, *vi.* = village or town; W. = Western.

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